A social history of a so-called "Golden Age" of music industrialization: production in Colombian recording and sound technology industries, 1949-1963

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of requirements for the awarding of PhD degree by the University of Westminster.

February 2019.

Abstract

This attempt at writing a social history of recording and sound technology industries from 1949 to 1963, focuses on the relations between different kinds of players intertwined in the sphere of domestic production of records and local assembly of sound hardware in Colombia. It departs from unpacking the idea of a Golden Age in reference to the period of study, in order the describe and analyse the period through evidence collected during rigorous, systematic and exhaustive archive work, including journalistic and institutional primary sources of various kinds, and qualitative as well as quantitative data. The analysis is guided by a *social history work plan* delineated by Eric Hobsbawm, which begins by sketching a picture of the relational complex studied and understanding its movement through time, is followed by the abstraction of patterns of change and continuity, and finally by the analysis of social tensions involved in the historical process. The work gives special attention to: changes in mode of production when contrasting the 1949-1963 era with the previous two decades; gradual changes in mode of production during the 1950s; changes associable to effects of a mid1950s economic crisis in the country; the relations between key cities Medellín, Bogotá, Cartagena and Barranquilla; and to the different sorts of tensions between players related to the sphere of production.

Author's declaration

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work.

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Acknowledgements

To Luis Javier Ciro [El Peñol, 1952 – El Retiro, 2017], whose memory is inscribed with ghostly ink between the lines of this thesis. Against systematic murderers of social leaders in rural Colombia of today. To friends, family, university staff and institutions that in different ways supported me during the research process and helped overcoming contingencies and unexpected events of life: Sofía Botero, Alejandro Saldarriaga, Daniel Grisales, Carlos Barreneche, Olga Lucía Sorzano, Anamaría Tamayo, Thomas Maier, George Eades-Booth and family, Luciana Risso, George Graham, Iris Luna, Ramón Gumuzio, +tr, Domingo, Pájaros family, Ana-Celi and family, Super Abuela, Simson-Yepez family, Samson Tosin Onafuye, Chris Kennett, Fauzia Ahmad, Anthony McNicholas, Peter Goodwin, Homerton Hospital, Colciencias, Sapiencia-Enlazamundos, and Colfuturo, among several others. To friends and staff at the British Library and at different libraries and historical archives I visited during the research. To London, a place that beats you up before offering its true friendship. To Dora Simson, with whom I learned to walk on the moon.

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Introduction: subject matter and description of the text

A variety of social, cultural, economic, and media historians cited in this work, describe the mid 20th century as an era of particular importance in history, both from a Colombian and a global level perspective. The emergence of commercial radio broadcasting and sound film exhibition industries in Latin America and Colombia since the 1930s, catalysed the activity of different individuals and companies in the country involved in international commerce of sound related commodities as radios, phonographs and jukeboxes, and particularly of those that ventured into the business of producing music recordings. From late 1940s to early 1960s, a sector of fully equipped recording companies in the Atlantic Coast and Andean regions of Colombia, gradually bloomed and played a central role in the explosion of mass media and urban popular culture. Audiences for recorded music multiplied, new forms of music emerged, hegemonic national and regional identities changed, and culture in the broadest sense of *ways of life* transformed at the pace of an advanced stage of industrialization in Colombia and an accelerated process of population growth and concentration in urban centres. This happened in the context of post WWII global economic growth, during which the so-called Electrical Era of sound recording technologies expanded at the same time that the business of music recordings, and the hardware that played them, experienced a boom. Leading transnational companies mostly based in US and UK—as RCA Victor, Columbia Records, and EMI—grew on the back of record buying audiences enhanced by the increasing role of young people as consumers, at the same time that international activities of these big capital players kept expanding,[1] in parallel with an explosion of domestic recording companies in different parts of the world.

Along with several short lived recording companies as Silver, Ondina, Sello Vergara, Atlantic, or Discos Tropical, a small group of iconic Colombian recording companies was established during the years that followed the end of WWII: Discos Fuentes (1945), Sonolux (1949), Codiscos (1950), and Discos Victoria (circa 1955).[2] These domestic companies continued to operate after the establishment of branches of multinational recording companies took off in the 1960s with Philips and Columbia (CBS), and made it through the turn of the 21st century. Nevertheless, during the last two decades Sonolux and Discos Victoria gradually vanished, at the same time that Fuentes and Codiscos adapted to technological and music business changes: not without struggles, by redefining their mode of operation, and with a considerable reduction of their staff.

In spite of this background, and even though the era that roughly goes from the 1950s to late 1970s is considered by different commentators as a Golden Age of music

[1] The global dimension of the phenomenon since the 19th century is stressed by musicologist and mass media academic Pekka Gronow: "the record industry has been multinational from the very beginning, and artists have always made recordings across borders" (Bergeret-Cassagne and Gronow, 2015) [Not paginated interview with the Gronow conducted by Bergeret-Cassagne].

[2] As later chapters evidence, Discos Fuentes was started in 1936 as an operation based solely on the recording technology available in the radio broadcasting station that gave it birth, but it was not until 1945 that they set up their record pressing equipment and were able to produce their own records domestically.

industrialization in Colombia, a gap in academic knowledge about the production sphere of recording and sound technology industries in the country during that time has persisted for decades. It was precisely that gap what justified engaging in the research work that led to the production of this text, and also what makes it a fundamental contribution to knowledge. The period has been scrutinized by scholars from different fields and disciplines, and so far popular music studies and ethnomusicology offer the bulk of secondary sources more closely related to the topic. Nevertheless, their main focus is on audiences and the social, cultural, semiotic or formal aspects of music, and while they offer substantial research for understanding the super-structural level of the historical moment, insight on the sphere of production has been very limited. After anthropologist Peter Wade (2000) pointed out that "history of the recording industry in Colombia" had been written in a "very fragmentary way", with "scraps of information" mostly from "oral sources" (Ibid, p260), but "virtually nothing substantial and coherent" produced on the subject (Ibid, p271), the situation has changed slowly, while research on related popular music genre has increased significantly.

This peculiarity might be explained by a disinterest of Colombian musicology and popular music studies in the specific sphere of recording production. The latter might be considered of secondary interest, or even worse: discarded on the basis of conceiving it as one with a fundamentally problematic nature, in a line of thought that sees cultural industries as a source of negative effects, and as manipulative and exploitative agents guided by sole commercial interests, against a devotion for *true* and *authentic* music.[3] Another possible explanation is the considerable influence of Martín-Barbero in media studies academia in Colombia since the 1990s, following his highly celebrated *Communication, Culture and Hegemony: from the media to mediations* (1993 [1987]). On the one hand, this work meant the author's drastic break with a 1970s tradition of Marxist and Frankfurt School readings of mass media as manipulation of passive audiences, discursive domination, homogenization, and acculturation; but on the other hand, as it displaced the focus of attention from the sphere of production to that of consumption and audiences, research on the former fell out of media scholarship main interests. Influenced by Walter Benjamin and resonant with Stuart Hall and the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies, Martín-Barbero's (1987) call was for "re-observing the process of communication from its other side, that of reception, that of the resistances that take place there, that of appropriation through use" (Ibid, p10).[4]

The impact of Peter Wade's famed book *Music, Race & Nation: música tropical in Colombia* (2000) in the study of popular music during the 21st century in Colombia, might also explain the persistence of the gap in knowledge that the author himself underlined. While

[3] This view contrasts with a sociological conception of cultural industries as complex and contradictory (Hesmondhalgh, 2007) that guides this research, with its distancing from pessimistic Adornian readings whose effects on historiography of recording and sound technology industries might be reductionism, and with its informed critical understanding of *authenticity* (see for example: Wiseman-Trowse, 2008, pp41-70; or Shuker, 2005, pp17-18).

[4] My translation of: "re-ver el proceso de las comunicaciones desde su *otro* lado, el de la recepción, el de las resistencias que ahí tienen su lugar, el de la apropiación desde los usos" (Martín-Barbero, 1987, p10).

his work provides valuable information on the history of recording companies in Colombia since the 1930s, its central and influential concerns are far from the production sphere, and invited research on music as a way of approaching cultural identities, politics of race, and nation construction processes. Wadean anthropology of music, also diverts focus from the sphere of production to the broad sphere of audiences, music circulation and consumption and the meanings it articulates about blackness and Colombian-ness.

As it stands, this account of the past of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia therefore concentrates on their production sphere, considering them as a phenomenon that is at the same time cultural and technological, and concentrating mostly on the cities of Medellín and Bogotá. Departing from a comprehensive literature review, and based on extensive archival research—including newspapers, specialized magazines, record company catalogues, and State official reports and statistics—it follows through a social history analysis in the terms of Hobsbawm (2005 [1972]). The latter implies an account of the "shape" of the "relational complex" (Ibid, p108) represented by *recording and sound technology industries*,[5] accomplished through the exploration of material and historical contexts, the social relations, institutions and different players involved, and the forces and modes of production. The analysis carries on with an appraisal of the relational complex "in its historical movement", with special attention to the effects of a mid1950s conjuncture in Colombian economy, [6] and ultimately focuses on spotting and understanding the different situations of tension between players involved in such movement (Ibid, pp108-109). In these terms, this research's Hobsbawmian social and economic history analysis of mid20th century recording and sound technology industries in Colombia, might also be considered a contribution to different fields in historiography today, as business history, media history, cultural history, and global history.[7]

The present text is organized in two sets of chapters: *Part One - The research plan, theory and methodology*, encompasses Chapters 1 to 3; and *Part Two - Historical analysis of the Colombian case*, is conformed by Chapters 4 to 9. The initial chapter critically examines the idea of a Golden Age of recording companies in Colombia, as a discursive construction by different writers and commentators, and in parallel provides its historiographical context: post WWII global economic growth, boom of international recording and sound technology industries, boom of Colombian manufacturing sector, mass media and urban culture. It also explains specific background elements and historical events used for delimitating the period of study to the years between 1949 and 1963, and provides its economic *rationale*, and lays out the research aims-objectives in terms of a groups of interrelated questions: How did the process of unfolding of recording industries actually happen from late 1940s to early 1960s, and why did Medellín consolidate as its capital? Who were the leading players involved in recording and sound technology industries,

[5] The term is discussed in Chapter 1 (section 6).
[6] The use of the term *conjuncture* in reference to an economic crisis followed by a boom is discussed in Chapter 1 (section 3).
[7] See Chapter 3.

how did they operate, and how did this operation change over time? What were the main tensions between these and other players, and what was their nature?

This initial chapter expands as well on the previously mentioned terms of a social history analysis, and overall: composes the theory framework that guides the thesis' and its notion of *recording and sound technology industries*. The latter is acknowledged as a multifaceted relational complex in which common conceptions of recording "industry", "business", or "music industry" are situated within a broader constellation of players and interests, considering both the different spheres involved in its music aspect, and those in its technology aspect, which is characterised by historical interconnections between companies that produce reproduction technology or sound related hardware.

Chapter 2 reviews an extensive collection of literature related with the past of sound recording industry and its associated technologies, and outlines the different kinds of researchers that have had an interest in the matter and their diverse perspectives. It follows the construction of a bibliography of around four hundred relevant titles, covering from early works dating from mid 20th century until the present, and from pioneer non-scholar authors to a sophisticated variety of academics from different fields: ethno-musicology and cultural studies and their overlapping with sociology and anthropology, along with different kinds of historians (from business history to social and cultural history, and from popular music history, to media history and science and technology history). It includes works related to the Colombian case (a fifth of literature reviewed) bibliography), and extensive material exploring the topic mostly in US, UK and European contexts.

Chapter 3 begins with an exploration of contemporary theory in the contested field of historiography, based on the works of prominent historians interested in the theoretical aspect of their discipline. It highlights some important epistemological and ontological implications of writing social and cultural history in the 21st century, the critiques, problems and limitations of the study of the past, the discipline's characteristic fragmentation and absence of paradigmatic coherent unity, and dialectics between *realist* and *anti-realist* conceptions. After this excursion into theory of history writing the chapter presents the thesis's research methodology, which is based on extensive historical archive work. It starts by discussing methodological implications of writing history of the recent past; then moves on to a description of the primary sources used, their collection and later analysis; and closes with some reflections about relation of historians that study the 20th century with their own living present.

Part two of this text encompasses the historical analysis of the Colombian case, and is opened by Chapter 4. Since the research concentrates on the sphere of production, this chapter is devoted to providing background on music genre matters. Firstly, by arguing that a strong radio broadcasting sector, a robust cinema exhibition industry, and jukeboxes were main media for the circulation of recorded music in Colombia since the 1930s and 1940s, therefore: the country experienced an important explosion in

circulation of recorded music, way earlier than it did so properly in the realm of domestic phonographic production. Secondly, by considering that social historian Marco Palacios (2006, p238) recognises a mighty “musical explosion” as one of the most important cultural changes involved in mid20th century blossoming of urban mass culture in Colombia. This point is followed by an attempt at drawing a systemic sketch of the broad diversity of the popular music repertoires listened by Colombian audiences between the 1940s and 1960s (based on secondary sources), in order to provide the reader with a general and coherent overview. Thirdly, by providing valuable primary sources collected during the research's archival phase (useful for future researchers on matters of music and audiences), including a set of the earliest charts evidenced in issues of *El Diario* newspaper published during 1953. A brief analysis of those charts and of reviews of some releases by nascent record companies in Medellín, evidence tensions between the aesthetic judgement of journalists and the music by new recording artists considered of low artistic value, particularly early forms of "parranda", "música de carrilera" [railroad music], and "música guasca". In contrast, as primary sources suggest, these genres were of considerable importance for the growth of the new sector, as were the cantinas and jukeboxes associated with lower class audiences in rural areas and Medellín.

Chapter 5 begins by situating the 1949 to 1963 period within a particularly advanced stage of the country's development of industrial production (rooted in late 19th century), which kept a tendency of growth until late 1970s. This consolidated a change from a rural based economy highly dependant on the international business of coffee, to a semi-industrial economy that encompassed the geographic movement of a growing population hand in hand with intense urbanization. Features of mid1950s Colombian manufacturing industries as a whole examined include: a powerful economic group in Medellín represented by the association of industrials, ANDI, pushing for protectionist State policies tailored to their specific needs; and a trend of continued growth even though with important changes in the geography of leading industrial production, Medellín, a city that had been the largest manufacturing industry centre in previous decades, was surpassed by Bogotá. In particular, I argue that a central feature of industrialization during the period studied is a relatively well developed stage of national transport infrastructure, including railways, automobile roads and national airlines, through which vast networks of distribution operated. I provide some examples of the networks of nascent companies, as well as maps and graphs with the internal destination of imports of records, phonographs, jukeboxes, radios, and other sound related commodities.

This is followed by the argument that tensions at the level of economic policy—between those interested on free trade, and those on the advance of industry protectionist and import substitution policies—were at the centre of the dynamics of the process of unfolding of a new sector of recording and sound technology industries. A dramatic mid1950s collapse in the coffee business strongly disturbed the tension between opposed economic policies, and the conjuncture allows sketching two distinct economic moments of high relevance for the overall historical analysis: a 1st from 1949 to 1956—industry protectionist measures were implemented during the first couple of years, yet repealed

later; a second from 1956 to 1963—State control of imports became more severe, largely as an effect of the crash in coffee exports, creating a climate of sustained stability for the interests of recording and sound hardware manufacturers established in the country. The temporal differentiation is followed by a diachronic appraisal of the economic size of record and sound technology business in Colombia (based on official quantitative data on imports of different kinds of related commodities), and the analysis of changes using the two moment model.

Chapter 6 analyses a mid1950s explosion of record companies in main cities of the Atlantic Coast and different cities in the Andean regions, and describes it as a gradual but fundamental change in modes of production. From a previous 1930s and 1940s situation in which "agents" of multinational companies, i.e. importer-distributors of records and sound hardware, were central players in conforming what I called a *proto domestic recording business* (recording music domestically but completely depending on phonographic processes provided by companies abroad); to the late 1940s and 1950s consolidation of "fábricas de discos" or record factories (as they were commonly called during the time), that gradually increased in-country availability of technological infrastructure, methods, and materials needed for the different steps of record production (including recording studios for cutting masters, facilities for the production of stampers, pressing plants, and the domestic availability of raw materials).

Two fundamental traits in the consolidation of a new mode of production are highlighted: a plethora of international licensing agreements through which domestic companies pressed and commercialized recordings by a diversity of foreign labels, from Latin America and the Caribbean, US, Europe and the UK; and the parallel establishment of a sector of small players in recording business conformed. Among tensions evidenced during this gradual process are: those between record companies and the State, in the former's struggle for protection form against imported records and the allowance of imports of particular raw materials not available in the country; tensions between established and so-called "pirate" labels considered detrimental to the nascent recording industries; and those between two groups of established record companies about the prices for records pressed domestically that by early 1950s was known as "La Guerra de los Discos" [The war of records].

Chapter 7 focuses on the transition from a first economic moment (19491-1956) to a second (1956 to 1960s), during which the country entered a period of strong import substitution policies, and explores a series of progressions and consequences of the novel mode of production, and the effects of new international commerce regulations. Firstly, it traces the emergence of the topic of Colombian recording industry in economic press and journals in 1956. Secondly, it charts the activities of a sector of sound hardware importers during the firsts half of the 1950s, and points out that after the change of international commerce policies of 1956, this kind of players faced the necessity of changing their business activities. In the same conjuncture, a particular sector of domestic sound

hardware and electro-domestic production emerged, catalysed by the new policies after which record players and radios were assembled domestically using mostly imported parts and pieces. In regards to this nascent "assembly industry": firstly I concentrate on the case of Philips Colombiana S.A., which from the outset played a predominant role in the emergent sphere of hardware production (and later in the domestic record business as well, by establishing their own subsidiary in Bogotá); and secondly, I evidence that a sector of small players formed mostly out of radio repair shops also played a part in domestic radio and phonograph assembly.

Chapter 8 starts by examining the idea of *Medellín capital of recording industry*, without the intention of hinting at a concluding argument, and with the aim of avoiding a *commonsensical* reading of the related events of the second half of the 20th century examined in previous chapters. I argue that in the context of changes in the geography of industrialization and mass media in the country, while a dominant group of domestic record factories established in Medellín during mid 20th century, Bogotá also took the leading role in overall industry and established as capital of sound hardware manufacturing. Moreover, as the 1960s unfolded Bogotá became host of the recording business branch of CBS and of Philips recording activities, events with incidence in a late 1970s journalistic discussion in which the leading role idea of Medellín was questioned. Afterwards, the chapter analyses a series of events that took place during the later years of the second economic moment, including: the association of SONOLUX, Medellín import-distributors DeBedout a hijos, and RCA Victor in 1958; the conformation of ASINCOL in 1963, the Colombian association of phonographic industrials; the establishment new record companies as Discos Victoria in Medellín by Otoniel Cardona, a long term distributor of records and A&R with Sonolux; the increase of domestic recording business activities by Philips during the 1960s and the establishment of an overseas branch of Columbia Records in Bogotá in 1965; the proliferation of licensing agreements with foreign labels evidenced in record catalogues of the 1960s; and the continuation of a technological race between domestic main companies as Sonolux, Codiscos, and Fuentes. These events evidence changes and continuities in Colombian recording and sound technology industries as their history moves into the 1960s and beyond, and provide a blue print for patterns discussed in the next and final chapter.

Chapter 9 constitutes the overall thesis' conclusions by returning to three broad theoretical matters highlighted in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3. Firstly it goes back to the aims-objectives-questions set in Chapter 1 (section 5), and deploys and extended dedicated answer to a question at the core of Hobsbawm's model for social history analysis: What were the main tensions between different players involved in Colombian recording and sound technology industries during the mid 20th century period studies, and what was their nature? The analysis of different forms of social tensions is done on the back of a set of six patterns of change, and nine patterns of continuity that can be abstracted as a overall conclusion from the descriptions, analyses and evidence presented in previous chapters. Secondly, the final chapter goes back to the analysis of the notion of *recording and sound technology industries* of Chapter 1 (section 6), which stresses the

historical interconnectedness of the business of making the records that *carry* the music (which using industry insider terminology can be called the *software* side), and the business of making and selling the machines that play the records (which in the same terms can be denominated the *hardware* side). In that line of ideas, I argue that this account of recording and sound technology industries of mid20th century Colombia constitutes a *hardware/software understanding* of music industrialization, in which a dual cultural/technological character of the phenomenon is at the core of its approach and analyses. Considering the historical basis of this hardware/software understanding, and that it reflects the interconnections of transnational companies that have led the global commercial phenomenon of recorded sound since the 19th century until today, it constitutes a model that could be replicated to the cases of other countries, either in Latin America, or else where.

Thirdly, the concluding chapter goes back to the critique of an idea of Golden Age (Chapter 1, section 1), to theoretical and epistemological matters of historiography discussed in Chapter 3 (section 1), and continues a discussion raised in Chapter 3 (section 2.2). This long text is finished with a meditation about the present situation of main recording companies established during the 1950s, and the role of historians of the recent past in the present's public sphere: What is then the role of a historiography of the kind this research represents in the present day? The question is answered by noting a potential use by cultural policy makers, its contribution to knowledge and different related fields in academia, and by discussing how the work, along with several lines and topics for future research outlined, may *speak truth to power*. The latter term derives from contemporary discussions in historiography that acknowledge an inherent politics in history writing, conceive historiography as a fundamentally revisionist exercise that plays in a field of tension between different accounts of the same topic. In such light, an analysis of social tensions can be read as an analysis of relations of power and their dynamics, and therefore involves giving visibility to players *from below*, outside of current narratives and official histories.

The following pages, provide the reader with a map of Colombia and with several images that represent some of the main players involved in the era studied. Considering that dynamics between companies in different parts of the country are a recurrent element in the different chapters that compose Part Two of this text, as an initial exercise, I would suggest the reader spends some time identifying key cities as: Cartagena and Barranquilla in the Atlantic Coast, Medellín in the Central Andean region, Cali further south, and Bogotá, the country's capital in the Eastern Andean region.

Figure 0.1 - Map of Colombia, with regions (departments), cities and main geographic structure.

Source: IGAC, Colombia, 2005.

Figure 0.2 - Logo for Discos Fuentes (started mid 1930s in Cartagena, moved to Medellín 1954).

Source: LP Climaco Sarmiento y su Orquesta - Bombo y Maracas (Fuentes - STFLP 0061).

Figure 0.3 - Logo for Tropical (started 1948 in Barranquilla).

Source: *Discos Tropical - Catálogo General Numérico 78 y 45 RPM* - CAT 2/64.

Figure 0.4 - Logo for Silver (started 1949 in Medellín).

Source: :LP Lucho Bermúdez y su Orquesta - Taganga (Silver - SLD 500, 33 1/3 rpm).

Figure 0.5 - Logos for Sonolux and its Lyra label (started 1949 in Medellín).

Source: *Catálogo General LYRA - Sonolux - Panart - Producidos por Industria Electro-Sonora Ltda. Medellín - Colombia* (January, 1959).

Figure 0.6 - Logo for Discos Ondina (started 1952 in Medellín).

Source: *Pantalla*, Medellín, no 206, October 18, 1957, p3.

Figure 0.7 - Logos for Zeida (started 1950 in Medellín) later renamed Codiscos.

Source: *Catálogo General de Discos de Larga Duración - Zeida, Musart - Hasta Octubre 31 de 1956. Primeros en Calidad. Primeros en Presentación; Codiscos. CATALOGO GENERAL DISCOS DE LARGA DURACION 33 1/3 R.P.M. Monofónicos y Estereofónicos. DISCOS COMPACTOS 33 1/3 R.P.M. NOVIEMBRE 1966.*

Figure 0.8 - Logo for Sello Vergara (started 1950 in Bogotá).

Source: *Industrias Fonográficas de Radio Vergara. Catálogo General de Discos Sello Vergara* (circa 1954).

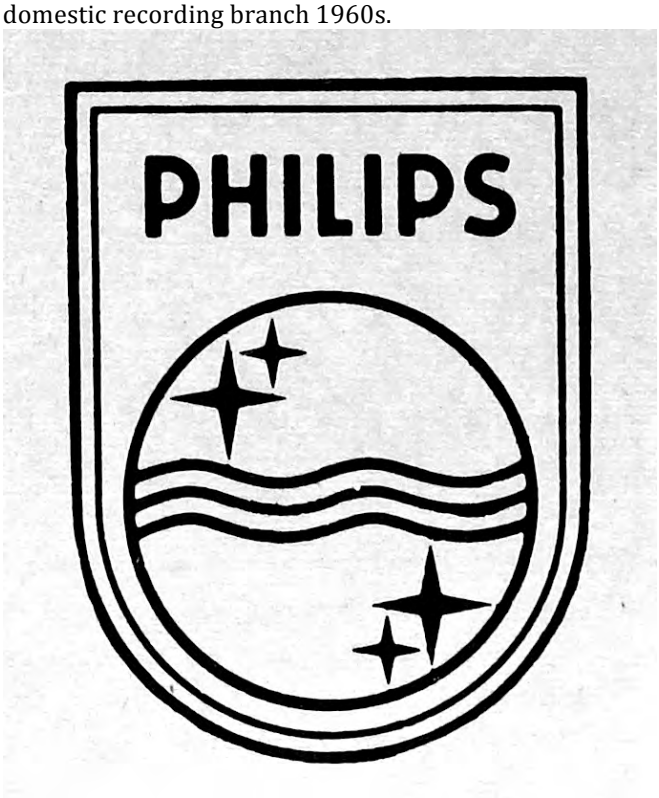
Figure 0.9 - Logo for Discos Victoria (set up 1964 in Medellín, but since 1950s in Cali).

Source: *Catálogo general de discos L.P. Industrias Fonográficas Victoria Ltda. - IFV* (circa 1983-84).

Figure 0.10 - Logo for Fonotón (started circa 1960 in Bogotá).

Source: n.a.

Figure 0.11 - Logo for Philips de Colombia S.A. (started 1956 with sound hardware assembly in Bogotá, and as domestic recording branch 1960s.



Source: *Philips Colombiana S.A. - Catálogo Clásico y Popular 1969.*

Figure 0.12 - Logo for Discos CBS S.A. - Colombia (recording branch set up 1965 in Bogotá).

Source: *CATÁLOGO GENERAL DISCOS CBS Sociedad Anónima - NUMÉRICO Y ALFABÉTICO - MONAURAL Y ESTEREO, Mayo - Junio, 1965.*

Part One - The Research Plan, Theory and Methodology

Ponle el tornillo a la máquina.
Edmundo Arias - "El Mécanico"

Chapter 1. Unpacking the idea of a "Golden Age" of recording industries in Colombia, and a social history research plan for exploring the production sphere of a complex object of study

The use of quotation marks for the term *Golden Age* in the title of this thesis and in this chapter, signals that it deals with a period that is considered as such by other people, and this is in fact a matter considered in detail in the first section of this chapter. During the turn of the 21th century, the idea that a Golden Age in Colombian recording industry took place during the three decades after WWII emerged in the public sphere, understood in a variety of ways through the work of different sorts of writers. These included record company people that had been active during the time, journalists, academics, and also A&R people with small independent record labels in Europe and UK engaged in issuing catalogue material from Colombian record companies of the 1950s to 1970s era. Many of them shared a fascination with Colombian tropical dance music from the Atlantic Coast, therefore some well spread conceptions of the so-called Golden Age are related to it. Nevertheless, as other scholars have explored and as this research shows, the period is characterized by the production and popularity of a complex variety of music styles and genres, from different regions of Colombia as much as from different countries in Latin America and the Caribbean.

This chapter will dedicate the first section to present the main writers and commentators that have produced discourses of different sorts about such Golden Age. Secondly, it explains how the period studied takes place during an era deemed as a Golden Age by social historians due to the global economic growth of the post WWII era, as a phase of boom of international recording and sound technology industries according to popular music scholars, and as a Golden Age of manufacturing industry at large in Colombia characterized by the rise of mass media and urban culture in the country, according to economic and social historians well versed in the country.

Subsequently, the four sections that follow constitute a theory framework that guides the analysis and understanding of this thesis which concentrates on the production sphere of recording and sound technology companies. It will give some key background elements for the period of study delimitated between the years 1949 and 1963, and will provide the economic *rationale* of this time in the past, understood as the major force field in which the different players related to production operated. The fourth section of the chapter presents research aims, objectives and main questions, and the fifth expands on the idea of a social history that concentrates on changes in the modes of production, the overall structure of industrial and commercial sector that concerns us here, and on understanding the tensions between different kinds of players. Finally, while this account concentrates in the aspect of production, the last section of this chapter intends to make it clear that when one approaches recording and sound technology industries as an object of study, one is dealing with a complex and multifaceted entity and phenomenon.

1. Discourses about a "Golden Age" of recording industries in Colombia: journalism, industry marketing, and musicology

Roughly, the three decades from the 1950s to the 1970s, after the first record companies were established in Medellín in 1949, are conceived by different kinds of commentators as a "Golden Age", following different, yet related, criteria. Recording industry insider of the period Hernán Restrepo Duque, situated a “Golden Age” of both recording industry and of "Colombian popular music” between 1954 and 1970 and considered it "the most beautiful era of records" (Cano, 1986).[1] In the first place he associated it to: a governmental prohibition of record and phonographic matrixes imports, good business for domestic companies operating in the absence of foreign companies in land, the leadership of Medellín in the record business, and the prominence of Colombian artists and their common practice of covering international hits which helped pave their popularity. Restrepo Duque also depicts the period as one of continued popularity of the 78 rpm format along with new ones (45 rpm 7" and 12' 33 rpm LP), during which domestic recording industry growth encompassed licensing agreements with foreign labels.[2] As he suggests, the end of such Golden Age, is related to the establishment of recording industry branches of CBS and Philips in Bogotá since mid 1960s, and to the media leadership the capital of the country gained with the development of television (Ibid).

Few years later, Wade (2000), claimed that 1950s and "much of the 1960s were the Golden era of Costeño music", when this tropical music from the Colombian Atlantic Coast "competed on equal terms with international Latin styles—mambo, guaracha, bolero, tango, rancheras", and acquired a new status as *Colombian* music (Ibid, p144). As he points out, those years "saw the takeoff of national recording industry”, and the capital of the Antioquia region, which was "previously associated with tango and ranchera, became the capital of Costeño music" as well as a "powerful industrial and commercial center" (Ibid, p144). This genre specific argument is complemented by aficionado researchers Alfonso de la Espriella Ossío (1997, p26), which situates a golden period of bolero music in Colombia from 1940 to 1960, and by Rico Salazar (2009, p29) which points out the 1940s as perhaps the most important decade of the genre in the Latin American larger context.

Later works on the history of popular music in Colombia by musicologists Egberto Bermúdez situate Medellín's recording industry within a buoyant manufacturing industrial sector, and underlines how by the 1950s the city had established as "the indisputable centre of the nascent phonographic industry in Colombia" (Bermúdez, 2006, p87).[3] For him this was explained by the existence in the city of the proper infrastructure in terms of mass media, including magazines and newspapers covering music journalism,

[1] Web source not paginated.
[2] According to Restrepo Duque, from 80 to 1000 thousand records were sold from each release (Cano, 1988, not paginated).
[3] My translation.

and the burgeoning development of radio networks which gave the city a leading position with regional and national coverage. Also, the continuous presence of international artists in Medellín, and the establishment in the city of main foreign stars as Julio Jaramillo and Olimpo Cárdenas, along with the establishment of Discos Fuentes' main headquarters in Medellín in 1954 (which had been formed almost two decades earlier in Cartagena), "completed the consolidation of the process" (Ibid, p90). For Bermúdez (2006, p88), the fact that Medellín's phonographic industry was responsible for 80% of national record production was certainly symptomatic, even though the source he gives for this data is imprecisely referenced.[4] Additionally, in a following work, the author points out how manufacturing industry in Medellín was involved with music since the 1930s, through advertisement and sponsored radio shows, as well as with talent contests, and fostering music groups and orchestras formed by factory workers, which he considers an important precedent to the role the city would play later with its recording companies (Bermúdez, 2008, pp240-242).

On his part, Colombian musicologist Rendón Marín (2009), contrasts with the previous argument, as for him the period from 1940 to 1980 is one in which in spite of the flourishing of commercial radio and recording industry, the 19th century tradition of Liras or Estudiantinas string ensembles diminished to a point of concern, and this was in his view a negative effect of recording industry's focus on what he perceived as commercial low brow music, and also resulting from the lack of institutional support (Ibid, p91-105).[5]

London based re-edit labels as Soundway Records, as well as other similar small record labels, have contributed to the circulation of an idea of a Golden Age, through various artists releases as *Colombia!: The Golden Years of Discos Fuentes*, *The Powerhouse of Colombian Music 1960-76* (Soundway, 2007), which concentrates on music from the Atlantic Coast.[6] Some years later, a series of recent TV documentaries have also nourished an idea of a Golden Age of recording industry in Medellín during the years mentioned earlier, through testimonies of musicians and record company people, which by looking back at the past express a conception of similar kind.[7] While Colombian documentaries as

[4] He quotes Restrepo Duque (1971, p244), but the figure can't be found in that source.
[5] Rendón Marín (2009) differentiates three broad phases. An early phase from the late 19th century to the 1920s in which recording artists travelled abroad to record. A second phase from the 1930s and 1940s, which is marked by the modernizing forces of domestic commercial radio at the service of manufacturing industry, with high content of recorded and live music, in parallel with the proliferation of American and Mexican cinema, as well as the reception of radio broadcasting from Cuba and Mexico, and the massive diffusion of "vitrolas" and records (Ibid, p68-70), and the operation of luxury retail shops for Victor Talking Machine in Medellín and Bogotá (Ibid, p 83-84). And a third phase, from late 1940s to 1970s, the author describes as marked by the conformation of national radio-networks Caracol and RCN, and by record import restrictions that benefit the development of a domestic recording industry sector based in Medellín (Ibid, p88, and p91-2), and also by cultural policy during the Rojas Pinilla period, which regulated proportions of "Colombian music" and "foreign music" in radio from 1953-57 (Ibid, p81).
[6] See London's Soundway Records for more material of the likes, as well as Vampisoul Records from Spain for reedits of 1960s Peruvian cumbia.
[7] Even though it is not referred directly as "era dorada" in the documentary "Cañonazo Tropical", Caracol Televisión, S.A. (Laberinto Cine y Televisión para Caracol Televisión [45:38].

"Cañonazo Tropical" broadcasted nationally by Caracol Television explore the era deemed by commentators above as a Golden Age, the arguments by participants of those times are less about deep reflection of the past and very much about a rejection of a present in which long-standing music styles are being displaced by the ubiquity of contemporary reggeatón music, a genre which most of the interviewees related to Discos Fuentes despise.[8]

In other words, the construction of an idea of a Golden Age by people that participated with Discos Fuentes during the 1960s and 1970s, appears to derive from anxieties about the present and nostalgia about their days of youth. Musician Chelito de Castro, considers that in the past "composers had magic, they had art", or as he puts it "they had spark", in contrast to a present in which, in his view, any one can be a composer ("Cañonazo Tropical", 22'':10'). According to vallenato star Alfredo Gutiérrez, "in the whole world good artists and music were born in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s", while since "the 1980s onwards disposable music came out" (Ibid, 28'':50'). He also celebrates analogue records of the time, because as he argues, through them "instruments sound as they [actually] sound, now everything sounds thin: digital is bad for tropical music" (Ibid, 29'':55'). To which he adds: "music is becoming more noisy, less romantic, less poetry... do you think that today's reggeatón will be listened to in 30 or 40 years?" (Ibid, 40'':55'). Composer and Discos Fuentes A&R executive Angel Villanueva, is also pessimistic about the present, and looks at the past in terms of the good things that have vanished: "something has been lost in music and that is: warmth and human touch" [calor, calor humano] (Ibid, 29'':05'). To which Mario Rincón, celebrated sound engineer of the Golden Age of costeño music, adds that what has been lost is "sabor!" (Ibid, 29'':06').[9]

Another commentator, music journalist Hernán Dario Usquiano, annotates this is an era related to technological and socio-cultural factors: on the one hand, the coincidence of new carrier formats as the 45 rpm single and the 33 rpm LP, with a longstanding 78 rpm disc format (Ibid, 30'':51'); on the other, and perhaps more significantly, the encounter of musical talent from the Atlantic Coast and from the city of Medellín and the Antioquia region (Ibid, 4'':57').[10] It can be argued then that all these complaints about music, musicianship and sound technology in the present, articulate an argument about loss of authenticity in those respects, at the same time that locate such authenticity in the past.[11]
In most of these discourses, one can sense the echoes of the Greek poet Hesiod, who around 700 BC offered a mythological model of human history, occurring through five

[8] See: "Cañonazo Tropical [Short Version]." Cañonazo Tropical. Caracol Television, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iWgc9zTV4_M. [Accessed 2016-12-29]
[9] The term translates 'flavor' and denotes musical groove.
[10] Atlantic Coast as: Lisandro Meza, Eliseo Herrera, Calixto Ochoa, Joe Arroyo, Gabriel Romero, Alfredo Gutierrez; and Andean area: Fruko, John Mario Londoño, Gustavo Quintero.
[11] For similar arguments by journalists that touch on different moments between the 1940s and 1980s with the same nostalgia-regressive understanding see: Arias García, Andrés. "Lucho, El Documental." Señal Colombia, 2013. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uEWGnFjnjXs. [Accessed 2017-12-03]; Beltrán Jaramillo, Juan Esteban, and Henry R. Barrera Galindo. "Afrosound: Cuando El Chucu Chucu Se Vistió de Frac." Laboratorio de Televisión ITM, 2013. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TrLCEN4XHho. [Accessed 2017-12-03]

successive periods: a founding Golden Age, followed by a Silver Age, a Bronze Age, a Heroic Age, until his own present or Iron Age. His model could be read as a pessimistic teleology, charged with the nostalgia for a founding age, in which all was great, and after which every successive period in history amounts to an overall process of decay, particularly marked by warfare.[12] That is to say, one of the problems in the common use of terms of the likes of "Golden Age" or "Golden Years" is that they might derive from subjective perceptions of the past, by people prone to uncritically think in terms of: all was great then, all is rubbish now. Such discourses tend to be guided by nostalgia for the days of youth (or even for a time people did not experience themselves), and by the anxieties of living in a fast changing present, and are certainly common in every day discussions about music.

There are two good arguments on the matter from cinema and literature, worth citing here. One is elaborated by Woody Allen's film "Midnight in Paris" (2011), which interprets what one of the characters calls "Golden Age thinking" as a pattern of denial of the present, in which a particular period in time is romanticized and fetishized on the basis of particular events, people, or cultural, social and technological achievements, which are considered of remarkable historical value.[13] In this sense, "Golden Age Thinking" is portrayed as a mythological construction of history, organized around a set of factual events of the past, which—in the worst case scenario—could be read as failure to embrace an intolerable present, by confronting in any possible way its challenges and adversities.[14] Moving further in this line of reasoning, in the starting lines of "El Túnel" (1948), Argentine novelist Ernesto Sábato radically inverted the Hesiodesque adagio *all past times were better* ["Todo tiempo pasado fue mejor"] through the thoughts of the main character. In Sábato's interpretation, precisely the opposite is true: all past times were worse. For him, the common conception that the past was certainly better is the result of a process of selective memory, which avoids traumatic events of the past, and overemphasizes others of particular preference (which is resonant with Rendón Marin's

[12] Hesíodo (1964), *Los Trabajos y los Días* [Works and Days], traducción de Antonio Gonzalez Laso, p45-47. During Hesiod's *Golden Age*, the gods of the Olympus created "the first race of men", which were made from gold and lived in an utopic world of happiness and tranquillity, without pain nor affliction, nor any somatic decay from aging, and more generally, a world of abundance and richness: "la fecunda tierra por sí sola, producía rica y copiosa cosecha" [fertile land by itself, produced rich and copious crops].

[13] Midnight in Paris (2011). Directed by Woody Allen. Available from http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1605783/ [Accessed 29 January 2019].

[14] Upon visiting Paris, the main character Gil Pender a troubled writer from the US, passionate about the city's cultural Golden Age of the 1920s, is suddenly transported back in time. In what appears to be a dream or a hallucination, he joins the group of friends of Jean Cocteau, Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, Gertrude Stein. He has deep discussions with Salvador Dalí, Man Ray, and Luis Buñuel, and befriends Pablo Picasso and Adriana, a young and troubled writer, bored with her own present and passionate about *La Belle Époque* of late 19th century. As the fictitious narrative continues, Gil and Adriana escape their friend in search of another party, and magically travel back in time to that era, and meet the likes of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Paul Gauguin, and Edgar Degas. Once more, their conversation reveals a sense of boredom with the present, and a longing for a better past, that of the *Renaissance* era between the 14th and 17th centuries. The film's plot is finally resolved, when Gil interiorises the problems involved in "Golden Age thinking", says goodbye to all his fantasy friends, and returns to the present, where (or when) he finally confronts his anxieties and the conflicts that distress him.

(2009) pessimistic view of the effects of recording industry during mid20th century Colombia).[15]

From an academic perspective, it is important therefore to be wary of the problems of the use of the term Golden Age and its ideological dimension. At the same time it is pertinent to state that this research is certainly not guided by any form of nostalgia for an idealised past, nor by a feeling for the *good old days* of *real* and authentic music of any particular kind. Nevertheless, as some examples in the next section show, the term Golden Age is of course also widely used by constructivist historians, that have crafted period models as a device for explaining social and cultural change among human groups, and as a common trope to refer to a conspicuous period of blossoming of different aspects. These can be considered objective denominations of a time in the past using the *gold* metaphor, as are the different arguments in the work of different historians and popular music academics presented in the next section, and that provide important historiography context to the specific period of study.[16]

2. The historical context of the so-called "Golden Age"

The above mid 20th century ideas about a Golden Age of music industry in Colombia significantly coincide with conceptions of a golden era in broader terms, including: world economy, industrialization in Latin America and Colombia, and media and cultural industries, associated to the same three decades between the 1950s and 1970s: a boom in global economy and the industrial revolution in Latin America; an advanced moment in Colombian industrialization also considered its "Golden Age"; an emergence and consolidation phase in Colombian mass media and cultural industries; and a prosperous moment for international recording industry.

A few years after finishing his renown *Age of Extreme*s work on the 20th century, Hobsbawm (2005 [1993]), reflected that in the long run the history of the century since the First World War, "looked more like a triptych, or a sandwich: a comparatively brief Golden Age separating two periods of major crisis" (Ibid, p313). After the WWI and the later decades which he describes as an "age of catastrophe,"[17] the global climate change radically to what he called "the Golden Age of the world economy's Great Leap Forward", in which liberal society not only reformed but gained further strength and flourished "as never before" (Ibid). As the social historian remarks, this period, which goes roughly from

[15] Sábato, E. (2008). *El túnel*. The main character, painter Juan Pablo Castel, a confessed murderer, meditates on his relation with the past. In his reasoning, when people believe that "todo tiempo pasado fue mejor" [all past times were better], it is not the case that "fewer bad things happened before, but that—happily—people throw them into oblivion". His traumatic experience and knowledge about the past of humanity renders him a pessimistic poet: "todo tiempo pasado fue peor" [All past times were worse]... "la memoria es para mí como la temerosa luz que alumbra un sórdido museo de la vergüenza." [memory is to me like the fearful light that shines on a sordid museum of shame] (Sábato, 2008, p5).

[16] The implications of such tropes in historiography and the use of periods to explore change in the past are discussed in Chapter 3.

[17] "[I]n which every aspect of nineteenth-century liberal capitalist society collapsed. ...world wars... social revolutions... collapse of the old empires... world economy close to breakdown." (Hobsbawm, 2005, p312).

late 1940s to early 1970s, "seemed to me—and still seems to me—to be the feature of the twentieth-century landscape which observers will see as central in the third millennium" (Ibid, p312). Hosbsbawm's Golden Age of world economy encompasses post WWII expansion of domestic manufacturing industry, both in Latin America and Colombia. It frames what Guardiola-Rivera (2010) calls the "Industrial Revolution in the Third World."[18] As well as what Safford and Palacios (2002, p342) describe as a "partial capitalist modernization" whose features of industrial development, intense urbanization, and rural-to-city migrations transformed Colombia into a "nation of cities".

In the light of Colombian economic history of the 20th century, the era during which recording industry is said to have experienced a Golden Age, is an advanced stage in a long-term process of industrialization in the country. Kalmanovitz (1994, pp205-207), traces the roots of Colombian industrialization to the late 19th century, and notes how decades later, decreases in international commerce and availability of imported goods of the 1930s depression and later the Second World War, generated "forced" import substitutions that boosted manufacturing structural significance in economy. This was already evident by 1945 when industrial sector represented 16,5% of GDP, and when with support from the State it continued the fast growth tendency of previous decades until 1974. As the author later put it:

> [b]y mid 1970s industry was [still] living its "Golden Era": it represented 25% of GDP, finishing a structural change in economy … [Even so] tough times were soon to come (Kalmanovitz, 2010, p208). [My translation]

Poveda Ramos (2005, pp655-656) provides quantitative evidence of a pattern of continuous growth from early 1950s to late 1970s, with a later crisis, using figures of manufacturing industry workforce, gross production value and energy consumption.[19] The reasons explaining this crisis, of course a matter of debate, are nevertheless associated to a shift towards neoliberal policies, loosening of protectionist measures, a substantial increase in imported goods (legal and illegal) towards the end of the decade, and to effects of the global crisis related to oil prices (Poveda Ramos, 2005; Ocampo, 1996; Kalmanovitz, 1994). Arias Trujillo (2011), remarks how economy becomes more complex from mid20th century with the enlargement of areas as manufacturing industry, transport, public services, communications and finance, which add up to an economy

[18] "The era following the Great Depression and World War II, which lasted from the 1950s until the late 1970s in Latin America, can properly be understood as the period of the 'Industrial Revolution in the Third World', during which, as developing countries pursued supposedly wrong policies of state intervention and selectively opened up their economies, per capita income… grew at 3.1 percent a year, faster than the developing country average." (Guardiola-Rivera, 2010, pp301-302).

[19] The number of people employed in manufacturing industry grows continuously from 1953 to 1978: it almost doubles from 263.7 thousand workers in 1953 to 516.6 thousand in 1978, after which it starts decreasing, registering 501 thousand in 1980. Electricity consumed by industry grows almost five times from 1.11 tera-watts-hour in 1960 to 5.05 in 1980. Gross manufacturing industry production increases three fold from 82.3 billion pesos in 1960 to 260.9 in 1980, and then decreases until 1982 to 236.4 billion, recuperating late 1970 levels from 1984. Gross production figures in billions of pesos of 1975 [thousands of millions of pesos]. The number of workers decreases until 1984 with 446.8 thousand in 1984, and its later recuperation doesn't reach late 1970s high figures until mid 1990s. Energy doesn't grow from 1980 to 1981 (remains in 5.05) but continues to do so after that.

traditionally based in agriculture. Ocampo et al. (1996) pose the wider context of industry growth as "the development of Colombian capitalism", which, increasing in speed since the early 20th century, finally consolidated during the four decades after the Second World War. In this process, Colombian economy grows continuously and changes from rural based to urban and semi-industrial, in the midst of high population growth. Between 1945 and 1986 GDP multiplied by seven, on a rate of 4.8% a year, which even if "far from being spectacular," "is no doubt the highest registered in the history of Colombian economy."[20]

Palacios (2006, p236) remarks that during post WWII era "new forms of popular culture" became dominant manifestations of an emergent *urban mass culture* in Colombia, and these included film, recorded music, a national beauty contest, professional soccer and the national bicycle race *La Vuelta a Colombia* since late 1940s and early 1950s, and the *telenovela* format developed by commercial television since the 1960s.[21] Furthermore, using a periodization of 20th century media history in Colombia sketched by Acosta (2003, pp250-252) as a guideline, it can be argued that domestic recording industry's so-called Golden Age happens in the passing from a stage of *consolidation* (1930 - 1960) of media and cultural industries, to a later stage of *development* (1960 - 1980): during the first, radio broadcasting was established both by state owned and private enterprises, film exhibition was developed on a national corporate owned level, at the same time that newspapers, which catered to a minor literate elite during the first decades of the century, achieved mass appeal; during the second stage, the afore mentioned media and cultural industries progress further, television broadcasting is developed, and media conglomerates are formed.[22] Interestingly, Acosta's (2003) sketch of a stage of consolidation of media and cultural industries in Colombia, coincides with the so-called *Golden Age of Mexican Cinema* that roughly goes from the 1930s to the 1960s, and during which the country's film industry (in parallel with commercial radio and recording industry) flourished and reached audiences all over Latin America, and certainly in Colombia, where the music they included—ranchera, corridos and bolero mostly—was massively embraced.[23]

Following Frith (2006, pp236-237) the period with which this research is concerned is also contextualized within a cycle of boom and slump of global recording industry led by UK, Europe and US companies, starting after WWII and reaching a decline by late 1970s. In other words, during the period, recording industry on a world level blossomed through the general boom in consumer expansion in Western countries that characterizes the post war era, and whose later recession is contextualized in the world economic crisis referred

[20] Ocampo et al. (1996), Web source not paginated.
[21] "Radio-periódicos" a form of broadcasted newspaper, and "radio-novelas" (a radio and sound based early version of the later *telenovelas*) are also characteristic of the era. See: Velásquez Restrepo (2009).
[22] Within the academic conference on mass media studies from which the cited book originates, the author delineates a useful (but brief and not very detailed) periodization of "communication processes" in 20th century Colombia as an introductory speech to the panel "La emergencia de los medios masivos de comunicación" [The emergence of mass communication media].
[23] McKee Irwin, R. (2012). "Allá en el trapiche (del Rancho Grande): el cine mexicano se impone en Colombia". *Revista de Estudios Colombianos*,(40), pp26–35.

to as the long downturn of the late 1970s. In Krasilovsky et al. (2007), a well known music industry guide written by a respected and long time business insider, a quantitative appraisal of this economic growth in US recording industry is offered:

> For 25 years, beginning in the mid-1950s, sales of sound recordings grew an average of 20% a year. The most dramatic growth came in the 1970s when sales (based on manufacturers' suggested list prices) rose from less than $2 billion [US dollars] at the beginning of the decade to over $4 billion in 1978; that year, however, sales began to fall sharply, reflecting in part the American economy as well as the effect of home taping.[24]

From the perspective of sound technology history, our period of study takes place during an advanced stage of what Millard (2005) describes as the "electrical era" in the history of the phonograph. The later signified a break with a previous late-19th and early-20th century "acoustic era", and is defined indeed by the introduction of electricity in sound recording since late 1920s, in parallel to the development of "talkies" or sound films. As the author notes:

> The electrical era of the 1930s and 1940s was represented by the 78-rpm shellac disc and the vacuum-tube phonograph or radio-phonograph combination. Its technological high point was reached in the 1950s and 1960s with microgroove vinyl discs (the 45-rpm single and the 33-rpm long player) and the record player (based on transistors instead of vacuum tubes). By the 1970s magnetic tape slowly overtook the revolving disc [as the sales of pre-recorded cassettes increased during the decade] (Millard, 2005, p6.).

Furthermore, from the perspective of Laing (2013) and Huygens et al. (2010) who developed more complex analyses of structure and strategy of transnational major companies, the period studied for the Colombian case, sits in between two broad phases. During the first—that goes roughly from 1940 to 1959—the expansion of recorded music business encompasses a proliferation of independent labels around the world, operating within a an international industry mainly dominated by Columbia, RCA Victor, Decca and EMI Laing (Laing, 2013, pp37-43). As Millard (2005, pp158-177) notes, the big companies had been conforming since the 1930s into "empires of sound" with crossed ownership of radio-phonograph production, recording companies and broadcasting stations. Huygens et al. (2010, p269) underline "the arrival of alternative music" as a key aspect of these decades: major label repertoire which had been concentrated on classical music and popular music consisting of jazz and big band, broadened following the expansion of the market of new styles of popular music, on which many new small independent labels grazed. As Sanjek and Sanjek (1996, pp240-241) remark, by 1950 a substantial market growth of "hillbilly" or "Country and Western" paralleled that of "race music" or "rhythm & blues", and from them the rock'n'roll urban teenage phenomena derived. For Laing (2013), a central feature of this first phase is that radio, which had been considered a dangerous competitor during previous decades, became a strategic ally for the record business by the 1950s. It became pivotal for expanding markets and demographics of the record business, along with the emergent character of the Disk Jockey, as was also the case with the coin-operated machine business or juke box market (Ibid, pp37-43).

[24] M. William Krasilovsky et al., *This Business of Music*, 10th ed. (New York: Billboard Books, 2007), p6.

During a subsequent phase—roughly from 1960 to the early 1980s—major recording companies ownership further interlaced with global level corporations with diverse interests and conformed into entertainment media conglomerates, at the same time that a pattern of rise of independents continued, with many being later incorporated into majors (Laing, 2013, pp37-43). RCA Victor, Capitol-EMI and Columbia (renamed as CBS records) continued as dominant record companies by the end of the 1960s, along with conglomerates as Warner Communications (Warner Bros. records, Atlantic and Elektra, along with film, TV and publishing branches), MCA (including Decca records, Universal Pictures, and a publishing business), and PolyGram, formed by Philips through the merger of the Polydor and Deutsche Grammophon labels (Millard, 2005, pp333-5). Dominant companies started changing their international strategy, moving from licensing agreements with domestic players to wholly owned overseas branches, and increasing international sales and competition for share in local markets (Laing, 2013, pp37-43). At the same time they benefited from the extensions of copyright duration established by the Rome convention of 1961, and from the requirement for governments to criminalize piracy from the Geneva convention of 1971 (Ibid). In those conglomerate conditions, this second phase was marked by "competition for labels" as a central strategy feature of major companies (Huygens et al., pp71-72). As the new popular music genre markets of the previous decade continued to grow and diversify along the lines of rock, soul, funk, and the urban revival of folk music, competition increased (Millard, 2005, pp331-336). The Dutch originated technology corporation Philips, played a crucial role by introducing the licence free magnetic tape cassette format in 1963, which became highly popular during the 1980s. By that time, Japanese technology industries as Sony and Matsushita (Panasonic) had become central players in sound technology industries as well (Millard, 2005, p317).

3. Background and *rationale* of the 1949 to 1963 period of study

Colombian musicologist Egberto Bermúdez (2009, pp120-121) compiles valuable archival evidence, and remarks that Edison's phonograph arrived in the country few years after it was first patented in 1877 and started being commercially available in the US and Europe. By 1879, the press celebrated the presence of technological novelties as the microphone, telephone and the phonograph in Bogotá, and during the following decades a phonograph was being exhibited in Bucaramanga in 1892, and also pieces of gramophones arrived in Manizales in 1898. During the same years the local newspaper of Anorí, a small Andean municipality in north-eastern Antioquia, dedicated three different texts to the phonograph in the occasion of it exhibition in 1892, one of ornate prose commenting how Edison had challenged the gods in the Olympus.[25] Another commentator in the town celebrated the civilizing potential of the novel phonograph.[26] They presented it as a portraitist of words, a sublime painter of feelings, the cure to oblivion, and as machine

[25] *Ecos de Anorí – Periódico Semanal, Órgano de la Juventud consagrado al Comercio, Industria, Artes, Literatura y Crónica*, No. 11, 1 December, 1892, pp1-2.
[26] "El fonógrafo" (1892), *Ecos de Anorí*, 1892, pp6-7.

capable of snatching from death the voices of those love ones who had passed away".[27] During the first decade of the new century the first commercial recordings by Colombian singers and musicians were produced with Victor Talking Machine in their New York or México headquarters, composed mostly of classical pieces, Hispanic or Andean repertoire as pasillo and bambuco (Bermúdez, 2009, p104), as happened a decade later when a few recordings made circa 1914, through the "activities of representatives of recording companies" in Bogotá, that included "contests" to select potential singers to record (Bermúdez , 2008, p225).

During a later moment, the earliest catalogued recordings of "música costeña" were produced in US around 1927-28 (Bermúdez, 2009, p232), at the same time that a strong sector of commercial radio started unfolding in Colombia from the 1930s and 1940s (Téllez, 1974). Within it, important cases were La Voz de la Victor in Bogotá which worked in association with hardware importer and retailer J.Glottman to produce recordings using the station's studios and dictating machines, and that of Emisora Fuentes in Cartagena, which later became Discos Fuentes (on which I expand on Chapter 6). In contrast to the potential and menacing competition presented in the US/UK by the rise of commercial radio in the 1930s (Huygens et al., 2001, 2010), as I will explore later, the relations between commercial radio and record business entrepreneurs in Colombia during the 1930s and 40s was of alliance and service providing.[28] This is a period though, that deserves dedicated study in search of understanding not only the implementation of technologies in the country, but the discursive, ideological, social, political, and other spheres of the relations of media and humans, and between humans through media.

A third fundamental period in the developing of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia, roughly spanning from late 1940s to mid 1970s, is the broader frame within which my concerns are located. As reviewed above, it is commonly conceived as a "Golden Age" of music industry in Colombia and internationally, and also of industrialization in Latin America in general and of Colombian manufacturing industry in particular, in which culture associated to notions of *popular*, *mass*, and *urban* conspicuously blossoms. For my case, its starting point is the establishment of several record companies in the last years of the 1940s and the early 1950s, both in the Atlantic Coast region, knowingly the cities of Cartagena and Barranquilla, and in different cities of the Andean inner land region of Colombia as Bogotá and Medellín. I will specifically focus on roughly the first two decades of this period: from 1949 when the first companies are established in Medellín, to 1963 when after more than a decade of operation and fierce competition, the main companies in the sector consolidate an alliance and conform ASINCOL to represent their common interests as the Colombian association of phonographic producers.[29] With this time frame I am making sure to capture the key

[27] Ibid, p1-2.

[28] After locally producing master recordings in radio stations using their equipment, these were exported for the production of stampers and copies abroad, and afterwards these recordings made in Colombia came back as imported sound *carriers* to the country.

[29] "Asincol: estatutos y solicitud de decomiso de fonográmas ilícitos a la Alcaldía" (1981). In: Archivo Histórico de Medellín, Fondo: ALCALDIA - Sección: DESPACHO DEL ALCALDE - Serie: COMUNICACIONES -

years in which the process of establishment of new record companies and a broader industry unfolds, and when some of the most important and long lasting Colombian companies as Discos Fuentes, Sonolux, and Codiscos consolidated as a strong sector. The years from late 1940s to the early 1960s are of special significance because during this time the emergence of an "industria fonográfica nacional" [national phonographic industry] or of new "fábricas de discos" [record factories] was a recurrent topic in the media and generated plenty of debates on different related matters. As I will make evident in later chapters, these years involved plenty of dynamics on different levels, as leading companies competed with each other and smaller players, struggled for having the whole range of processes involved in the production of records in-house, and captured the attention of the public sphere both in their cultural, technological and industrial aspects.

Following Hobsbawm (2005, p312), the period within which the decade of focus is framed is conceived by economic historians in terms of "the Kondratiev long waves", or "long swings of twenty to thirty years of economic boom followed by a much more problematic period of about the same length".[30] If read in the key of a Braudelian conceptualization of "social time", my account explores the history of a *conjuncture*, a notion also related to economic cycles of boom-decay-and-boom, involving "gradual change... such as economic or demographic changes" (Cheng, 2012, p114). As the French Annales School iconic historian put it back in his time:

> A new mode of historical narrative is emerging which we may call the 'narrative' of the 'conjuncture', the cycle or even the 'intercycle'; it offers us a choice of periods—decade, quarter century and, at the outside, the half-century of Kondratieff's classic cycle (Braudel, 1958, in: Bud, 2009, p254).[31]

With the above, I intend to stress that the 1949 to 1963 period during which domestic recording industry in Colombia consolidated with Medellín playing a leading role, is not one of economic and social stability, and is in fact marked by important changes to which the industry is forced to accommodate. Between the years 1949 to 1956, a mid 20th century bonanza in the coffee export business (fundamental for the country's overall economy) reached a peak followed by a later bust, as international prices which had reached historical peak prices in 1954 experience a very dramatic drop during the next

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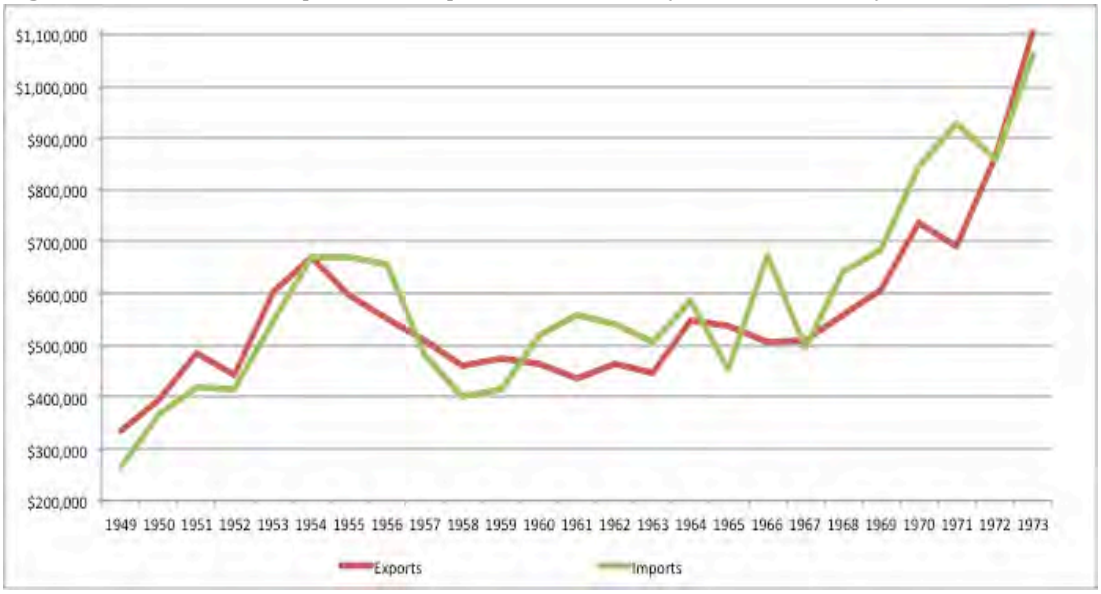
Lugar: MEDELLIN, Caja C57, Folios 39-57. This contains a copy of a document from the Legal Department [Dirección Jurídica] of Gobernación de AntioquiaL signed in Medellín, July 5, 1979, which certifies that legal creation of the phonographic association ASINCOL, with Orlando Parra as legal representative and President. In Spanish: "a la denominada 'Asociación de Productores e Industriales Fonográficos de Colombia' (ASINCOL), con domicilio en esta ciudad [Medellín], le fué conferida su Personería Jurídica mediante Resolución No. 102 de Septiembre 2 de 1963, emanada de esta Gobernación y publicada en la Gaceta Departamental."

[30] "Economic historians are quite familiar with these. They can be traced back at least to the to the eighteenth century, they are best known as the Kondratiev long waves, and are so far quite inexplicable." (Hobsbawm, 2005, p312).

[31] It is worth noting that Braudel despised such approach, which stood against his *longue dureé* approach, a long run history, of a temporality of centuries and millennia: "Beyond cycles and intercycles there is something the economists call the long-term trend—although they do not always study it" (Braudel, 1958, in: Bud, 2009, p254).

four years (Kalmanovitz, 1985, p408) [See Figure 1.1]. At the same time, the persistent lobbying of domestic industrial sector striving for protective measures materialized in the customs-duty reform of 1950, which in general set high tariffs for finished goods but low tariffs for raw materials and equipment not produced in the country (Kalmanovitz, 1985, p383).[32] These protective measures importantly catalysed industrial development during the 1950s as industrialization historian Poveda Ramos (1984, p47) remarks, nevertheless as I will explain in Chapter 5, they were not without contradictions during these years, a feature which in fact boosted debates about a nascent domestic phonographic industry. This account explores then an "intercycle" in terms of Braudel, but one in which deep changes in the economy were taking place, as the coffee business which had been the backbone of the country's participation in a global economy drastically collapsed during mid1950s, while the already established domestic manufacturing industry found opportunities for growth and more profitable operation. A critical breaking point comes with the successful 1957 coup d'état against the dictatorship of General Rojas Pinilla, as the crisis effects of the decreasing price of coffee were intensely felt as Colombia entered a long phase of economic recession (Kalmanovitz, 1985, pp408-411). The 1960s represent a phase of "great restrictions, during which imports are meticulously controlled and reduced as successive governments struggled to manage foreign currency scarcity and disarray in the balance of payments (Villar and Esguerra, 2007, p103).[33]

Figure 1.1 - Colombian exports and imports 1949 – 1973 (Thousands of US$).



Source: Poveda Ramos, 2005, pp382-286.

To recap: this research deals with what can be considered a fundamental progression in the development of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia, which follows pioneer ventures in domestic recording by merchants of imported sound

[32] Import prohibitions are used to some extent as well, but they are reduced during the first years of Rojas Pinilla's dictatorship and then increased after the coffee bonanza.

[33] This implied exchange control, quantitative restriction to imports (including high tariffs and both lists of prohibited and licence conditioned goods), as well as unusual element for reducing foreign currency demand as a barter system [sistema de trueque] established with specific countries (Ibid).

technology and records generally using technology in radio stations during the 1930s and 1940s. It involves main urban centres of the Atlantic coast of Colombia—Cartagena and Barranquilla—and importantly those in the Andean central region—Medellín and Bogotá—in which the consolidation of domestic recording companies during 1950s took place, within a major transformations of the geographic logic of industrialization and economic development of the country. This implies that by the mid 20th century, mayor capital investment in industry had moved away from the coast and concentrated in the Andean region. This is to say: the process of emergence and consolidation of recording industris in Colombia took place through a significant regional shift in industry development, which of course went hand in hand with a demographic, social and cultural reorganization of the country, which meant to a great extent the migration of people from different rural regions of different cultures and social structures, into the major places where industry was being developed.[34] Additionally, while the restriction of imports is a policy that benefitted recording industry for several decades after the 1950s, during the years from 1949 to 1963, it was still a matter of debate, uncertainty and struggle, as the variations State policy derived from changes in international commerce. [See Figure 1.1]

4. A social history analysis: changes in mode of production, the structure of music and sound industrialization in Colombia, and the *tensions* involved

Heinrich Landis, a man of record company experience who by the end of the 1950s was acting as president of the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry, gave some reflection to the long history of the industry and the dynamics that had characterized it, in the midst of a decade of economic boom. From his reflection one can extract the argument that "conflicting interests" are a central characteristic of the trade's past, present and future. As he put it back then:

> In the past certain conflicting interests have arisen in the phonographic industry not only with musicians but also with authors, composers, publishers and the associations representing them, as well as with many users of gramophone records, for instance broadcasting institutions and film companies, and these conflicts will be unavoidable in the future.[35]

From a person of his position, one would expect further claims about the role of the federation in such situations, which he elevates to an institutional policy level, that is: "to find a satisfactory solution for all participants in such cases". Nevertheless, as he continues, it becomes clear that the deeper concerns of the institution relate to the fact that most "users of gramophone records", in different parts of the world, were getting away without any form of economic compensation to producers, authors and their representatives.[36] After recently achieving compensation from radio and TV in the main

[34] For this broad geographic process see Safford & Palacios (2002, pp297–344).
[35] IFPI (1959), *The industry of human happiness.* London: International Federation of the Phonographic Industry, p8.
[36] Ibid.

Western countries, he called for further cooperation of members on further advancing "negotiations" and "co-operation" in other parts of the world.[37]

Interestingly, and significantly for the orientation of this research, Barfe (2004) offers a resonant argument in a study of the history of the record industry since late 19th century, based on archive material and documentation. He gives insight on the doings and relations between UK, Europe and US companies, and underlines two main long term characteristics of high relevance here. One the one hand, the great power of "a few companies" since an early stage (Ibid, pxiii). On the other, a historical process marked by "tensions between the businessmen who backed the schemes, the scientists who developed the various advances in recording and playback technology and the artists who created the music" (Ibid, p xix), as well as tensions between several other interrelated players.[38]

In the light of the above arguments, the analytical core of this research is guided by the hypothesis that tensions, conflicts of interest, and their negotiations lie at the centre of the social relations encompassed by complex entities as recording and sound technology industries. These involve the interplay between a broad constellation of players of different kinds, with different positions within the interrelated spheres of production, circulation, and consumption of sound recordings and sound hardware. This particular research is centred on the realm of production, and deploys an interpretation of the notion of *tensions* informed by the cited analyses of recording industry history, and also by the ideas sketched by Eric Hobsbawn (2005a [1972]) as characteristic of a "widely accepted working plan of social historians" (p108).

The firsts steps in Hobsbawm's working model for writing social history are headed towards an account of the "shape of the social structure", a task in which social historians, guided by their particular academic interest, commonly select a "particular relation or relational complex" as their specific focus (Ibid). The present research, follows the social history terms of Hobsbawm as it engages in the task of producing an account of the *shape* of the *relational complex of* recording and sound and technology industries in Colombian society during the 1950s:

> One starts with the material and historical environment, goes on to the forces and techniques of production (demography coming somewhere in between), the structure of the consequent economy—division of labour, exchange, accumulation, distribution of the

[37] "The fact that to-day radio and television generally pay proportional compensation for the use of records has not been achieved haphazardly but through laborious negotiations over a period of years on a national as well as an international level. Large groups of users of gramophone records however still think to-day that they may use the works of the phonographic industry without compensation. In very many countries legislation has not kept pace with technological development. For this as well as for many other reasons co-operation in the phonographic industry has become an absolute necessity!" (Heinrich Landis, in IFPI, 1959, p9).

[38] In Barfe's account, they include phonographic companies, musicians, authors, composers, publishers and their associations, as well as broadcasters and film industry (see Barfe, 2004, p xix). As the final section of this chapter explores, the term "recording and sound technology industries" denotes a complex web of players of different kinds.

> surplus and so forth—and the social relations arising from these. These might be followed by the institutions and the image of society and its functioning which underlie them (Ibid).

Afterwards, when the shape of the structure has been sketched, "it must be seen in its historical movement". In this second step, the social history analysis task involves spotting "forms and patterns of historical change" (Ibid, p108), and most importantly, the "*tensions* to which the society is exposed in the process of historical change and transformation" which produce pressure on social "structures [that] simultaneously tend to lose and re-establish their equilibria" (Ibid, p109).[39] As is the case in this thesis, "the tendency is to treat economic movements (in the broadest sense) as the backbone of such an analysis" (Ibid, p108). This brings forward a political economy line of questioning "*cui bono*? who benefits, who complains about the fact and how can we learn from them?" (Miller, 2006, p xxiii), which can be read as another way of analysing the tensions within the particular relational complex here.

For the sake of clarity, our guiding notion of tensions can also be read in the terms of economist and social policy authority Denis Bouget (2008). As he puts it, "the notion of tension is wider than that of conflict", as it involves "both elements of potential or overt conflicts, with actions of cooperation and peaceful objectives", and its core there is "force and movement" (Ibid, pp7-8). For the case of this research, tensions denote the dialectics in the dynamics of competition, of opposed economic interests, and those of the relations between players with different roles within the *music industry* in its broader sense. Further following Bouget, one should be aware that tensions imply the possibilities of either conflict or resolution, as they can operate in a latent or a manifest state: while latent or underlying tensions are related to broader forms of power associated to class, age, gender, race or ethnicity; manifest tensions take the shape of friction or conflict between differentiable groups in society, involves explicit violence of different sorts—from heated argument, to quarrels and all the way to wars and collective confrontation (Ibid).

The scope of this thesis is delimitated to the production sphere of recording and sound technology industries during mid 20th century in Colombia, therefore it does not deal with other aspects of the second step proposed in Hobsbawn's social history working plan, such as working "outwards and upwards from the process of social production in its specific setting" (Hobsbawn, 2005a [1972], p108). His overall plan suggests to move the analysis from the structure of production, to the dynamics between different players on the spheres of circulation and consumption of recorded music, and to the tensions related

[39] "The *tensions* to which the society is exposed in the process of historical change and transformation then allow the historian to expose, first, the general mechanism by which the structures of society simultaneously tend to lose and re-establish their equilibria and second, the phenomena which are traditionally the subject of interest to social historians—for example, collective consciousness, social movements and the social dimension of intellectual and cultural changes" (Hobsbawm, p109). [Italics mine] Since this research is focused on the sphere of production, expanding on phenomena as "collective consciousness, social movements and the social dimension of intellectual and cultural changes" (Ibid), falls beyond this work's scope.

to phenomena as "collective consciousness, social movements and the social dimension of intellectual and cultural changes" (Ibid, p109). Nevertheless, such concerns fall beyond this work's scope, knowingly because they have been the subject of most academic works related to Colombia recording and sound technology, which have had limited interest in studying production [See Chapter 2].

While my approach to writing a *social history* of Colombian sound and recording industries is defined in the terms presented above, it is important to acknowledge that the tag has different sorts of connotations for the historical discipline which deserve a fair review and acknowledgment [See Chapter 3]. Here, it is worth pointing out that, firstly, it relates to principles advocated by the Social History Society through its journal *Cultural and Social History*, which welcomes "links across the neighbouring sub-disciplines of history (economic, social, cultural and political) and between history and closely related disciplines" and aims to push the practice "beyond the limits of both cultural and social history as traditionally approached by emphasizing the ways in which the social and the cultural are mutually informing and constitutive." An secondly, that a contemporary cultural and social historian, in harmony with the journal's orientation, would confide that an "appreciation of the constellation of cultural forces that confer meaning on the lives of historical actors", is as important as understanding culture "not as an entity distinct from society, but as a product of social practice, and therefore at the heart of society itself."[40] This perspective echoes Hobsbawm's warning from the early 1970s, that "[t]he intellectual historian may (at his risk) pay no attention to economics, the economic historian to Shakespeare, but the social historian that neglects either will not get far" (Hobsbawm, 2005a [1972], p100).

This thesis is certainly developed in a way that brings together knowledge from "neighbouring disciplines": from popular music studies, to different kinds of historiography. Yet it is one that concentrates on the sphere of production. It is not concerned with exploring and analysing matters of meaning and others on a super structural level. While Chapter 4 is devoted to giving the reader a broad picture about music repertoires and main channels for recorded music circulation during the era studied, as well some primary sources evidence on the matter useful for further research, this is not by any means a study the spheres of popular music circulation and its audiences (nor technology users and the effects of media).[41] Nevertheless, I completely agree with the above ideas which suggest that social history should be approached as *social and cultural history*, that *base* and *superstructure* mutually affect each other and are

[40] *Cultural and Social History* - Social History Society Journal (no date). Available from https://www.socialhistory.org.uk/shs_journal_intro [Accessed 9 May 2017].

[41] Scholarship on the audiences of popular music deals with the sphere of consumption, and has been concerned with matters as: the demographics of music, the formations of youth cultures, the sociology of youth, the sociology of leisure and cultural consumption, phenomena as subcultures, scenes, style and fandom, and other modes of consumption as record collecting, dancing, and concerts. Key factors of interest have been: music as cultural capital, music as a source of cultural identity of different kinds, music as a way of empowerment, and music as a form of pleasure (Shuker, 2001, 2005; Straw, 1991). In other words: "The study of media audiences is broadly concerned with the who, what, where, how, and why of the consumption by individuals and social groups" (Shuker, 2005, p13).

equally important, that economic, social, cultural and political aspects are interrelated, and that meaning is a fundamental phenomenon of human life. By no means does my concentration on the sphere of production imply any sort of disregard for the importance of other spheres. Yet, one the one hand this thesis emanates from the lack of research about the production side, and the need to fill such gap; and on the other, its delimitation in scope is informed by an awareness of the breadth and depth of the connections involved in the history of recording and sound technology industries, which are in themselves a very complex object of study [See Section 6 of this chapter].

Finally, this thesis expects to contribute with a single piece—the production side of recording and sound technology industries in mid 20th century Colombia—hoping it might be useful for future research that might engage in bringing together works of different focuses, in order to attempt answers to complex questions that have long been of interest for communication media historians of the likes of Asa Briggs and Peter Burke (2009). Following their terms, when studying recording industry as a phenomena of communication—and even if concentrating on a limited aspect—it is worth being aware of: broad questions that move towards a bigger picture—"who says what to whom in which channel and with what effect... [and] where'; of the mutual importance of all levels;[42] and of the importance of "the responses of different people to what they hear, view or read" and to "[h]ow big the different groups" are "and whether they constitute a 'mass'" (Ibid, p5). That said, it is clear to me that answering such theoretical questions or following their complexity in terms of the broad spectrum of relations they suggest, is far from the aims of this research. Such task is certainly a vast exercise of synthesis that requires bringing together different sorts of approach and existing and future studies related to different aspects.

5. Research aims, objectives and questions

This research is based on exhaustive, rigorous and systematic historical archive work and primary sources of different kinds, contrasted with relevant secondary sources from the fields of musicology, different historiographical traditions on recording and sound technology history, media history, and different Colombian economic, social and cultural historians. The central research aim is analysing, through a social history model, an important moment in the process of music industrialization in Colombian, considering both its music business sphere and its intimately related sphere of sound technology industries. Such aim extends from an interest in the dynamics of relations between different kinds of players in the spheres of production. I will do so by describing and analysing the unfolding of recording industry in Colombia from late 1940s to early 1960s as the consolidation of a new mode of production, in contrast to the first part of half of the century; and in parallel, by examining the main *tensions* in the relations between players and economic interests involved in the process, following the definition of the notion developed in the previous pages. This is certainly not a history of the music per se, but

[42] "[t]he 'what' (content), the 'who' (control)... the 'whom' (audience)... [and] the 'where'... matter equally" (Briggs and Burke, 2009, pp4-5).

about the operation and the relations between those involved in producing it as a mass commodity (mostly as the thin round objects commonly called "discos" or "pastas" in Spanish during the 1950s in Colombia), and those involved in producing the devices that reproduce the sound recorded in them.

In such terms, the specific research objectives in this enquiry are four, as it mostly concentrates on the period from 1949 to 1963. In the first place, identifying key players, voices, practices, debates and events during this period of emergence and consolidation of recording industries in Colombia. Secondly, understanding the structure and organization of recording industry in Colombia, in a diachronic perspective that includes players in cultural industries *vis-à-vis* those in sound technology industries. Thirdly, understanding the changes in mode of production that took place from the 1940s to the 1950s in those industries. And finally, identifying the different forms of social tension involved in this process, and analysing those at the base level between players in recording and sound technology industries, and among interests groups within Colombian economy. These four objectives can also be expressed as a set of main research questions, which read as follows: How did the process of unfolding of recording industries actually happen from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, and why did Medellín consolidate as its capital? Who were the leading players involved in recording and sound technology industries, how did they operate, and how did this operation change over time? What were the main tensions between these and other players, and what was their nature?

I do not neglect of course the sphere of music as a rich aspect of analysis for a social history of the matter which concerns me, but as stated earlier (and as argued in Chapter 2), this has been precisely the matter in which almost the totality of related academic research has concentrated, leaving the gap in knowledge to which this work contributes. Much of that work has been made by musicologists, and while they do touch on the topic of recording industry when studying different styles of popular music of the Colombian 20th century—as cumbia, porro, bambuco, pasillo, ranchera, bolero and tango to name a few—the *business* aspect of the phenomena is not a matter that concerns them in much detail or depth.

Furthermore, in spite of the fact that the analysis of the super structural tensions related to recording industries falls beyond these four objectives, during the archival revision and data collection phase of the research those simply jumped out of the old newspapers and documents into the eye. I was cautious to collect some of such information as well, found in cultural and music journalism writing about artists, companies and specifically about recorded music and its different genre, in which tensions in the sphere of aesthetics are conspicuous. As mentioned earlier, these are collected and discussed to some extent in Chapter 4 and pointed out as topics that for further research, yet not as concerns developed in this work concentrated on the sphere of production.

6. A complex object of study: recording and sound technology industries

Attali's (1985) classic political economy of music since the middle ages until the 20th century, explains that the commodification of music is a long run process, and that the part of it one might call *industrialization of music* is a *longue durée* social, economic and cultural process that can be traced back to the unfolding of the mass reproduction powers of the press since the 16th century, and centuries later to the development of 19th century machines for recording and reproducing sound. This section extends the argument that from a historical perspective the entity commonly called "recording industry" or "phonographic industry", understood as companies that produce and release sound recordings in different formats for profit, is one that is best understood when considering its intimate relations with companies that have produced sound and mass media technology since the last decades of the 19th century.

In this sense, I will refer to this research's object of study as *recording and sound technology industries*, in order to acknowledge the relations between what insiders and academics call the *software* and the *hardware* sides of the business, and will intentionally use the term in plural as a necessary gesture to hint at the diversity of players involved and its complexity, which is perhaps its fundamental and most fascinating character. I will explain the complexity of the present object of study in two related ways. Firstly, by briefly pointing out a set of five main features derived from the work of scholars in the *production-of-culture* school of popular music studies, and secondly by connecting recording industry with the different spheres I argue it is *an aspect of*, using such secondary sources as well as others cited accordingly. It is worth mentioning, that the complexity in question, will also be evident to the reader in Chapter 2, which reviews the many different ways in which the topic of the history of recording and sound technology industries has been approached.[43]

The first of these features is understood and clearly explained in Negus (1999), a study of the inside workings of big corporate owned major record companies in US during the 1990s—EMI, BMG, Warner Music Group, Sony Music Entertainment, Universal/Polygram. Based on previous works and his own ethnography, Keith Negus understands that the business of music is driven by an essential uncertainty and a consequent inescapable anxiety (Negus, 1999, p33, pp17-25). From his account one understands that such anxiety about commercial outcomes of productions, drives strategy in corporate level record companies, so they are not reducible to organizations unsystematically *throwing-mud-against-the-wall*, but as active in coping with such uncertainty in many possible ways, including statistics and market research indeed in the process of deciding which artist,

[43] The social history plan followed in this research—while not involved with questions associated to the production-of-culture tradition of popular music studies of recording and cultural industries—makes use of a set of theory elements produced by influential scholars in that field. The related works I will cite in the following pages were important in the process of conception, discussion and in initial versions of a research plan, and are most certainly useful for the sake of training and sharpening the eye and the mind when analysing social relations within the *field* of recording and technology industries.

which record to release, and when and how. In Negus' account, the counter part of this, indeed an irony, is that even with late 20th century *hard data* a central tool for the operation of major labels: “the companies continue to get it wrong” (Negus, 1999, p33). A systemic model of strategies in cultural industries that expands on such matters is offered by Hesmondhalgh (2007, pp17-25). It explains their distinctive dynamics as system of recurrent and contingent *problems* proper of the essence of cultural production confront, and their consequent patterns of *responses* or recurrent strategies: particularly shared by all players in music industry, film, television, broadcasting, and others.[44]

A second central feature of our object of study is that the core of the activity of "cultural industry companies" is related to distribution and marketing, to finding "appropriate ways of circulating texts to those audiences and to make audiences aware of the existence of texts" (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, p6). If cultural industries can't escape their essence as a game of chance, of high risk in which many texts fail, perhaps the "upshot" in the industrialization of music in the 1990s, "is that cultural industry companies keep a much tighter grip on the circulation of texts than they do on their production", or on creativity and musicians (Ibid). The significance of controlling circulation had been expressed earlier by Hirsch (2000, p356).[45] As well as by Garnham (1990, p162) with the statement: "cultural distribution, not cultural production, that is the key locus of power and profit." Later, Negus (1999, pp55-60) expanded the analysis of circulation as the locus of power, concentrating on the specific role of the distribution divisions of major companies and the "distribution struggles" implied in their operation (Ibid, p60). Major distributors in the 1990s are described as players with a special power in recording industry, emanating from their position in the intersection between production (record companies or labels) and retail outlets. They excerpt particular influence on the amount of units to be pressed of a specific release judging on what they *think* they might be able to sell to retailers. Even more, and to some extent ironic, it is commonly through the distributing divisions of majors that "independent" record companies connect and interact with the big business of music, a relation in which some players might benefit, but also one which "can constrain the independents" (Ibid, p59), and that might put them at risk, due to asymmetries in the capacity of production.[46]

A third notable set of features brought up by available theory, concerns two specific particular aspects of the structure of recording industries. On the one hand, Hesmondhalgh (2007, pp159-188) notes that a continuous pattern during the 20th century, was modifying company structures through different forms of mergers, synergies and integrations (but also through demerging and disintegrating) and also through

[44] Hesmondhalgh's model is mostly based on Miège (1989) and Garnham (1990).

[45] As he notes his emphasis was "the key roles of gatekeeper and distributor organizations as critical in connecting the artist/creators to audience/consumers of mass, or "popular" culture (as it had more acceptingly come to be called)" (Hirsch, 2000, p356).

[46] For example: if a small label scores a radio hit, it needs to press as much records as fast as possible to catch the momentum: if its capacity of production is slow and economically scarce, it runs the risk of not responding timely to brief massive demands of record pressings, and end up with a lot of unsold records, and in some cases broke. See examples of Latin music small labels in New York in Negus (1999, pp131-151).

coordinated work, alliances and provision of services between both big and small companies (or independents and majors).[47] In the first matter, he underlines that while "[f]or decades, the major companies have owned pressing and distribution facilities", in contrast, they "have rarely attempted to own retail outlets – in part because of the complexity and multiplicity of the markets for music" (Ibid, p170). On the other hand, regarding debates about differences between majors and independent record companies, the contribution of scholars is understanding them as rather contradictory, paying attention to what binds them as much as what differentiates them. For Hesmondhalgh (2007, pp174-176) relations between big or "major" and small or "independent" record companies, when observed systematically, prove to be complex and ambivalent; they might involve antagonism as much as relations of alliance to the level of conforming networks. As Negus (1999, p35) puts it with better clarity:

> While independent companies may occasionally and momentarily offer alternative and 'democratic' possibilities (Hesmondhalgh, 1998), the absorption of independent labels has been a feature of the music business throughout the twentieth century and has become increasingly institutionalized through a series of *joint ventures, production, licensing, marketing and distribution deals* which have led to the blurring of 'indie'/'major' organizational distinctions and belief systems. [Italics mine]

A fourth important theoretical development associated to the production-of-culture school, concerns the music and the problem of music genre as a category of analysis. Particularly, its sociological understanding, which implies moving from an aesthetic formal conception, to one related to the people and social relations involved in their production, circulation and consumption. Negus (1999, pp29-30) speaks of *genre cultures* resulting from: "the complex intersection and interplay between commercial organizational structures and promotional labels; the activities of fans, listeners and audiences; networks of musicians; and historical legacies that come to us within broader social formations".[48] Frith (1996, p76) remarked how "genres are used by record

[47] Hesmondhalgh (2007) argues that these were part of a set of basic patterns of structure and strategy in cultural industries that remained mostly the same since mid 20th century (at least until the 1990s), and which also include: pushing for longer and stronger copyrights and for the enforcement of laws related to intellectual property (Ibid, pp152-154); organizing cultural production according to a persistent pattern of "loose control of creativity, [but] tight control of circulation" (Ibid, p210); and increasingly operating on an international level. In this respect the author remarks that large corporations indubitably have extensive power in regards to global productions and international cultural flows, but certainly are not manipulators with precise control of events, nor absolute determinants of an international recording industry, as followers of traditional cultural imperialism theories are prone to claim (Ibid, pp212-239). With this in mind a historical account of cultural industries should be wary of changes in international cultural flows and in the domination of US companies, and consider such questions as: "Does the increasingly global reach of the largest firms mean an exclusion of voices from cultural markets? What opportunities are there for cultural producers from outside the 'core' areas of cultural production to gain access to new global networks of cultural production and consumption?" (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, p52).

[48] The guiding argument in Negus (1999) is that at the same time that recording industry produces music in certain ways and has an impact on popular culture, the world outside the companies, i.e. society and culture at large, has a determinant effect on how they operate, the decisions they take, and the music they produce: in other words, music industry can't be thought as a discrete and manipulative entity, autonomous of the spheres of culture and the social. A historiographer might interpret this as an invitation to observe industrialization of music as a matter in which the inside of companies and the social, cultural, political and economic context interact.

companies as a way of integrating a conception of music (what does it sound like?) with a notion of the market (who will buy it?)", and in that procedure "[m]usician and audience are considered simultaneously".[49] Negus (1999, p30), a sociologist with an anthropological touch, importantly reminds that music genre can not be detached from socio-cultural phenomena, as, for example, "rap cannot be separated from the politics of blackness, nor salsa from Latinness, nor country from whiteness and the enigma of the 'South'". Such ideas follow the understanding of how music works as a social category by Steve Neale (1980, p19): "not… as forms of textual codifications, but as *systems of orientations, expectations and conventions that circulate between industry, text and subject*".[50] Noteworthy here, is Simon Frith's root idea of *genre world*, and the complexity of its dynamics:

> A new 'genre world'…is first constructed and then articulated through a complex interplay of musicians, listeners, and mediating ideologues, and this process is much more confused than the marketing process that follows, as the wider industry begins to make sense of the new sounds and markets and to exploit both genre worlds and genre discourses in the orderly routines of mass marketing (Frith, 1996, p88).[51]

A final main set of features of recording and sound technology industries of central significance in this research, involves the relations between the music and the sound technology hardware sides of the business mentioned earlier. Firstly, according to Hesmondhalgh (2007, pp164-168) the different forms of "cultural industries" during the 1990s,[52] were significantly smaller in economic size than industries related to mass media technology and sound hardware. In other words, actual data for that period showed the business of the machines that play the music and that of media communications was considerably bigger than that of cultural industries, contrary to optimistic and highly criticized arguments of the likes of Richard Florida (2002, 2005).

Secondly, the relation between hardware and software production can be as complementary as it can be paradoxical. Garnham (1990, p160), discussing the piracy issues related to new hardware offering recording function to users, pointed out the implied "contradiction in the cultural sphere... between the producers of cultural hardware and software", in which "[i]t is [precisely] the development of a market in cheap reproduction technology that makes piracy so difficult to control" (Ibid). In contrast, several authors have explored industry strategies known as *hardware/software synergy*, exemplified in history by the cases of big companies as: Philips' set up of a recording industry branch through owning PolyGram in the 1960s, Sony's takeover of the CBS record company in 1988 and Columbia Studios the following year, Matsushita's buyout of MCA records in the early 1990s. While Negus (1999, p35) situates them in the context of the connected histories of the music and the technology side of big recording

[49] Cited in Negus, 1999, p27.
[50] Cited in Negus, 1999, p28. [Italics mine]
[51] Cited in Negus, 1999, p29.
[52] A term that in his analysis includes broadcasting, film, music, book-magazine-newspaper publishing, advertising, video and computer games, and internet content production (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, p12).

industry corporations, Hesmondhalgh (2007, pp164-8) contextualizes them within other forms of integration and conglomeration in the cultural industries.

Reflecting on the particular case of Sony in the 1980s with the Walkman, Du Gay et al. (1997) describes how through a strategy in the lines of *hardware/software synergy,* the company was "attempting to synchronize and actively forge connections between directly related technologies and areas of entertainment," providing "a cultural repertoire which would be available for the instant marketing of future technologies" (Ibid, pp80-1). The aim with this was avoiding "long negotiations to persuade film and record producers to market sounds and images on Sony's equipment". As he explains:

> The idea of synergy came partly from an acknowledgement that Sony's Walkman was useless without the cassettes that were inserted into it, which in turn were useless without the music of recording artists, and the company's Betamax videocassette-recorder (no matter how technologically brilliant) was useless without videocassettes of films and music (Ibid).

Thirdly, other relevant points here were raised by Miège (1989, p35), who annotated that big capital multinational hardware producers are characterised for having the advantage of imposing their systems over smaller national players. In other words, in media hardware business "it is the integrated groups which occupy the dominant position" (Ibid). At the same time, while "multinational monopoly groups are not very interested in the manufacture of accessories", then "small or medium sized firms... are able to occupy a far from negligible economic space", i.e. "the accessory market" (Ibid, p31).

Now, after underlining these five main features of recording and sound technology industries, I will expand the argument about their complexity by noting the different spheres of which what is commonly called recording industry is *an aspect of*. Firstly, following scholars since Hirsch (1972) to Sterne (2014), worth noting that the related terms "recording industry", "record business", "record companies", or "record labels", can be understood as tags that denote a central but not exclusive element that forms part of a broader entity commonly referred to as the "music industry" or the "music business", which as the following pages explain is in itself a complex and broad constellation of players of different kinds.

Hirsch (1972) pioneered a cultural industry "system model" that brought forward a conception of music industry as a "network of organizations". Different players part of the network, "from creators (artists, musicians, actors, writers) and brokers (agents), through the cultural product's producers (publishers, studios), distributors (wholesalers, theatres), and media outlets—collectively constitute cultural industries" (Hirsch, 2000, p356). In a later exercise of defining "popular music industry" also with systemic criteria, Frith (2001, p33) argued it comprised the interrelations of: "*a rights industry*, dependent on the legal regulation of the ownership and licensing of a great variety of uses of musical works... *a publishing industry*, bringing those works to the public but itself dependent on the creativity of musicians and composers... *a talent industry*, dependent on the effective management of those composer and musicians, through the use of contracts and the

development of a star system... [and] *an electronics industry*, dependent on the public and domestic use of various kinds of equipment". Similarly, Shuker (2005, p172) offered a similar definition of "music industry" which resembles a complex constellation of different sorts of players:

> "[T]he music industry embraces a range of institutions and associated markets: the recording companies and the retail sector, producing and selling recordings in their various formats; the music press; music hardware, including musical instruments and sound recording and reproduction technology; merchandising (posters, T-shirts, etc.); and royalties and rights and their collection/licensing agencies. These facets are increasingly under the ownership/control of the same parent company, enabling the maximum exploitation of a particular product/performer".

The discussion was carried forward by Williamson and Cloonan (2007, p26) arguing that in spite of the previous conceptualizations, the term "music industry" was still being "frequently used synonymously with the recording industry." Considering it a narrow inappropriate understanding, the authors expressed concern about its effects on matters as varied as the analysis of relations involved, economic measurement, and policy making for the sector in which the terminology implied asymmetries of power. In their understanding, such limited sense of the term "music industry" was problematic because it: "suggests a homogenous industry, whereas the reality is of disparate industries with some common interests," and because it implies "simplicity where there is complexity and homogeneity where there is diversity." Thus, they called for a pluralistic conception of "*music industries*... rather than a single music industry".[53]

This discussion was revisited by Jonathan Sterne (2014) some years later, further problematizing the matter with the provocative statement: "there is no music industry". In Sterne's view, systemic and network based definitions of "music industry"—as those cited earlier by Hirsch, Frith or Shuker—when re-thought from a contemporary perspective, they still amount for narrow and limiting conceptualizations. In the author's critique one can read the previously noted concern with a reductive and rather exclusive focus on the commodification of music, or "the monetization of music recordings", which in his view "is an incredibly limited way to understand how media industries and music interact" (Sterne, 2014, p50).[54] In his view, much is missed when one exclusively follows "the musicians-audiences-recordings nexus", and "when we limit our understanding of music as a social practice to the objects sold as 'music' in its wake", because in the processes of making recordings "lie many varied social relations that crisscross race, gender, nation, and economy" (Ibid, p52). Additionally, as Williamson and Cloonan (2007) did, he advocates for a broader extension of previous network conceptions, and warns against seeing homogeneity when there is the opposite:

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[53] Italics mine.

[54] "The term generally refers to the sale and purchase of recordings, the bundles of rights that go with them, and the livelihoods of people involved in that economy, ranging from musicians and fans to accountants, artists and repertoire (A&R) people, street teams, engineers, producers, lawyers, and record company executives, among others. ... When people write about a music industry 'in crisis' or 'the future of the music industry', they are generally referring to the monetization-of-recordings construct." (Sterne, 2014, p50).

> For scholars interested in music as a media industries issue, our first analytical step must be a simple subtraction. When we go looking for unity inside a music industry, we should instead assume a polymorphous set of relations among radically different industries and concerns, especially when we analyse economic activity around or through music. There is no "music industry." There are many industries with many relationships to music (Sterne, 2014, p53).[55]

Now, within the broad constellations in which previous arguments situate recording industries, there is one form of relation between institutions and markets of sound related objects, which is of founding significance in its history. As Frith (2001, p232) explained, "[t]he history of the record industry is an aspect of the history of electrical goods industry, related to the development of radio, the cinema and television." The examples are well known, from The Gramophone Company, Victor Talking Machine, Brunswick, to EMI (Electric and Musical Instruments Ltd.), and the Radio Corporation of America and Victor Talking Machine merger as RCA Victor in the 1930s, the merger of Columbia records with Columbia Broadcasting Systems, or the cases of Philips and Sony.[56] Gronow (1983) already pointed out how during its origins recording and machine making were one and the same trade. Later, Negus (2003, p629) explained that "from the earliest days, record companies constituted one part of a business that produced entire systems of recording" and that "[s]uch *technological connections* continued to inform music business strategies through out the twentieth century," and were a determinant matter for strategy in the "music business".[57] Millard (2005), in his history of recorded sound in US, alludes to the matter using the term "audio industry", one single notion in which

[55] The following expresses his expansive conceptualization, with a vast array of related parts, which go as far as considering the prices and mining activities related to neodymium, a material used in the production of contemporary speakers (Sterne, 2014, p53). In Sterne's words: "To begin with, defining "music" as a commodity is extremely limited considering the range of commodities sold through, with, or around music, ranging from musical instruments, to hardware and software, to smartphones, to speakers and room architectures. To understand music as an industrial phenomenon goes far beyond those industries directly involved with the sale of recordings. For instance, we need to consider the music instrument industries (manufacturing, sales, marketing, development, retail, etc.), which have consistently grown during the same years that sales in the so-called "music industry" have been in decline. We need to consider rights-based work, such as soundtracks and music supervision, so central to the sound of modern television, film, and video games. We need to consider sound design in high-end automobiles, as well as sound insulation in trendy condo developments in gentrifying mixed-use urban districts. We need to consider the vast consumer electronics, computing, and bandwidth industries, not to mention companies like YouTube, which have used recorded music to market their products. Even though they don't sell music, they sell musical experiences. People pay their monthly internet bills, buy their smartphones, and visit internet sites to play music and have musical experiences" (Sterne, 2014, p52).

[56] "Brunswick, Balke and Collender had been a manufacturer of bowling and pool equipment before its entry into the record business just after the First World War. … began manufacturing phonographs in 1916, and the records followed 1920.", according to what the author calls mythology "the company had been engaged in making phonograph cabinets for Edison…" (Barfe, 2005, p92).

[57] "The early recording companies were managed by inventors, engineers, advertising personnel and stock market speculators, who had little connection with the impresarios who had been involved in song publishing, theatre management and representation of artists. … Hence, from the earliest days, record companies constituted one part of a business that produced entire systems of recording – not just the discs, but the mastering equipment used for recording in the studio and the storage cabinets and equipment needed for playing recordings in the home. The combination of separate businesses was not peculiar to the music industry; it was part of a broader trend whereby businesses in general were combining and forming multi-divisional corporations" (Negus, 2003, p629). [Italics mine]

recording and sound technology industries are thought as one complex entity of inseparable yet differentiable facets.

These historical "technological connections" are commonly expressed in the music industry as the relation between *hardware* and *software*. As Frith (2006 [1988], p233) explains, in music industry terminology: "*hardware* is the equipment, the furniture, the 'permanent' capital of home entertainment", while "*software* is what the equipment plays – particular records and tapes."[58] Chanan (1995, pp32-33) refers to this relation as the "economic law.. [of] *technical linkage*, where the commodity takes on a double form – like record player and record – and the market for one is interdependent with that of the other."[59] This law of technical linkage implies that "manufacturers of any new kind of hardware have to concern themselves with the production of the appropriate software without which the hardware has no market" (Ibid).

Attali (1985 [1977], p96) had also acknowledged the *hardware*/*software* relation in his seminal history of the political economy of music, as a "duality" or "*interdependence* of use-values," which expressed itself in other realms of economy in the form of "film and camera, light bulb and lamp, blade and razor, automobile and highway, detergent and washing machine."[60] This interdependence implied that "[a] major modification of the repeated object [the software] would be enough to make the reproduction device obsolete, and vice versa" (Attali, 1985 [1977], p96). Additionally, Briggs and Burke (2009, pp156-160), remarked how in the historiography of the "gramophone" there is little study about music retail places, which as they note tended to be places where diverse related stuff was sold, from sheet music, books, magazines, musical instruments to records by different companies, as well as the reproduction machines. Thinking of such places in the past, they suggest that "together what later might be called 'hardware' and 'software' could be thought of constituting a single category" (Ibid, p160).

Finally, perhaps at risk of stating the obvious, it is important to remark that "recording industry" is certainly a fundamental aspect of popular music and popular culture in general since its early days. As Frith (2001, p27) reflected, music industry exists within "popular music culture" and plays of course a central role. Nevertheless, as he significantly points out: "but it doesn't control it and, indeed, has constantly had to respond to changes within it." For the author, "the music industry cannot be treated as being somehow apart from the sociology of everyday life - its activities are themselves culturally determined." Moving further in this line of thought, other scholars in cultural studies and ethnomusicology have taken technology as seriously as popular music. In a well known cultural studies analysis of the Sony Walkman, DuGay et al (1997) aimed at revealing "the intimate relationship between aesthetics and technology and question whether in this case, and perhaps in all cases, the practical and the artistic can truly be

[58] Italics mine.
[59] Italics mine.
[60] [Italics mine] As Attali specifically puts it: "the record object is not usable by itself. Its use-value depends on that of another commodity... a reproduction device (the phonograph)" (Ibid).

separated" (Ibid, p95). The study posed two significant and challenging ideas back then: firstly, that the hardware is as cultural as music itself, and secondly that popular culture involves a fundamental interrelatedness at different levels: "text and technology, hardware and software, production and use are dependent upon each other and are interrelated (Ibid, p82).

This kind of challenge to the divided conception of aesthetics and technology, has also been importantly developed by several other authors. Manuel (1993) is a founding work in which technology in the shape of cassette tapes and recorders are explored as the central element of cultural and social phenomena in India. Théberge (1997, p7) claimed that "musical instrument, electronics, and recording industries are all more or less distinct but also linked in significant ways". He emphasized how music instrument industries and sound technology industries increasingly converged during the second half of the 20th century, and that consumption of music technology progressed from a functional practice to a cultural/technological practice of consumption, within a subcultural capital phenomena. Katz (2004) further challenged the aesthetic and technology divide in musicological analysis, and explored the effects of the phonograph in music and other aspects of society and culture. Will Straw (2012, p236) called for a "material turn" in music analysis, which encompassed a diverse group of researchers aware that "[i]t is through its material extensions that music is encountered in cultural life". And Born (2005, p7) observed that experiencing music is necessarily an encounter between subjects and *objects*:

> Music is perhaps the paradigmatic multiply-mediated, immaterial and material, fluid quasi-object, in which subjects and objects collide and intermingle. It favours associations or assemblages between musicians and instruments, composers and scores, listeners and sound systems – that is, between subjects and objects (Ibid).

In synthesis: this research deals with a complex object of study that I call recording and sound technology industries based on the different secondary sources reviewed in the previous pages, and which due to the diverse constellation of players and phenomena of which it forms part, I certainly do not intend to exhaust every aspect of it. In this account of a mid20th century history of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia—which could be deemed as a software/hardware understanding—I concentrate on the players involved in recording production and business vis-à-vis those in production and commerce of sound hardware, whose several interrelations will be evidenced and discussed along the chapters.

In the mean time it is worth keeping in mind the features highlighted earlier from studies mostly based in the cases of US, UK and Europe: uncertainty and anxiety about commercial success are determinant; distribution and circulation are a key locus of power; international major companies have commonly dominated pressing and distribution spheres, but rarely that of retail; relations between majors and independents are complex and ambivalent, and might involve antagonism as much as alliances; the complex interaction between production, marketing, circulation and audiences conforms

what can be called music genre *worlds* or *cultures*, over which producers have little control; relations between players in the *software* and the *hardware* sides can antagonise as much as conform alliances, under conditions in which the economic size of the latter is bigger; and, big players in hardware production tend to have no interest in the market for accessories, therefore it is a domain where small and medium players operate.

In sharp contrast to my particular expanded conception of a cultural/technological object of study, for certain analysts it has been crucial to approach questions as: what is it that makes cultural industries unique and fundamentally different from other forms of industrial production? Such is the case of Hesmondhalgh (2007) and others involved in debates about 1990s changes in UK cultural policy discourse from "cultural industries" to the "creative Industries". The importance of defending cultural industries as ontologically different from other industries as computer software and technology in that political context, lied in struggles for public funding and in legitimate fears that funding for the arts would be reduced and diverted to a technology sector in which the interests of big corporations dominated over small entrepreneurs, with which they were interlaced in different ways. These fears, were substantiated by academics that proved that cultural industries were not the economic panacea claimed by the likes of Tony Blair and Richard Florida, and that they involved grave inequalities, and most artists and entrepreneurs depended on different forms of patronage. [61]

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After presenting the research plan, aims, objectives and questions, along with the theory framework that guides the analysis and that structures this thesis' argument, the following two chapters will complete Part One of the whole text. Chapter 2 is the result of an ambitious literature review of historiographies of recording industry and sound technology concentrating on scholarship from UK, US, Europe and Colombia. It involves a considerably lengthy effort to delineate the different traditions of researchers that have approached the past of such topics. Chapter 3, one the one hand is the result of a search for useful theoretical grounds for this account of the past of Colombian recording and sound technology industries, that involved the revision of main up-to-date text books on historiography. If Hobsbawm's reflections on the task of social history are the *fons et origo* of my theoretical framework (as has been explained in the previous pages), it was through this revision task that I arrived at his conceptions as a suitable guide for the present inquiry. On the other hand, the third chapter presents the research methodology which is based on an exhaustive and systematic historical archive work, completed in

[61] Academic debates in the context of a new century policy level discourse change from "cultural industries" to "creative Industries", articulated around the anthropologically inflected proposition in Mato (2002) that "all industries are cultural", and those which insisted that "not all industries are cultural" (Garnham, 2005; Galloway, 2007; Miller, 2009) as they were concerned with the regressive effects for the arts sector this was having by the way of the appropriation of such ideas in Government policy, and its connection to privatizations, arts money being detoured to industrial entrepreneurship, and further retreat of a welfare state.

different institutions in Medellín and Bogotá, during several field trips to Colombia between the years 2012 and 2014.

I should warn the reader that these are long chapters, condensing a great deal of existing knowledge on the history of recording and sound technology industries, as well as on theoretical matters any historian active today should be aware of. That being said, and without the intention of diminishing their importance, nor that of the work hours they also condense: it is worth noting that some readers might want to jump Chapters 2 and 3, and go straight to Part Two of this text where the historical analysis of the Colombian case is developed from Chapters 4 to 9.

Chapter 2. Historiographies of recording and sound technology industries: mid 20th to 21st century

This chapter reviews a broad collection of literature related with the past of sound recording industry and its associated technologies, and outlines the different kinds of researchers that have had an interest in the matter and their diverse perspectives. It follows the construction of a bibliography of around four hundred relevant titles, covering from early works dating from mid 20th century until the present, and from pioneer non-scholar authors, to a sophisticated variety of academics from different fields: ethno-musicology and cultural studies and their overlapping with sociology and anthropology, along with different kinds of historians—from business history to social and cultural history, and from popular music history, to media history and science and technology history.

The literature reviewed includes related works about the particular local dimension of Colombia, which accounts for around a fifth part of the related bibliography and extensive material exploring the topic mostly in US, UK and European contexts, considering its global dimension sparked by companies from the West that dominated a business of hardware and recordings whose international expansion dynamics were intensive from an early stage in late 19th century (Gronow, 1981, 1983, 1996; Farrell, 1993). As musicologist and mass communications academic Pekka Gronow puts it, based on his previous historical work: "the record industry has been multinational from the very beginning, and artists have always made recordings across borders" (Bergeret-Cassagne and Gronow, 2015). In those terms, the bibliography compiled and commonly cited is never as broad as that related to UK, Europe and US. An ideal bibliography should include main works related to other countries in the Latin America and the Caribbean regions, nevertheless this exceeds the possibilities of this research, which in spite of the noted limitations in scope, still deals with a copious set of material.

Regarding the case of Colombia, it is worth noting that the situation described two decades ago by Wade (2000) has changed very little. After a decade of long experience researching popular music in Colombia, he observed the lack of academic knowledge on the history of recording industry in Colombia. As he put it back then: “[u]nlike radio, there is virtually nothing substantial and coherent written on the [subject]” (Ibid, p271), the “history of the recording industry in Colombia is written up in only a very fragmentary way”, and relies on “scraps of information”, mostly from “oral sources” (Ibid, p260). Since then few new works have approached the topic specifically, while music-genre based research interested in styles of relevance during the 19th and 20th centuries has increased significantly. In those inquiries though, the music industry tends to be treated as one aspect among others of interest about music, and not necessarily the most important or even desirable. In any case, all the relevant works to the historiography of music industry in Colombia will be considered here, contextualized within different

traditions of writing about the subject, in the hopes of giving a global perspective of research on the matter.

1. Un-scholarly historiographies: industry insiders, journalists and archivists

A starting point in this analysis is that inquiry into the history of recording industry and sound technology was pioneered by researchers and writers outside of academia, with the first works on the matter appearing as early as the 1940s and 1950s. Frederick W. Gaisberg's *The Music Goes Round* (1942) sits among the earliest histories known in the matter, the work of an iconic figure celebrated for producing the early recordings of Caruso in the first years of the 20th century. The book provides a history based on his memoirs and experience as a pioneer in the roles of artistic director, talent scout and recording engineer for early companies of UK as The Gramophone Company and HMV and the Victor Talking Machine from US.[1] Some years later, music critic and sound technology journalist Roland Gelatt published *The Fabulous Phonograph* (1955).[2] Gelatt was a contributor and co-editor of *High-Fidelity, The Magazine for Audio-Philes* since 1954, with articles of the likes of "The Orchestra Came Last: Not till the Phonograph's Third Decade Did Anyone Even Try to Put a Symphony on Disks" (1954).[3] And by the end of the decade, the first edition of the commonly cited book *From Tin Foil to Stereo: Evolution of the Phonograph* (1959) appeared, written by US co-authors by Oliver Read and Walter L. Welch.[4] The first was a doctorate level radio-electronic engineer at the time, that had also published the book *The Recording and Reproduction of Sound: A Complete Reference Manual on Audio for the Professional and the Amateur* (1952), and was editor of *Radio and Television News* since 1954, a magazine directed to amateurs in new media technologies of radio, sound and image.[5] Welch, an architecture graduate and teacher at Syracuse University, was also a collector of antique records and sound hardware and came to be a respected authority in the early history of sound recording, and founder of the Belfer

[1] The book was re-edited a few years later in UK as *Music on record* (London: Hale, 1947), and was also published during the 1970s as Music Goes Round in a volume edited by Andrew Farkas (New York: Arno, 1977). Gaisberg's life and work have been researched by Jerrold Northrop Moore, an American musicologist who in the 1960s established a career as an archivist of sound recordings, a researcher and a lecturer, with particular interest in the early period of sound recording during the turn to the 20th century. *A Voice in Time: The Gramophone of Fred Gaisberg, 1873-1951* (1976), his earliest work motivated by Frederick W. Gaisberg and his pioneer character, was followed two decades later by *Sound Revolutions: A Biography of Fred Gaisberg, Founding Father of Commercial Sound Recording* (1999).

[2] There are two editions as (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1955; London: Cassell, 1956), followed by 2nd revised editions as London: Cassell, 1977). The book is commonly cited.

[3] *High-Fidelity* 4, no. 8 (October 1954): 54–56. Find digital versions of *High-Fidelity* magazine since its first edition in 1951 at: http://www.americanradiohistory.com/High-Fidelity-Magazine.htm [Accessed: 2017-09-10 16:28:07]

[4] The book was published in 1976 under the same name, and a revised edition was published later as *From Tinfoil to Stereo: The Acoustic Years of the Recording Industry, 1877-1929* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994).

[5] The magazine started in 1919 as Radio Amateur News, then shortened to Radio News, and later published as *Radio and Television News*. Oliver Read is credited as editor in Vol. 52, no. 1, July 1954. Find digital versions at: http://www.americanradiohistory.com/Radio_News_Master_Page_Guide.htm [Accessed: 2017-09-10 17:57:41]

Audio Laboratory and Archive in the 1960s (Syracuse University), who was later awarded by the National Academy of Sounds and Science and Audio Engineering Society (Saxon, 1995).

Among early authors in the Colombian case are Jorge Añez Avendaño (1892–1952) and Hernán Restrepo Duque (1927–1991), the first an early 20th century celebrated composer of and international touring musician from Bogotá, involved in the early days of radio, and the second a renowned music journalist who started his career in 1940s Medellín and since then participated actively in the unfolding of Colombian commercial radio broadcasting and particularly as a recording industry executive with Sonolux from 1953 to 1974 (Cano, 1986, not pag.). After a long career as a professional musician which combined a conservatory formation and an interest in folkloric music from the Colombian Andean region, Añez Avendaño published *Canciones y recuerdos* (1951), considered "the first historical narrative of the development of Colombian song combining personal experience and a critical appraisal and intending the first systematization of the vast repertoire current before 1950" in Bogotá (Bermúdez, 2008, p169).[6]

Such interest in the history of "Colombian song" was continued two decades later by Restrepo Duque, whose seminal work *Lo que cuentan las canciones: Cronicón musical* (1971) set the basis for a prolific career as an independent researcher of popular music in Colombia and Latin America. It compiled histories of a selection of Colombian popular music songs of particular importance in the author's criteria, with information about the life of composers, performers, singers and the different recordings made of those songs. The author cautiously distanced himself from formal academic writing and explicitly defined his approach as a combination of journalistic chronicle with encyclopaedic guidelines (Restrepo Duque, 1971, pp7-8). This formulation was developed profusely by Restrepo Duque in the following decades establishing an approach that can be called *history of songs* exemplified by several other books of his on the history of popular music in Colombia with such focus in collections of songs: *A mí cánteme un bambuco* (1986), *Las cien mejores canciones colombianas y sus autores* (1991), *Lo que cuentan los boleros: La historia de 100 hermosos boleros, de sus compositores y de sus mejores intérpretes* (1992), and *La música popular en Colombia: Crónica de nueve canciones representativas* (1998).[7]

Restrepo Duque's writing developed from magazine and newspaper journalism, as well as liner notes for record releases by Sonolux from a broad domestic and international catalogue, and matured into this particular history of songs approach. As detailed elsewhere, his work as a music and cultural journalist for newspaper *El Diario* from Medellín between 1949 and 1960 is a fundamental primary source in the present research, because it covered in detail the weekly events in the emerging recording

[6] Añez Avendaño was a member of the ensemble Lira Colombiana de Pedro Morales Pino among others, and is the writer of "Los cucaracheros" a very well known popular song.
[7] Also see: Restrepo Duque and Escobar Calle (1985) an anthology of songs and the journalistic writings of bambuco, bolero and tango composer Tartarín Moreira active during the first half of the 20th century in Medellín, and Restrepo Duque (1985, 1987, 1989) for several articles on specific music genre as tropical music, "música de carrilera", and others deemed as "música popular".

industry, reviewed new releases, and produced charts of the most popular and the *best* recordings available in the city [See Chapter 3].

The body of work produced by Hernán Restrepo Duque is recognised by musicologist Egberto Bermúdez as the "starting point for those interested in the history of phonographic industry in Colombia" (Bermúdez, 2006, p88), noting that its value lies markedly in the author's condition of "direct participant in the expansion of Colombian radio, entertainment and recording industries" (Bermúdez, 2008, pp169-70). Nevertheless, it should be read critically in different respects. Firstly, the kind of historiography he developed, which stays true to an explicit chronicle and anecdotic character, falls short in terms of analysis and broader explanatory abstractions. Secondly, its encyclopaedic ethos is problematic as it comes down to the author selecting the *best* songs or musicians, and those that should represent either a period of history or even *Colombian* popular music itself. The cultural politics of this gesture lies in the fact that it is an exercise of subjective aesthetic judgement, guided by a concern with establishing canon and a clear interest in establishing *who* (composers, performers, and so on) and *what* (music genre) should be considered culturally and historically valuable. In this sense, Restrepo Duque's historiography of songs contributed to a hegemonic history of popular music in Colombia, which immediately invites the questions of: what is excluded and why? Later works with an approach of the same kind, but with different aesthetic criteria, as Burgos` (2006) which compiles short biographies of *guasca* or *carrilera* music groups from the 1950s to the 1980s, serve as a starting point for such discussion.[8]

A critical reading and use of this material is then necessary considering perhaps less its value as a secondary sources, and more its usefulness if approached as primary sources. Due to the author's condition of direct participant and witness of the past of Colombian recording industry, it has indeed value as a source of information about songs, authors and interpreters and about record companies and other relevant players, but perhaps its greater potential is as documents that provide access to the ideas of a prominent record company executive of the time. In this sense, the value of Hernán Restrepo Duque's work from the perspective of an academic historian concerns less the factual and much more the discursive aspect.

Together, the above cited authors pioneered in UK, US and Colombia three interrelated traditions of non-scholarly research and writing on the history of recording and sound technology continued during the following decades until the present. One tradition of authors can be traced following those with inside working experience in recording and sound technology companies (from company executives of different levels, to engineers and recording artists and musicians), including histories based on memoirs and some works based on archival material, and eventually historical research by industry people that later joined academia. Another interrelated tradition can be traced following a proliferation of journalistic writing and research on diverse matters related to the past of

[8] Restrepo Duque did write a short piece on those music styles, but it is clear that he did not recognize cultural significance value in them, and their performers and composers were not part of his anthologies.

the recording industry and popular music: from the life histories of musicians and songs, to that of record companies and particular technologies, with works ranging from a chronicle of an anecdotic character to authors with broad intellectual knowledge and insight. A third parallel tradition of non-scholarly historians of sound recordings and sound technology can be traced following works by knowledgeable and dedicated collectors driven by the historical value of old recordings and archaic types of sound hardware. Both music-savvy antique record collectors and technology-savvy collectors of phonographs and gramophones have a noticeable position among early researchers in the matter, and represent a particular type of knowledge about the subject: that of archivists, discographers, and liner notes writers, that mostly produce encyclopaedic styled knowledge about early songs and recordings in different formats, musicians, labels, machines and early sound technologies. The following pages will then concentrate on reviewing main works in each of these three interrelated traditions of research—that of industry insiders; journalists; and of collectors, discographers, and archivists—which compose a non-academic historiography on the subject.

1.1 Industry insiders

In the tradition pioneered by Frederick W. Gaisberg, other early works based on the memoirs and personal experience of prominent people within music industry are Charles A. Schicke's *Revolution in Sound: A Biography of the Recording Industry* (1974) and Clive Davis's co-authored *Clive: Inside the Record Business* (1975). The latter was president of Columbia Records between the 1960s and 1970s, while Schicke had long term experience as a London Records executive in marketing, promotion and sales, and his work was received as a contribution to the emerging field of business history in contemporary academia (Sobel, 1975).[9] In the Colombian case, an early work of this kind is Hernando Téllez's *Cincuenta años de radiodifusión colombiana* (1974), a history of radio broadcasting in the country written by a man that played a central role since its early days, founding and directing several successful radio stations as La Voz de Antioquia, Emisoras Nuevo Mundo, Radio Cadena Nacional, and Circuito Todelar de Colombia (Tellez, 1974, p56). The book was published by Caracol, one of the main private owned national radio networks then (and today), and celebrated half a century of radio broadcasting in Colombia. It offers a narrative history of the media in the country, rich in chronological events, names of people and different players involved, technological affairs, information about content and radio shows, dealings between players, crises encountered in the process, and other similar matters.[10]

A continuation of this kind of writing from the perspective of top executives is exemplified in late 1990s by Holzman and Daws (1998), a life history of Elektra Records co-authored by the label's founder Jac Holzman concentrated on his experiences with artists and the

[9] Also see: "A Concise History of the Phonograph Industry in India" (1988) written by Indian star musician G.N. Joshi, whose career started in the 1930s in association with The Gramophone Company of India.
[10] Tellez (1974) together with Pareja (1984) are the earliest and most common cited histories of the media in Colombia.

music business from the 1950s as a small independent until the label was sold to Warner Bros. in the 1970s. Among more recent works based on memoirs and personal experience, those that offer the perspective of producers and engineers within the recording studio are significant. UK music journalist and record producer Mark Cunningham in *Good Vibrations : A History of Record Production* (1998 [1996]), chronicles the experiences, perspectives and techniques of prominent producers and engineers through the 2nd half of the 20th century, based on interviews with the likes of Sir George Martin, Les Paul, Brian Wilson, Brian Eno, and Alan Parsons. Peter Andry's *Inside the Recording Studio: Working with Callas, Rostropovich, Domingo, and the Classical Elite* (2008), is a book based on his memoirs as a record producer and company executive from mid 20th century with Decca, EMI, and Warner, and on his experience producing recordings with celebrities in the field of classical music. More recently, Adrian Kerridge (2016) constitutes a recording engineer auto-biography with insight on his experience with Joe Meek and his work with several rock bands in UK during the 1960s (Kerridge, 2016).

Other noteworthy books in the tradition of music industry insiders are those resulting from dedicated and systematic archival research, or the work of long-term experienced industry people that have extended their careers to academia in programs of the likes of music business, commercial music, or music production. A key example is *Pennies from Heaven: The American Popular Music Business in the Twentieth Century* (1996), co-authored by Russell Sanjek a long time executive with BMI (Broadcast Music, Inc.) and his son David Sanjek notable popular music academic, who has held the position of vice-president in IASPM (US branch), and also of Archives director with BMI. This is a landmark archive based history of recording industry in the 20th century, rich in information and detail and written by people that know the music business in depth. It offers a chronological narrative of events from 1900 to 1996 that follows changes in media technology and the diversification of musical genre, with insight on relations of alliance/competition within a complex web of players. It chronicles tensions and conflict during a process in which publishers and record company executives used new "media to market their products while the body of writers and performers... increasingly represented a broader range of American society" (Sanjek and Sanjek, 1996, p v), and during which frictions between different players produced events and episodes as the recording ban of 1942 (Ibid, pp217-218), to the war of speeds (Ibid, p339), war against jukebox operators (Ibid, pp434-437), and war against piracy in the 1980s (Ibid, pp624-626). Nevertheless, the chronological narrative style deployed through some eight hundred pages falls short in explanatory abstraction, even if the book sets out suitable elements for developing an explanatory social history, it dose not do much more than weave events and factual information into a prolonged narrative prose with events presented chronologically and without much synthesis and analysis.[11]

[11] The book is an updated version of the third volume of *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years* (1988), a magnanimous long term history of music publishing and recording industry in US written by Sanjek Father. The original three volumes were titled: "Vol 1: The Beginning to 1790", "Vol 2: From 1790 to 1909", and "Vol 3: From 1900 to 1984".

David J. Steffen's *From Edison to Marconi: The First Thirty Years of Recorded Music* (2005) provides another noteworthy example of research based histories written by music business people that join academia with. Steffen is a writer of insider experience since the last decades of the 20th century as a high executive in companies as A&M Records and BMG Records in the US, who later worked as directive staff in university programs on music business and music production.[12] The book researches the period from 1889 to 1919 which starts with the early commercialization of Edison's phonograph and ends with the advent of commercial radio after the first world war, and focuses on music genre repertoire, record companies and business practices, as well as events, persons and particular developments during a period in which cylinder and disks were the main competing technologies. It offers thematic chapters on subjects as: the development of the Artists and Repertoire or "A&R" role in the industry, the expansion of a consumer market, the problem of sound quality, the role of the jukebox, and the proliferation of different music styles and genres during this founding period of recording industry, and artists, songs and places of music. Steffen's work in this book, is pointed out by cultural historians Asa Briggs and Peter Burke as an important referent for media historians (Briggs and Burke, 2009, p159).

1.2 Journalists: music, media and technology

Other notable early works contributing to a non-scholarly historiography of recording industry in the tradition of journalists as Roland Gelatt and Hernán Restrepo Duque are those of Charlie Gillett who in the 1970s set the basis of a long career as a UK music journalist, radio DJ, artist manager and music publisher with his seminal book *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll* (1971), developed from his MA in economics thesis, and the following *Making Tracks: Atlantic Records and the Growth of a Multi-Billion-Dollar Industry* (1974), both giving special attention to the business side of the music, and with a periodization approach to the popular music phenomenon (Martin, 2010; Williams, 2010).[13] Such aspects are also explored by US journalist Fredric Dannen in *Hit Men: Power Brokers and Fast Money inside the Music Business* (1990), questioning the business deals of top executives for US major recording companies during the 1970s and 1980s.

The continuation of journalistic histories has produced some well researched books based on systematic, well handled, properly referenced archive material. Louis Barfe's *Where Have All the Good Times Gone? : The Rise and Fall of the Record Industry* (2004) is a long term history focusing the institutional aspect of the industry and covering the period from the first tinfoil cylinder recording machine patented by Edison in 1887-88 all the way to the early 21st century.[14] As Barfe explains, his is "a book about the people who

[12] http://www.newswiretoday.com/news/1105/Former-A-and-M-Records-Executive-Releases-Book-on-the-First-Thirty-Years-of-Recorded-Music/ [Accessed on: 14 October 2017]
[13] See Gillet (1996) for a third edition of his seminal text, extended to include posterior decades.
[14] Barfe is a UK music journalist, contributor with BBC radio and ITV, a record collector with local independent record shop experience and university background. Also see: Coleman (2004) for another

made the industry, with all of its flaws, rather than the artists that made the music" (Barfe, 2004, p xx). It is insightful about the activities and relations between recording companies from UK, Europe and US, and it emphasises how from an early stage "a few companies" held great power over other players (Ibid, p xiii). Overall, this work is particularly significant because it describes a historical process characterised by "tensions between the businessmen who backed the schemes, the scientists who developed the various advances in recording and playback technology and the artists who created the music" (Ibid, p xix).

John Broven's *Record Makers and Breakers: Voices of the Independent Rock'n'roll Pioneers* (2009), is an interesting oral history based on personal interviews with record company entrepreneurs and musicians the made part of the post WWII explosion of independent record labels in US.[15] From the 1950s until the "corporate take over" of the 1970s, it explores matters related to companies as Chess, Sun and Motown, the recording industry in places like Memphis, Chicago, Nashville, California and New York, the role of Billboard, Tin Pan Alley and the payola scandals, and the relation between hillbilly, rhythm and blues and rock'n'roll music.[16]

An interest in the history of significant institutions in music industry developed broadly since the 1990s, mostly by the hand of music journalists and industry insiders, and constituted a wide collection of works with a biographical character focused on record companies. These biographies of record companies can be grouped in two kinds. One is concerned with the life history of record companies valued for their contribution to specific music styles and that are representative of successful small independent ventures, and the other with the big companies that have dominated the business through-out its history. Representative of the first kind is *Blue Note Records: The Biography* (2003), a life history of New York's renowned label started in late 1930s authored by UK jazz music journalist and record industry insider Richard Cook, along with the biographies of other iconic US record companies established during the 1950s and 1960s—Sun Records, Stax Records, Chess Records, and Elektra—which had significant roles in the development of popular music genres as rock'n'roll, soul, blues, R&B and rock.[17] Representative in the Colombian case is *Colombia musical: una historia... una empresa* (1996), a book commissioned and published by the Discos Fuentes record

journalistic long-term history, even though of less repute, with emphasis on the technology changes of the industry and their outcomes.

[15] Broven is a UK music journalist since 1960s, expert in blues and R&B and related genres, liner notes writer, record collector, and independent re-edits label entrepreneur. Also see: Broven (2016[1974]), for his seminal research on the history of Rhythm & Blues in New Orleans.

[16] Also see: Chapman (1992) for a history of pirate radio stations in 1960s UK.

[17] See: Escott (1992) for Memphis' famed Sun Records and early rock'n'roll; Bowman (2003[1997]) for Stax Records and 1960s soul music; Cohodas (2001) for Chicago's Chess Records, icon of 1950s and 1960s blues and R&B; Holzman (1998) and Houghton (2016 [2010]) for biographies of Elektra records; Kennedy (1999) on jazz music and the Gennett label in 1910s and 1920 [On Gennett also see Barnett (2009)], and Kennedy and McNutt (1999) *Little Labels, Big Sound: Small Record Companies and the Rise of American Music* (1999), on several others from the 1920s to the 1970s, including Gennett Records, along with Paramount Records, Dial Records, King Records, Duke-Peacock Records, Sun Records, Riverside Records, Ace Records, Monument Records, Delmark Records.

company as its official history, co-authored by Colombian music journalist Ofelia Pelaéz and company executive Luis Felipe Jaramillo.[18]

Among biographies of leading major record companies is that of Columbia Records by cultural journalist Gary Marmorstein, *The Label: The Story of Columbia Records* (2007), a book that charts the relations and tensions between people with different roles in the company (artists, executives, producers, artist & repertoire staff, arrangers, recording engineers, publicists), based on company archive material (internal memos, personal correspondence, recording contracts, sales reports).[19] Also noteworthy is Brian Southall's *The Rise & Fall of EMI Records* (2009) among other biographies of the UK company.[20] As well as George Wise's *Willis R. Whitney, General Electric, and the Origins of U.S. Industrial Research* (1985), a biography of the leading figure in the research and development division of a company of broad repercussion in sound technology history.[21] Additionally, a thread of biographies of recording studios can be traced with works in the line of Brian Southall's *Abbey Road: The Story of the World's Most Famous Recording Studios* (1982), Colloms and Weindling (2014) on London's Decca Studios since late 1930s, or Massey (2015) on several others of historical importance in the UK.

Another particular strand of biographies published between the 1990s and the present concentrates on technological innovators and sound engineers. The are several works on the life and work of Edison by journalists and academics alike, with perspectives varying from those contributing to his depiction as a genius inventor (Israel, 1998; Friedel, 2010; Albion, 2011; Clark, 2011), to those who do a critical reading of his persona, his business practices and his ideas about sound recording and reproduction (Millard, 1993). Obscure genius characters and innovators in sound technology history have also been explored by the likes of Robert Charles Alexander (UK audio engineer, sound technology expert and audio industry insider), author of *The Inventor of Stereo: The Life and Works of Alan Dower Blumlein* (1999) and *Michael Gerzon - Beyond Psychoacoustics* (2008), the latter a book about a UK mathematician and sound engineer of the digital era. Several music journalists have written about celebrity sound engineers as Phil Spector (Williams, 1972; Thompson, 2003; Ribowsky, 2006; Brown, 2008), or Joe Meek (Repsch, 2001).

Another branch of researchers and writers within cultural journalism, has moved away from the interest in the institutions as main players in the history of recorded sound, and

[18] There are other two books of this kind published by the record company itself in Medellín: *Discos Fuentes 50 Años* (Fuentes, 1984); *Discos Fuentes 1934 - 1986. 52 Años Con Sonido Y Tradición Musical* (Discos Fuentes, 1986).

[19] Wilentz (2012) provides another history of Columbia Records.

[20] For other histories of EMI see Pandit (1996) and Martland (1997). Southhall is music journalist turned record company executive for the likes of A&M Records, Tamla Motown, Warner Music, EMI, and also a consultant for trade associations BPI and IFPI. Also see Southhall (1982, 2012, 2013, 2017) for histories of Abbey Road studios, about Jimmy Hendrix's period in England, and about the making of Pink Floyd's *Dark Side of the Moon* and The Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*.

[21] Also see: Nathan (1999), for a history of the Sony mass media and technology corporation by a Japanese cultural studies academic; Johnson and Orange (2003) for a biography of Jean-Marie Messier and the mass media conglomerate Vivendi Universal owner of Universal Music Group; and Santelli (2008) for a Warner Bros. Records biography.

developed enquiries into the relation between culture, ideas and technology. Evan Eisenberg's *The Recording Angel: Music, Records and Culture from Aristotle to Zappa* 2005 [1987], a book whose first edition was subtitled *Explorations in Phonography*, provides a philosophical meditation on the cultural changes implied by sound recording technologies in a long term perspective. His exploration departs from the proposition "Music becomes a thing" (Eisenberg, 2005, p9-28), stressing how an important phenomena in this long process as that music becomes tangible in the shape of records, igniting a dialectic between recorded and live music through which phonography changed and multiplied our ways of relating with music.

American music and cultural journalist Greg Milner in *Perfecting Sound Forever: The Story of Recorded Music* (2009), focuses on the cultural and ideological aspects that guided the understanding of the relation between recording technology, sound and music, in a long process in which the practices and discourses of engineers, musicians and audiences blurred the boundaries between "a recording of music—a *representation* of music" and "music itself" (Milner, 2009, p x). The book explores a dialectics in the development of sound technology that appeared in the 1920s and 30s as "[a]coustic versus electrical... with proponents of the former arguing for the purity and transparency of the acoustic process, against the supposedly corrupting effects of the electrical", which posteriorly took the shape of "analog versus digital" (Ibid, p10). Milner's ultimate purpose of understanding power in the history of mass media technology research and development, is revealed by his keen interest in "the points where people with access to the technology decided that *this* was how recordings should sound, and *this* is what it means to make a record" (Ibid, p x).

1.3 Collectors, discographers, archivists and museography

Now, in a way similar to that of antiquarians that pioneered the archaeological discipline in the 19th century (Rockley, 2008), dedicated and knowledge hungry collectors of objects since the 1950s have continued a particular tradition of researcher on the past of recording industry and sound technology. Within the field of popular music studies, Shuker (2017, 2010) has recently taken seriously the social and cultural importance of the practice of record collecting and its meaning, and from a historiography perspective it can be argued that it has conformed into a particular school, organized highly around archival, librarian and museographic principles. [22]

In the US, this tradition has found institutional expression through the likes of the Association for Recorded Sound Collections (ARSC), conformed in 1966 and producing

[22] During my visits to Medellín in order to work in different archives and meet record company executives, I came in contact with different record collectors who happily provided access to their material, which proved a very good source of visual evidence about a variety of labels. Most record collectors I met, were devoted to the tasks of classification and cataloguing in the style of librarians, were proud of the cultural value of their record collection, and also shared a concern about its future, expressed by questions about institutions that might be interested in buying it in order to offer public access to it, as had been the case with that accrued by music business veteran Hernán Restrepo Duque.

since then newsletters, annual conferences, awards for researchers in the field, and also editing the *ARSC Journal* since 1968, a "peer reviewed publication that serves to document the history of sound recording and includes original articles on many aspects of research and preservation: biography; cataloguing; copyright law; current research; discography; technical aspects of sound restoration, etc."[23] Among related authors stands Tim Brooks, member the *ASRC Journal* editorial board with background in US media industries executive and Television and Radio studies, and also a prolific long time author in the journal, concentrated in the early period of recording industry history, with articles as "Columbia Records in the 1890s: Founding the Record Industry." (1978), and "High Drama in the Record Industry: Columbia Records, 1901-1934" (1999).

Among noteworthy authors within this tradition is Brian Rust, respected jazz expert from UK, liner notes writer for releases in the genre, and author of several books and discographies on recordings from the earliest period.[24] Among his earliest books are *Jazz Records, 1897-1942* (1969),[25] *The American Record Label Book: From the 19th Century through 1942* (1978), and also *Discography of Historical Records on Cylinders and 78* (1979), which lists recordings with speeches and talks by prominent figures in politics, literature and others during the early period of such media. Also, Richard S. Sears author of *V-Discs: A History and Discography* (1980), which enquires about recordings produced exclusively for military personnel during WWII by US government in association with the recording industry. A decade later, University of Illinois Press published *Ethnic Music on Records: A Discography of Ethnic Recordings Produced in the United States, 1893 to 1942* (1990), a seven volume discography of foreign language and minority groups recordings put together by Richard K. Spottswood, a US expert in blue grass music and American vernacular recordings, founding member of ARSC and an academic in Library Science.[26] This work is praised by Colombian musicologist Egberto Bermúdez as a fundamental reference discography and history for researchers interested in the early activities of American companies in Latin America (Bermúdez, 2008, p218). Another US author in the same line is Allan Sutton, granted a Lifetime Achievement Award by ARSC in 2013 due to his vast contribution since the 1990s, with works as: *Directory of American Disc Record Brands and Manufacturers, 1891-1943* (1994), a series of three books subtitled *The Evolution of the American Recording Industry*, each covering a different period—*A Phonograph in Every Home... 1900-19* (2010), *Recording the 'Twenties... 1920-29* (2008), *Recording the 'Thirties... 1930-39* (2011)—and the recently published *Race Records and*

[23] The ARSC is explicitly devoted to "the preservation and study of sound recordings—in all genres of music and speech, in all formats, and from all periods" with more than a thousand "private individuals and institutional professionals" including "[a]rchivists, librarians, and curators... alongside record collectors, record dealers, researchers, historians, discographers, musicians, engineers, producers, reviewers, and broadcasters."
http://www.arsc-audio.org/

[24] Rust was also a record collector, BBC record librarian (1945-1960), and writer for *The Gramophone* magazine (1948 to 1970). Also see: Laird, Ross, and Brian Rust. *Discography of OKeh Records, 1918-1934*. Discographies, no. 92. Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2004.

[25] Rust (1978) is its 4th revised edition.

[26] M.A. in Library Science (1962) with thesis: "A catalogue of American Folk Music on commercial recordings at the Library of Congress, 1923-1946"; also involved in the 15 volume series Folk Music in America for the Library of Congress.

the American Recording Industry, 1919-1945: An Illustrated History (2016). During the last decade, this tradition of has been continued by Mainspring Press from Denver, Colorado (and Sutton's work main output) with Alex Van Der Tuuk's book *Paramount's Rise and Fall: The Roots and History of Paramount Records* (2012) which explores the company's recordings from late 1910s to early 1930s.[27] The author is a Dutch music-savvy record collector and celebrated expert in early blues, rhythm and blues and jazz recordings, who recently authored *The New Paramount Book of Blues: Elusive Artists on Paramount Race Records* (2017), a compilation of Afro American artists biographies.[28]

Some notable works in this tradition have been devoted to increasing the visibility of African-Americans and their multiple roles from late 19th to early 20th centuries within the publishing industry, the early acoustic era of recording industry, and in the Broadway theatre circuit. David A. Jasen and Gene Jones' *Spreadin' Rhythm Around: Black Popular Songwriters, 1880-1930* (2013 [1998]), is an important contribution in this sense, based on archival research and using sheet music and newspapers among other sources. Through a series of biographies it gives faith of the work of African-American songwriters and performers responsible for early injections of rag, blues, and jazz into US popular culture and its industries, and also chronicles the activities of black music publishers, entrepreneurs, promoters, as well as actors, singers and dancers within New York's theatre industry of the time. Tim Brooks and Dick Spottswood's *Lost Sounds: Blacks and the Birth of the Recording Industry, 1890 - 1919* (University of Illinois Press, 2005), complements the previous kind of work with research focused specifically on black recording artists from the acoustic period, affirming their significance with a work that combines chronicle, biography, and discography.

This tradition of writers is represented in Colombia by a strand of journalistic history of songs with encyclopaedic and chronicle character pioneered from the 1950s to the 1970s by Añez, Hernán Restrepo Duque and also by Heriberto Zapata Cuéncar (Copacabana, 1910 – Medellín, 1982). The latter started music magazine *La Canción en Colombia* with singer Ricardo Mariscal in 1940s. With a long term background in education he came to established himself as a recognized and productive researcher, devoted to the historical archive since the 1950s.[29] Prolific during the 1960s and 1970s with histories of diverse

[27] The cited book is the 2nd edition of *Paramount's Rise and Fall: A History of the Wisconsin Chair Company and Its Recording Activities* (2003). A related two volume various artists deluxe compilation appeared in Jack White's Third Man Records as: *The Rise And Fall Of Paramount Records 1917-1927, Volume 1*. (Third Man Records - TMR 203, 2013), and *The Rise And Fall Of Paramount Records 1928-1932, Volume 2*. (Third Man Records - TMR 204, 2014). There are plenty of other books of this kind in Mainspring Press, expressly specialized in "high-quality, peer-reviewed books and electronic publications for researchers, librarians, archivists, and advanced collectors of historic sound recordings" (www.mainspringpress.com) [Accessed October 19, 2017]

[28] Other music-savvy record collectors: David Bonner's *Revolutionizing Children's Records: The Young People's Records and Children's Record Guild Series, 1946-1977* (2008).

[29] His personal archive is held by Universidad EAFIT in Medellín as part of their historical patrimony collection, and the documentary material is open for researchers. It is held as part of the music collection in the Sala de Patrimonio Documental of Centro Cultural Biblioteca Luis Echavarría Villegas, Universidad EAFIT. Along with Zapata Cuéncar's music related writing, it comprises a broad collection of music scores, plus originals of his writing in other matters: monographs of municipalities in the Antioquia region,

matters, those about music came to be considered by academia as an early important contribution to "knowledge about Colombian song" (Bermúdez, 2008, p170).[30] Through his work since then until *Antología de la canción en Antioquia* (1995)—an anthology of popular songs from the region published posthumously—Zapata Cuéncar's work joins that of his contemporary Restrepo Duque as another example of what I have called *history of songs*: anthologies and biographies of popular songs produced through systematic, rigorous and dedicated archival methodology that compiles biographies of authors and performers as well as lyrics, emphasizing their worth as a literature genre, and carry as well an interest in discographies and chronologies, and a considerable predisposition to the anecdotal.[31]

Such historiographical approach has proved influential among a group of Colombian non-academic popular music journalists, researchers and writers who gained respect among *aficionados* of relevant music styles and even among record company executives. That is the case of Ofelia Peláez co-author of Discos Fuentes's official history (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996), a popular music expert, history researcher and writer, and also author of the often cited history of songs *Verdades, mentiras y anécdotas de las canciones, sus creadores e intérpretes* (2002) also published by Discos Fuentes. Often seen on local radio and TV, she has become a voice of authority on these matters with other books on tango, bolero and a biography of Venezuelan bolero singer star Alfredo Sadel, in which she makes use of personal experience with the artist in the 1950s (Pelaéz, 2001, 2013). In a similar line of work stands out Alfonso de la Espriella Ossío's *Historia de la música en Colombia. A través de nuestro bolero* (1997), a lengthy work commonly cited as a reference work by those interested in the history of the genre, which compiles biographies giving special emphasis on bolero songs composed and written by Colombians, in this way affirming the importance of the genre in Colombian cultural history.[32]

So does Jaime Rico Salazar with another book about the genre, *Cien Años de Boleros: su historia, sus compositores, sus mejores intérpretes y 600 boleros Inolvidables (*2000) and with *La canción colombiana: Su historia, sus compositores y sus mejores intérpretes* (2004), which includes other styles as bambuco, pasillo, and waltz related to the notion of

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biographies of presidents, historiographical notes, and also monographs on the railroad and the telegraph in Colombia. For Sala de Patrimonio Documental: http://www.eafit.edu.co/biblioteca/Paginas/inicio.aspx and for Patrimonio Musical Universidad EAFIT: http://patrimoniomusical.eafit.edu.co/ [Accessed 23 October 2017]

[30] During the 1960s and early 1970s he completed a tenacious encyclopedic project of four volumes compiling information about Colombian composers (Zapata Cuéncar, 1962, 1968, 1973a, 1973b), and published two biographies: bambuco composer *Pelón Santamarta aka* Pedro León Franco (1867-1952); and composer and orchestra director "maestro Gonzalo Vidal" (Zapata Cuéncar, 1966).

[31] There are no sound recordings in Zapata Cuencar's patrimonial archive, which renders questions about their existence and whereabouts. The collection does include abundant music scores, which is certainly a good starting point for research in the history of music publishing in Colombia, an important but underexplored topic.

[32] The author, a lawyer and long time high executive with Banco de Bogotá (one of the main banks in the country's financial sector), is also a musician and composer.

"Colombian song".[33] The author is known as a 78 rpm and LP record collector and antique hardware repair man who runs an international record collectors association connecting people interested in Latin American music from the 1920 to the 1960s period, as well as *Nostalgias Musicales* magazine published since 2006 (accompanied by the CD series SonoRecuerdos) and in which he has published profusely on music, recordings and the importance of collecting records.[34] Another relevant author in this group is Alberto Burgos Herrera, a retired physician, independent researcher, writer and director of different music radio shows in Medellín, who has published books of the likes of *Música Del Pueblo Pueblo* (2006), in which he aims at bringing to light the life and work of *guasca* music performers between 1950 and 1980, with a compendium of biographies. He concentrates on duets, trios and soloist singers and composers of rural origin that came to the main cities of central Andean region during the 1940s and 1950s escaping political violence, and which having been influenced since the 1930s by Mexican styles as corrido and ranchera common in film and radio (along with music from Ecuador, Perú and Argentina), developed their own take on such music and recorded for the emergent companies in Medellín. This music genre named by Burgos Herrera (2006, p17) as "música campesina, guasca y montañera", sits in between the rural and the urban and mid way from the local to the cosmopolitan, and is also known as "música de carrilera" [railroad music], all terms denoting the rural origin of the artists, but perhaps too silent about their actual modernity and complexity.[35]

The work of authors as Peláez, de la Espriella, Rico Salazar, and Burgos Herrera—leaders in a particular batch of non academic historians—represents a strand of historiography that has developed to some extent in Colombia, in which anthology and discography join chronicle and biography, following encyclopaedic principles. It is common in this strand of non-academic historiography that songs are the central character, the angle of approach to a history which is that of their authors, interpreters and others involved in either writing, recording, disseminating or listening to the songs.[36] These particular Colombian authors though, might suffer from carelessness in the treatment of sources

[33] The latter offers more than eight hundred pages compiling biographies of composers and performers since late 19th century, discographies, lyrics with guitar tablature, and a 24 vol. CD collection.

[34] See: *Nostalgias Musicales*, no 1, 2006, p62. for information on Club Internacional de Coleccionistas de Discos y Amigos de la Canción Popular [International Club of Record Collectors and Friends of Popular Song]. Also see: Rico Salazar (2006) on 78 rpm records as cultural patrimony and Rico Salazar (2009) on radio and bolero in Latin America.

[35] Also see Burgos Herrera (2000, 2001) and the author's blog with extended biographies and entries on the subject: "Biografías de Artistas, Intérpretes y Compositores de la Música Guasca o de Carrilera de Antioquia", http://biografiasantioquia.blogspot.com/ [Accessed: 2017-10-23]. And see as well: López Botero (1985) on "música de carrilera," which compiles representative songs by Mexican composers, songs by Colombian composers, biographies of composers and interpreters from both countries, and with some discussion on the origins of the term.

[36] Additional valuable sources of the same tradition with emphasis on Caribbean and Atlantic Coast tropical music are Ruiz Hernández (1983) with similar multi biography and anecdotic character, Torres Montes de Oca (2000) with three volumes compiling conservatories on the subject by different kinds of experts, academics, and record collectors; and Bassi and Santana (2012) which compiles articles on the life and work of Colombian 1940s porro celebrity Lucho Bermúdez. Other particular approaches to the history of popular songs published in Medellín are: Orlando Mora (1989) which meditates on the lyrics of Colombian songs; and Fabio Betancur (1993) which explores the international aspect of popular music in Colombia and its confluences with Afro Cuban music.

according to Bermúdez (2008) which of course reduces their value, also hindered by their overtly anecdotic character and very limited exploration of broader social, cultural, philosophic, economic or political aspects. It is worth noting though, that these particular authors have a significant relation with the period of the past they study because their research concerns the popular music of their youth days. While this puts their motivation as writers in the terrain of nostalgia, the urge to document their own lives, it also gives them a significant character of direct participants. This gives worth to their work, in terms of memoir value, but also because it is *text* produced by people that experienced the period and the popular culture phenomena studied, or that have broadly played a role within the music industry. The character of these works then, fluctuates from secondary to primary sources, and in these terms they remain valuable and useful (with the necessary warnings), and this is certainly an ambiguity which can be found in many of the works reviewed so far.[37]

Finally, in parallel and in direct relation with the tradition of record collecting/cataloguing researchers, after Read and Welch (1959) many other technology-savvy collectors of phonographs, gramophones and other early period sound recording and reproduction machines have continued a tradition of research on these matters with a characteristic technical emphasis and a museographich appeal. Among other early works is *Talking Machines, 1877-1914: Some Aspects of the Early History of the Gramophone* (1967) written by museum curator Viktor Kenneth Chew and co-published by the Science Museum in London.[38] Chew was a graduate and university professor in physics, and also a musician, who worked as a curator of the Physics Department in the museum from the late 1950s to late 1970s, involved with the Vibrations and Wave Motion Collection, part of Acoustic Collection which comprised different models of gramophones, phonographs and other sound technology objects.[39] This tradition was continued during the following decades until the new century by several authors, from George L. Frow and Albert F. Sefl's *The Edison Cylinder Phonographs: A Detailed Account of the Entertainment Models until 1929* (1978) to *The Compleat Talking Machine: A Collector's Guide to Antique Phonographs* (2007) by Eric L. Reiss a collector and restorer of jukeboxes, player pianos and old phonographs.[40] Noteworthy among them, is Peter Copeland's *Sound Recordings*

[37] Also see: Millán Grajales (2010) for experience on cataloguing, preservation and producing discographies for the Antonio Cuellar sound recordings archive at Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas in Bogotá, containing a collection of more than 17 thousand recordings of 20th century Latin American and Colombian popular music, put together by Antonio Cuellar (1929-1995), a consummated record collector and DJ who also worked as a plumber, electrician and bar tender. The collection contains recordings in different formats, with up to 75% of it being 78 rpm records (13150 units), and also 33 rpm and 45 rpm records (14%) and magnetic tapes and cassettes (11%).

[38] Further editions of the book were published in the following decades (London: H.M.S.O, 1973; and 2nd ed. London: H.M.S.O, 1981).

[39] For more details on Chew see: "Kenneth Chew: Schoolmaster and Museum Curator." *The Times*, July 30, 2008. https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/kenneth-chew-schoolmaster-and-museum-curator-jc7kwv3w0j3. [Accessed: 2017-09-10 18:52:43]

[40] Others are: George L. Frow's *The Edison Disc Phonographs and the Diamond Discs: A History with Illustrations* (1982), Daniel Marty's *Illustrated History of Talking Machines* (1981), and Joe E. Ginn's *The Magnificent Music Machine* (1996), Timothy C. Fabrizio and George F. Paul's *The Talking Machine: An Illustrated Compendium, 1877-1929* (1997).

(1991) published by the British Library: a history written by a 1960s to 1980s BBC sound engineer, celebrated for his involvement in wild life films, and who later moved on to work as a preservation of historic recordings with the National Sound Archive.[41]

2. Academic historiographies, 1970s to 2010s: traditions, schools and threads in an interdisciplinary object of study

In contrast to non-scholarly interest and writing, evidenced as early as the 1940s, bibliography by authors within academia with a serious interest in the history of recording industry and its associated sound technologies emerges rather late. Judging on the bibliography compiled on the matter, while a handful of works pioneer the matter in late 1970s, it is not until the 1990s that it starts expanding into a rich variety of approaches available today.[42] In the following pages I will review main academic works following three moments that can be observed in the development scholarly interest—from UK, US and Colombia—in the history of recording and sound technology industries: the early inquiries by authors in the disciplines of sociology, economics and popular music studies; the development of the subject through musicology and ethno-musicology; and its 21st century flourishing among different sorts of academic historians in fields as media history, science and technology history, and cultural history. The continuation of each of these approaches, and their overlapping, conform a broad and multidisciplinary academic historiography on the subject, which I will explore in what follows. It emerges from the study of popular music and is continued with the recent cultural study of sound; from institutional, economic and technology aspects of popular music production, and the myriad understanding of popular music consumption, to the study of social and cultural aspects of technology.

The dialectics of mass media technologies and industrialized production of culture as either potentially emancipating or inevitably alienating—Walter Benjamin's “The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility" (1935–6) and Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno's “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception" (1944) — landmarks scholarly thought on 20th century mass culture during a significant conjuncture in 20th century history. Benjamin's and Adorno's thought is contemporary with the economic shock of 1930s economic depression, the political rise of fascism in Europe, and also with the unfolding of a new era in the history of media technology known as the "electrical era" (Millard, 2005). Their thought on mass culture and media was developed in a time when electrical methods of sound recording made records sound considerably louder, and during which recorded music proliferated through radio broadcasting and particularly through the novelty of sound in film.

[41] “WildFilmHistory - Peter Copeland.” http://www.wildfilmhistory.org/person/137/Peter+Copeland.html [Accessed October 19, 2017]

[42] More than 80% of the related titles compiled in the bibliography were published from the 1990s onwards and the majority of them during the 21st century.

Along with Adorno's pessimistic understanding of jazz and popular music as alienating and regressive phenomena,[43] there are two noteworthy short essays which meditate both on the immateriality of recorded sound and on the tangibility of records, phonographs and gramophones: “The Curves of the Needle” (1927) and “The Form of the Phonograph Record” (1934). In the earliest, Adorno presents an argument against talking machines or gramophone. He complains that sound quality has declined, that records fail the promise of better sound quality and reveal themselves as mere and faint illusions, that recordings are necessarily inferior to actual performances, and insists that "[t]he relevance of the talking machines is debatable" (Adorno, 1990, pp50-51). Adorno embraces critique of the present, pessimistic assessment of the future, and also a brief historical interpretation: "The transformation of the piano from a musical instrument into a piece of bourgeois furniture - which Max Weber accurately perceived- is recurring in the case of the gramophone but in an extraordinarily more rapid fashion" (Ibid, p51). His conception of the role of talking machines in history is therefore that of acceleration of cultural decline, as he interprets the gramophone as an instrument for advancing individualistic and narcissistic bourgeois values, as one more "utensil of the private life that regulates the consumption of art" since the 19th century (Ibid, p50). The matter is closed with a touch of sarcasm, suggesting gramophones are perhaps more interesting "when the mechanical spring wears out" (Ibid, p55).[44] And particularly with a dose of pessimistic prognosis, professing "the historical limits of the talking machines are inscribed upon them" (Ibid, p54). Such was Adorno's sarcasm and teleology in 1927, right before the electrical era of sound technology unfolded.

Several decades later in UK and US, a variety of academic traditions of historiography were pioneered by researchers in the 1970s whose interest derived from the remarkable growth of popular music industry after WWII, and particularly with the mass phenomenon of rock'n'roll during the 1950s and 1960s. These traditions emanate from the encounter of sociology and the emerging field of popular music studies in the 1970s, which forges a particular interest in understanding the inner workings of record companies, the business aspect of popular music, and the consequences of the industrial mode of production in the cultural phenomena. The following pages trace their development as popular music studies, social history of popular music, and economic history since the 1970s, and since late 20th century as business history, music business scholarship, and management or organizational studies.

[43] See Adorno: “On Jazz" (1989 [1936]), “On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening (2001 [1938]), and “On Popular Music" (2002 [1941]).

[44] "[W]hen the mechanical spring wears out. At this point the sound droops in chromatic weakness and the music bleakly plays itself out. Only when gramophonic reproduction breaks down are its objects transformed. Or else one removes the records and lets the spring run out in the dark." (Adorno, 1990, p55).

2.1 From sociology and organizational studies to popular music studies: the *production-of-culture* approach, cultural industries, and business history

A set of works published during the 1970s studying *mass culture* and *popular music* with special emphasis in the production sphere of the music industry, represent a significant shift from the rather one dimensional Adornian critique of cultural industries, to one that embraced their centrality in contemporary culture and set goals in understanding how they actually worked, using empirical research methods. The early work of Paul Morris Hirsch grounded in economic sociology during the turn to the 1970s, provided an early sociological understanding of the inner workings of the business in US with *The Structure of the Popular Music Industry: The Filtering Process by Which Records Are Preselected for Public Consumption* (1969), a text with a bit more than seventy pages published by the Institute for Social Research in University of Michigan, followed soon by "Processing Fads and Fashions: An Organization-Set Analysis of Cultural Industry Systems" (1972), a contribution to the *American Journal of Sociology*.[45] Hirsch's is an early approach to matters of structure and strategy in the music industry with a systemic conception of the cultural industries as a complex network of organizations (as opposed to analyses concentrating on a particular company).[46] It had resonance among sociologists and academics in the emerging field of popular music studies in US and UK, as was the case with early sociological studies of rock music: R. Serge Denisoff's *Solid Gold: Popular Record Industry* (1975) focused in the US case and Simon Frith's *The Sociology of Rock* (1978) in the UK, both providing ground-breaking insight into the contemporary popular music industry through their genre specific appraisal.

These early scholarship, if not historiography, provided synchronic analysis of music industry during their time and activated a sociological theorisation in the field of popular music studies, from which several works concerned with the history of recording industry derived, following a systemic conception, interest in the sphere of production, and analysis of structure and strategy of recording companies. Simon Frith's "The Industrialization of Music" (1988) provided a long term analysis of the music industry in the western world since the late 19th century until the 1980s economic crisis, characterising it as a series of cycles of boom and slump explained by economic, political and social factors, while Dave Laing concentrated in the early period with "A Voice without a Face: Popular Music and the Phonograph in the 1890s" (1991). Among later

[45] Hirsch continued a prolific publishing career as an academic and is today an authority in the field of organizational and management studies.

[46] Regarding his early work, Hirsch remarks: "I emphasized the key roles of gatekeeper and distributor organizations as critical in connecting the artist/creators to audience/consumers of mass, or "popular" culture (as it had more acceptingly come to be called). Altogether, this network of organizations-from creators (artists, musicians, actors, writers) and brokers (agents), through the cultural product's producers (publishers, studios), distributors (wholesalers, theaters), and media outlets-collectively constitute cultural industries" (Hirsch, 2000: 356). He conceptualizes the latter as industries producing "cultural products" which he defines as "'nonmaterial' goods directed at a public of consumers, for whom they generally serve an aesthetic or expressive, rather than a clearly utilitarian function" (Hirsch, 1972, p641, quoted in Hirsch, 2000, p356).

works by these two proliferous authorities in UK popular music studies, it is worth mentioning Frith and Marshall (2006 [1993]) who wrote an edited volume with important contributions to the history of music and copyright, and "The Recording Industry in the Twentieth Century" (2013) a recent essay by Dave Laing analysing its long term history and outlining a series of periods with their particular characteristics and guiding forces.[47]

Another key and early contributor to the field of popular music studies is cultural sociologists Richard A. Peterson, a leading scholar in popular music since the 1970s that shared "organizational sociology's focus on what became known as the 'production of culture'" (Hirsch, 2000, p357).[48] As Peterson himself later defined it, "[t]he production of culture perspective focuses on how the symbolic elements of culture are shaped by the systems within which they are created, distributed, evaluated, taught, and preserved" (Peterson and Anand, 2004, p311),[49] and its systemic analysis allows for a "six-facet model of the production nexus": technology, law and regulation, industry structure, bureaucratic organizational structure, occupational careers, and market (Ibid, p313). This perspective was applied in different works of his examining the recent past of US music industry. Peterson (1975) analysed the period of 1948 to 1973 in US popular music industry, "devoted to detailing the mechanisms which condition the cyclical development of popular music", in order to theorize the relation between changes in concentration/competition in industry structure with homogeneity/diversity in the music (Ibid, p170). It claimed to have supported two hypothesis about such cyclic behaviour: i) "the cycle consists of a relatively long period of gradually increasing concentration and homogeneity followed by a brief burst of competition and creativity" (Ibid);[50] ii) "that the degree of diversity in musical forms is inversely related to the degree of market concentration."[51] Posterior history minded works deployed a genre specific approach: from Peterson (1990) which examined a 1954-1956 conjuncture in which swing bands

[47] Also see: Laing (2003a, 2003b) for succinct accounts on the matter, and Laing (2009) on "Copyright, Politics and the International Music Industry."

[48] His key early works were published in sociology journals: "Cycles in Symbol Production: The Case of Popular Music" (Peterson and Berger, 1975) and "The Production of Cultural Change: The Case of Contemporary Country Music" (Peterson, 1978). In this line of research, see also "Measuring Industry Concentration, Diversity, and Innovation in Popular Music" (Peterson and Berger, 1996).

[49] "Initially, practitioners of this perspective focused on the fabrication of expressive-symbol elements of culture, such as art works, scientific research reports, popular culture, religious practices, legal judgments, journalism (Peterson 1976), and other parts of what are now often called the culture or creative industries. Recently, the perspective has been successfully applied to a range of quite different situations in which the manipulation of symbols is a by-product rather than the purpose of the collective activity (Crane 1992, Peterson 2001)." (Peterson and Anand, 2004, p311).

[50] "While the degree of market concentration is by no means as complete in 1973 as it was in 1948, the data for these 26 years fit the hypothesized model quite well. By the time scale of the jazz revolution, the reconcentration phase of the cycle is not yet complete for it was 35 years from the time that jazz exploded on the highly concentrated Tin Pan Alley music industry in 1919 (Goldberg, 1930; Ewen, 1964; Leonard, 1962; Peterson, 1972) until rock-n-roll again broke through the barriers of music industry concentration" (Peterson, 1975, p170).

[51] "The observation that changes in concentration lead rather than follow changes in diversity contradicts the conventional idea that in a market consumers necessarily get what they want (McPhee, 1966)" and also the idea that "repetitive presentation can induce consumers to buy whatever they hear" because as they find "consumers may simply withdraw from the market" Peterson, 1975, p170).

and crooners were displaced by rock'n'roll music in US popular music charts, explaining the phenomena through an analysis of the different interrelated facets of the business;[52] to an early interest in country music that crystalized in *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity* (1997), which marked the maturity of his career and the production of culture approach to popular music, with an archive based research on country music in US from the 1920 to 1950s, and a structural analyses that tracked the interplay between different players and aspects of the music industry, influenced by the *invention of tradition* argument associated with social historian Eric Hobsbawn.[53]

The sociological examination of culture and many other forms of *symbol* production through the *production-of-culture* approach flourished by the end of the 20th century (Peterson, 1994, 2004), along with the field of popular music studies and scholarship under the umbrella of cultural industries. The work of music sociologists Keith Negus along with work by Paul DuGay during the 1990s, represent a significant progression of the study of production in the music industry, known for the dialectic proposition *production of culture/cultures of production*: stressing that in the analysis of production it is fundamental to acknowledge the anthropological culture aspect in regards to people that worked within the record companies or other industries: production shapes the symbolic or cultural product, as much as cultural and sociological aspects of society at large affect the functioning and decisions of companies.[54]

Negus' *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures* (1999) condenses a decade of research in the music industry, from how artists are found and developed, to the analysis of structure and strategy and their relation to music genre in corporate major companies operating in 1990s US (Negus, 1991, 1992, 1998, 1999). While *Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman* (1997) had extended the production of culture approach to the sound technology industry, articulating the sphere of consumption in the analysis, through a

[52] "Examining how rock music displaced swing bands and crooners to become the dominant form of U.S. popular music in just three short years between 1954 and 1956, Peterson (1990) first used the six-facet model. Before rock, innovations in *technology* were in the hands of the major corporations; after rock, technological advances worked to the advantage of smaller independent firms, and the same change occurred in the workings of *law and regulation*. Four firms dominated the *industry structure* of the swing/crooner era. Because of destabilizing changes triggered by the alterations in law and technology, large numbers of independent record companies and radio stations successfully entered the field by making music targeted at a specific audience. In the swing/crooner era, the bureaucratic *organizational structure* of the dominating firms facilitated the efficient monopolizing of all the factors of production but could only respond slowly to changing popular tastes. In the rock era, innovative, small, loosely structured organizations gained market share by being attuned to changing tastes of a particular slice of the public. In the crooner era, participants typically lived out their *occupational careers* as specialists within one corporation, but rock-era workers in the small companies had little job security, and many specialists in major firms worked on short-term contracts. The safe but often stultifying bureaucratic environment was replaced by the tension-filled freedom of freelance work. In the swing/crooner era, the *market* for popular music was identified as one homogeneous mass, and the oligarchs competed for a larger piece of the pie. Beginning with the rock era, the market became defined as an ever-expanding set of heterogeneous niches." (Peterson and Anand, 2004, pp313-314).

[53] See: Eric Hobsbawman and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 2010).

[54] See: Du Gay ed. (1997).

collaborative effort by Paul Du Gay, Stuart Hall, Linda James, Hugh Mackay, and Keith Negus.[55]

Another essential contributor to the study of production in popular music is David Hesmondhalgh, whose early work provided a sociological study a conjuncture in the history of independent record companies in UK from 1970s to 1990s (Hesmondhalgh, 1996, 1997). His posterior work *The Cultural Industries* (2002), which has been published in several revised editions in the last decades, summarises previous scholarship on cultural industries and related matters, in order to advance a long term historical analysis of change and continuity in different aspects familiar to study of production. His long term interpretation of the history of cultural industries from late 19th century to the end of the 20th century, is that while many important and consequential changes and rearrangements had taken place, the essential patterns conformed in the long run, and firmly established by the 1950s, exhibited considerable continuity. His argument stands in opposition to those within post-structuralism that stress change and perceive the end of the century as a completely new era in history—globalization, digital technology, internet, postmodern culture—of the likes of Lash and Lurry (2007), who interprets long term change as the passing from *national culture industry* to, of course, *global culture industry*, in which immaterial *cultural objects* are produced in the fluidity of their transformations across different industries.[56]

All together, the production-of-culture and cultural industries tradition in popular music studies since the 1970s, developed an understanding of record companies, among other industries as film and broadcasting industry, emphasising their fundamental character of symbol and rights economy and multifaceted system of players with a complex operation. This understanding unravelled debates about institutions as determinants of the cultural product and the problem of artistic autonomy in the industrial mode of production, through empirical inside understanding of cultural industries. It was expanded and matured during the following decades in which the cultural industries were theorized as a fundamentally risky business, a game of many failures in which a company strategy struggles to cope with anxieties about the fundamental uncertainty about the success of new products, and with the domain of distribution as a special locus of (Miége, 1989; Garnham, 1990; Hirsch, 2000; Negus, 1999; Hesmondhalgh, 2007). While historical work in this tradition stresses the interrelatedness of the hardware and software spheres, the theorization of cultural industries tends to differentiate them, even if they analyse technology as one fundamental aspect, with some exceptions as Lash and Lurry (2007) which does some theorizing about the relatedness of the *culture industry* and *technology industry* in late 20th century.

From Paul Hirsch's early contributions to knowledge about popular music industry from the angle of organizational sociology and economics, another group of traditions in the

[55] See: Apráez Villota (1992), a sociology thesis analysing recording industry in 1990s Colombia.
[56] As the case of a book that is translated into a play and then into a film, and later is transposed in the shape of referential advertisement, toys, and different material forms and transformations of the same *object*.

historiography of recording industry can be traced. They have in common that their focus is not on changes in musical culture but specifically on how institutions and the business aspect works. In the Colombian case, it is worth mentioning an early study in the economics of the music industry by Fernando Gastelbondo Gnecco (1978), who presented "Elementos Para La Caracterización de La Industria Fonográfica En Colombia" (1978) [Elements for the characterization of the phonographic industry] as his thesis in economics. This is the first available analysis of music recording industry in Colombia as "an economic sector" that deals with "an important component of the social superstructure" (Ibid, pp1-2), so its uniqueness compensates for its brevity.[57] It provides an analysis of structure and strategy based on interviews with record companies executives with Philips, Sonolux, and Fonogramas FM, and other people working in distribution, radio broadcasting and retailing, and also on an analysis of "costs in the sector" [Ibid].[58] He argues that industry strategy is geared towards three central aims: "creating a subjective image of the phonographic product", "achieving a determined form of appropriation of musicians work", "and mainly to securing the representation of foreign phonographic labels" [Ibid]. This work provides a synchronic view of the industry right before the late 1970s world economic crisis and the early 1980s decline in Colombian industrialization, so it describes a late moment in the so-called *Golden age* [See Chapter 1]. Zuleta and Jaramillo (2003, p1) in turn, did the same in a later moment, when the country was recovering from a late 1990s economic crisis, with an exhaustive and systemic analysis of "the phonographic sector" and its "impact" in the economy, commissioned by a set of national government institutions.[59]

There is no proper history of Colombian record industry from this perspective, and it is worth noting that the absence of historical sales figures is a major obstacle in this direction, a matter evident in Hung and Garcia Morencos (1990), a statistical history of world level sales of records from 1969-1990 published by IFPI.[60] Elsewhere, histories focused in the institutions and business aspect of recording industry have also been written within the field of *business history* as Geoffrey Jones's "The Gramophone Company: An Anglo-American Multinational, 1898-1931." (1985) and Gerben Bakker "The Making of a Music Multinational: PolyGram's International Businesses, 1945-1998" (2006),[61] and also within the theoretically elaborate field of organizational studies or

[57] The text is only 60 pages long. [My translations]

[58] Interviewees include: Francisco Montoya, president of the "Fonogramas FM" record company (later named "Discos y Cintas FM") and Prodiscos distribution operation, Manuel Vellón, radio disk-jockey and A&R with Phillips, Guillermo Zea from Asincol, the Colombian phonographic association, and people from domestic collecing society Sayco. Also well known musicians as Lucho Bermúdez (as "propietario editorial 'Rima'"), Rafael Escalona Jr., and Alfredo Gutiérrez.

[59] Colombian association of phonographic industry ASINCOL and Discos Fuentes (1994) provided a later assessment with emphasis in the economics of production in a report with information on artists, record companies, the "creation" process, technology, figures, and "international commerce". It is noteworthy that there are no sales figures at all, but figures of the overall production costs involved in each LP, Cassette and CD formats: "production costs and administrative expenses", "distributors margin", "net utility for the phonographic producer", "taxes" (p. 56).

[60] For information on diverse music business scholarship, see: "Music Business Research." Music Business Research. Accessed November 1, 2017. https://musicbusinessresearch.wordpress.com/

[61] Also see Mabry (1990) on the US independent label Ace Records during the 1950s and 60s.

strategic management, as is the case of a collective effort by Marc Huygens et al. (2001). On a theory level they propose a notion of "co-evolution," the assumption that "research behaviour drives co-evolutionary processes" (Ibid, p250), to understand changes in behaviour and competition between companies from 1877 to 1997.[62] While technical jargon obfuscates the theoretical discussion, they arrive at an elaborate periodization of the long history of recording industry, based on thorough analysis of key secondary sources on the subject. They discern seven consecutive "competitive regimes at industry level" in history, each with particular characteristics or "capabilities" (Ibid). In the light of this systematic diachronic analysis of structure and strategy of international recording industry, its history can be understood as going through a series of two-to-three-decades periods: Competition for hardware technology, 1877 to 1914, Edison, Berliner and Columbia; Competition for Software, 1914 to 1930s: New entry by content providers; Competition for markets: 1930s, The competition from radio, Decca's entry, The new 'star' system; New strategies, 1930s and early 1940s, Radio moves from competitor to collaborator; The arrival of alternative music, the late 1940s and 50s; Competition for labels, 1960s and 1970s, Warner's entry and the Federal System; Competition for catalogues: 1980s, Profits from intellectual property rights.

2.2 Other social and economic histories: musicianship, recording industry and material culture

Along with the traditions of popular music studies and production-of-culture, a diverse array of social histories have been written. Among the earliest works available, Eric Hobsbawm's *The Jazz Scene* (1959) stands as a pioneering contribution, particularly significant for the social analysis of music it exemplifies and for the ideas it develops regarding the relation between jazz and the music business. Other commonly cited early social histories appear almost two decades later. French economist Jacques Attali published *Bruits: essai sur l'économie politique de la musique* (1977), translated later as *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* (1985), which is a recognised founding work in the analysis of the long term process of commodification music, concentrating on the relation between musicians, power institutions and the economy from the 14th to 20th century. A year later, Steve Chapple and Reebee Garofalo published the pioneer study *Rock "N" Roll Is Here to Pay: The History and Politics of the Music Industry* (1978). Even though with less theoretical depth than previous authors, this work also provided an early study of history of the music in which genealogies of artists and music styles are analysed as a complex phenomenon in which social, political and business aspects interact.

Hobsbawm's *The Jazz Scene* (1959) brought together the author's passion for music, his craft as a jazz critic and music journalist, and his endeavour as a historian. It was particularly groundbreaking, firstly because it provided an outstandingly early social analysis of the past of the music style organized in three broad parts: from its "prehistory"

[62] Within management studies, also see: Kaiser and Stouraitis (2001) and the corporate strategy and finances of Thorn EMI.

in the African world, to its rapid "expansion" since the decades from the late 1930s, to its "transformation" up to the time of the author's writing. Secondly, emanating from the school of UK Marxist historian's know as *history from below*, this book meant academia taking popular music seriously in a way that contrasted significantly with Frankfurt school Adornian critique of culture industry, reading its race politics and social identity and cohesion aspects as an "extraordinary conquest and a remarkable aspect of the society in which we live". Thirdly, *The Jazz Scene* deployed an analysis of music that broke with musicology's interest in formal analysis, linking the aesthetic with the social, jazz is understood as a fundamental 20th century "cultural phenomena" and as a "part of modern life" (Hobsbawm, 1993, p70). Hobsbawm's book can be considered as an early contribution to the development of popular music studies, and to the historiography of recording industry in the US, deploying a systemic social analysis, which in using the terms "the world of jazz" or the "jazz scene", underlines a supra-musical conception of jazz and popular music as a complex social structure that consists of different elements:

> the musicians who play them, black and white, American and non-American... the places in which they play, the business and technical structure which is built round the sounds, the associations they call up [and also] of the people who listen to it, write about it, and read about it... [and of] that vast section of modern popular entertainment and commercial music which has been profoundly transformed by the influence of jazz (Ibid).

The Jazz Scene is organized in four parts: history, music (relations between blues and jazz, the Big Band jazz phenomena and the social relations of solidarity between members, the relations of the music with other arts), people (in which the musicians, "the public" as well as "Jazz as protest" are explored), and business. In the latter, Hosbawm studies "the jazz business" in the late 1950s using first-hand documentation" (Ibid, p37), representing a study of historical value in the present. The section explains "how jazz functions as a business and technical enterprise, and how this affects it musically and in other ways" (Ibid, p413), in order "to show that the musical character and prospects of jazz cannot be divorced from its character and prospects as a business" (Ibid, p462). It is worth noting how in this sense Hobsbawm predates ideas leading to the production-of-culture approach by at least a decade, as the historian already understood the dialectics of artistic autonomy and creativity and business organization:

> Jazz is not only a way of making music, but also one of making profits. Few of the popular arts have been subsidized, whether by public or private patronage. Mostly, like jazz, they have been forms of commercial entertainment by professional artists hired by various kinds of private entrepreneurs. Box-office and sales chart are what determine the movements of such arts and the fate of the artists. What the jazz-lover hears, therefore, depends not only on the creative urges of the musicians and other imponderables, but on the way jazz is organized as a business (Ibid, p413).

Attali's political economy is part historiography and part teleological speculation, as well as it is an Adornian reading of the 20th century recording industry and its present and a Benjaminean prognosis of its future. His account of music commodification traces a history of the relations of music with "the world of production, exchange, and desire", and

also outlines "the slow degradation of use into exchange, of representation into repetition", and its counterpart, "the prophecy, announced by today's music, of the potential for a new political and cultural order" (Attali, 1985, p31). In his long run historiography of music, "it is possible to distinguish... three zones, three stages, three strategic usages of music by power," and these provide the guiding chapter structure of the book: "sacrificing" deals with pre-capitalist medieval period, "representing" focuses on the 16th to 19th century, and "repeating" on the 19th to 20th century.[63] As Attali explains:

> In one of these zones, it seems that music is used and produced in the ritual in an attempt to make people forget the general violence; in another, it is employed to make people believe in the harmony of the world, that there is order in exchange and legitimacy in commercial power; and finally, there is one in which it serves to silence, by mass-producing a deafening, syncretic kind of music, and censoring all other human noises (Ibid, p31).[64]

In the long run, musicians role in society changes from: nomad jongleurs to salaried minstrels playing in churches and courts since the 14th century; to composers in the development of a music publishing industry since the 16th century, exploiting music scores, a new musical commodity increasingly used by performers, as places for live music started developing in the conformation of cities; and later to a role as "molders" or as producers of "molds" from which copies are made by industrial practice. This later era of recording industry, is analysed under "*Repeating"* (Ibid, p87-132), a chapter covering from the era of Edison to the author's present time, in which Attali sketches several elements of a theory of the political economy of recording music business. A fundamental point there, is that it is "essentially an industry of manipulation and promotion", in which strategy is concerned with "the production of demand, not the production of supply" (Ibid, p103). That involves different activities of promotion, advertising, marketing, as "the hit parade" and so on.

The key matter in the political economy of music industrialization in Attali's argument is then the “control over distribution" and "over the production of demand and not the production of the commodity” (Ibid, p139). As seen previously, similar ideas were modelled by pioneer researchers in the sociology of music industry and its organization, and were further elaborated in the 1990s by scholars in the *production-of-culture* tradition and others analysing the political economy of cultural industries. Nevertheless, the overall orientation of Attali's analysis markedly contrasts with other authors of the time (specially those taking popular music seriously as Hobsbawn or Frith) due to his almost militant Adornian conception of the relation of music and industry as necessarily

[63] In a Marxian gesture, Attali moves from historical analysis to teleology by sketching two possible futures. In a utopia/dystopia prediction, one future is emancipatory and the other is regressive. In the first music might be used for "composing" new social relations outside of economic exchange, aiding “the birth of a new music beyond the existing codes”, in which “each individual may create his own network” (Attali, 1985, p117). In the dystopian future, “a new dictatorship of representation and the emplacement of a new dominant code” may “allow the network of a dictator to impose itself” (Ibid).

[64] Regarding his historical model of a series of periods he annotates: “The simultaneity of multiple codes, the variable overlappings between periods, styles, and forms, prohibits any attempt at a genealogy of music, a hierarchical archeology, or a precise ideological pinpointing of particular musicians" (Ibid, p31).

regressive, and of the culture industry as an all powerful and in control agent with unrestricted and effective power of manipulation. It not only produces demand, but produces the consumer, the market for new music styles, and even youth as a separate group within society (Ibid, p110). For Attali the result of the relation of music and industry is "Mass music for an anesthetized market", or "degraded, censored, artificial music" (Ibid, p105). During 20th century music is at its furthest from its original and essential ritualistic and social bonding function, as it becomes an increasingly individualistic and meaningless act of conspicuous and exacerbated consumption, through it music lost meaning "like a language whose speakers have forgotten the meaning of its words but not its syntax" (Ibid, p36).[65]

While such understanding is dated and dissonant with the development of scholarship in popular music, in Attalian theory of music there is, nonetheless, a fruitful notion for the social analysis of music. In *Noise...* (1985 [1979]) he aims "to trace the political economy of music as a succession of *orders* (in other words, differences) done violence by *noises* (in other words, the calling into question of differences) that are *prophetic* because they create new orders, unstable and changing." In this sense his book aims at constructing something "like a map, a structure of interferences and dependencies between society and its music" (Ibid, p31). Attali's notion of noise, reflects on the social character of sound as a dialectics of noise/music. It implies an understanding of music as a social practice which involves a fundamental politics, a process of establishing a socially accepted *code*: power is at the centre of determining what counts as music and what doesn't. While Attali's analysis of recording industry's role in such processes is misleading, from his theory one learns that discourses about noise in the world of music are indexes of the transgression of accepted codes, new forms of music and the people that play them are perhaps pushing for recognition. Some organizations of noise push forward and become accepted as music, while others might remain as mere *noise* from a hegemonic point of view. In simple terms, Attali's work teaches that in social history it is common to find that someone's *music* is someone else's *noise*, and that one's organization of noise into music potentially silences that of others.[66]

As a progressive activist, Reebee Garofalo's account of the history of rock'n'roll is guided by an interest in music as a vehicle for grass root politics, but his scrutiny of the business aspect remains biased by concerns with corruption and the power of manipulation wielded by big industry players. His 1970s research on this matter was updated and expanded two decades later in *Rockin' out: Popular Music in the U.S.A* (Garofalo and

[65] The function of consumption of recordings of popular music as vehicles of cultural identity don't compensate for loss of music's ritualistic social bonding essence; when invested with relative and diverse meanings everywhere it is listened, it works as a shell and not as a nut.

[66] It is worth noting though that in his pessimistic analysis of the 20th century, Attali presents music industry as the main locus of power over such manifestations of noise, it has the power of transforming noise into music, but the author is more concerned with its power of silencing noises that don't fit with commercial aims: "Possessing the means or recording allows one to monitor noises, to maintain them, and to control their repetition within a determined code. In the final analysis, it allows one to impose one's noise and to silence others" (Attali, 1985, p87).

Waksman, 1996),[67] providing a renown social history of the music. Garofalo's analysis of the history of the music is attentive to how at the same time it reflects and is determined by social context, and to particular aspects as class and gender, and significantly to the inner workings of the business side of music (including data on sales figures and charts); even though it is regardless of theorisation, and falls short in explaining change and how it relates to broader social structures.[68]

Posterior work by the author nevertheless, provides an important reference in the historiography of the music industry as "From Music Publishing to MP3: Music and Industry in the Twentieth Century" (Garofalo, 1999). This is another long run analysis of the history of popular music and its industrialization, even though narrower in time scope than Attali, covering "from its beginnings as a nation-based, mass cultural phenomenon to its current state as part of a global system of interactive, transnational cultural flows" (Ibid, p318-19). Garofalo delineates a three phase model of the unfolding of music industrialization, in which the concentration of techno-economic power in UK, Western Europe and US is underlined.[69] The model is based on the analysis of the broad changes in a history described by Garofalo as one of "uneven relationship between cultural development, technological advancement, professional organization, political struggle, and economic power" (Ibid). During the 19th century, the leading players are "Music publishing houses, which occupied the power center of the industry when sheet music was the primary vehicle for disseminating popular music"; during the 20th century, the leading role is played by "Record companies, which ascended to power as recorded music achieved dominance"; and by the end of the century, the leaders are "Transnational entertainment corporations, which promote music as an ever-expanding series of 'revenue streams'—record sales, advertising revenue, movie tie-ins, streaming audio on the Internet—no longer tied to a particular sound carrier" (Ibid).[70]

Since the turn of the 21st century, within social and economic historiographies of recording industry and sound technology, three different threads can be traced. The first

[67] Now in its sixth edition Garofalo and Watsman (2013).

[68] See: Chapple and Garofalo (1978) and Garofalo and Waksman (2013 [1996]). Over all, these accounts of the music genre focus on the 1950s to 1960s period, and from there look back at earlier aspects as 19th century music publishing industry, and trace posterior developments and events. A graphic translation of this work, time-line style genealogies that trace the genre's chronological ramifications with sequences of different music styles involved and relevant artists, have been published recently as two commercial posters: "The Genealogy of Pop/Rock Music: 1955-1978" (2013) and "PopWaves [1955-2014]" (2015). The linear character of Garofalo's historiography is evident here, and it is worth noting that it carries problems of subjective aesthetic judgement common in music criticism and journalism (as happens with journalistic works reviewed earlier). His rock genealogy ends in the 1970s, suggesting some sort of death of the authentic music style, something again problematic from an academic perspective. Other histories of the genre with similar problems are: Friedlander (2006 [1996]) a music scholar that traces the main styles and artists involved in the music, and Ryan (1996) a musician and record collector that does a history of songs in the top charts, both concentrating on the 1950s and posterior period.

[69] As the author points out, these countries "tended to provide the models for the relationship between popular music and the industry that produces it" (Garogalo, 1999, p318).

[70] In this work, as is expected from his previous work, the author is keen to highlight rock'n'roll in 1950s US and 1960s UK, as "the pivotal musical moment" in 20th century music industry history, due to the genre's significance in terms of "cultural redefinition and structural change in music industry" (Garofalo, 1999: 318-19).

is exemplified by the work of economic historian Peter Martland, whose passion for early opera and classical music recordings has run parallel to formal academic research on the early era of recording industry in UK.[71] From Martland (1992) “A business history of the Gramophone Company Ltd 1897-1918," his University of Cambridge PhD thesis, to recent recap and expansion of previous work in Martland (2013) *Recording History: The British Record Industry, 1888-1931*, his particular contribution concerns the origins of the EMI corporation and conforms a business genealogy of the early big players in recorded music business.[72]Access to record company archives and thorough use of it as a main source of primary sources is a significant characteristic of Martland's economic history of the matter. It documents the relations between leading UK, Europe and US hardware and recording companies, from late 19th century to the 1930s economic depression, based on quantitative data and attention to record company finances as well as partnerships, patents, buy-outs, cross-ownerships and mergers, as well as to different sales figures (particular records, artists or labels of the era), including an analysis based on the dual music genre differentiation between "classical" and "popular" repertoire. This body of work stresses the importance of the disc technology developed after the ideas of US engineers Charles Sumner Tainter (1854-1940) and German born Emile Berliner (1851-1929) since late 19th century,[73] and considers its appearance from 1888 to 1903 as the actual pioneering stage of the "British record industry" (in contrast to a previous era of invention marked by Edison's 1877 patent), after which a "disc and cylinder industry" unfolded until the first world war. It's worth noting that the author's personal research files and material on the period 1897-1930 was donated to the University of California (Santa Barbara), and is being catalogued in order to give broader public access to it.[74] Other noteworthy economic histories concentrate on the 18th and 19th century period

[71] Peter Martland is a member of "Recorded Vocal Art Society, established in 1953 for lovers of opera and song," a dedicated and recognised collector with special interest in recordings by early period singers as John McCormack and Enrico Caruso, and also a contributor to UK's *Record Collector* magazine. See: “Recorded Vocal Arts Society” http://www.rvas.org.uk/index.html and “Peter Martland" http://www.rvas.org.uk/biographies.php?DOC_INST=31 [Accessed November 27, 2017]

[72] Electric and Musical Industries Ltd. (EMI) was formed in 1931 through the merger of UK's leading companies in late 19th century: the Gramophone Company—operating in alliance with the US formed Victor Talking Machine, and both companies the His Master's Voice (HMV) label—and Columbia Graphophone Company—the UK branch of the American formed company. Also see: Martland (1997) *Since Records Began: EMI, the First 100 Years,* published among other material celebrating a one century long business genealogy (an 11 piece CD compilation of recordings of historical importance, a broadcasting documentary by BBC2 radio documentary, and expansion of EMI company archives). This is a book for a popular audience though, not structured as a continuous text, but as a compilation of rich visual evidence, illustrations and photographs, with side comments and information, covering different artists from Maria Callas, to the Beatles and to the era of Tina Turner.

[73] Through Berliner's patent of 1887 his interests were expanded internationally during the years of the turn to the new century: from different attempts to conform the US Gramophone Company (1894), to the establishment of subsidiaries in association with Barry Peter Owen and Fred Gaisberg—The Gramophone & Typewriter Ltd. (1898) in the UK and Deutsche Grammophon (1898) in Germany—as well as as in Canada (1899) and Russia (1901)—to the Victor Talking Machine Company in 1901 with Eldridge Johnson.

[74] See: “Peter Martland Collection on Sound Recording Industry History, PA Mss 106. Department of Special Research Collections, UC Santa Barbara Library, University of California, Santa Barbara” http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c81n84j7/ [Accessed November 27, 2017] It comprises: "Early sound recording industry research files collected by Peter Martland. Includes correspondence and other business papers, records, and reports of the Victor Talking Machine Company, RCA VIctor, EMI, Thorn EMI, Columbia, Gramophone, and others. The collection also contains papers, notebooks and diaries of individual recording artists, engineers, and executives."

and the development of the businesses of music lithography, publishing, and copyright: from respected US economist with expertise in industry development and technological change Frederik M Scherer's *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes: The Economics of Music Composition in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (2004), to the edited volume by Australian musicologists Michael Kassler *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (2011), including work by different UK and Australian scholars on the matter.[75]

A second thread encompasses social and cultural histories of the phonograph and recording industry, as well as of the interactions of technology and popular dance practices. Historian and American studies scholar William Howland Kenney (1999) provides a social and cultural history of the phonograph or "the talking machine" during the "78 rpm era" in *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890-1945*.[76] With thorough use of the trade publication *Talking Machine World* as primary source, the book brings forward the phenomena of appropriation of machines in their use, and of "social, political, and economic forces" (Kenney, 1999, p xii) modelling how machines are made and work: "powerful but constantly changing social and cultural patterns produced the phonograph in the first place and influenced its subsequent development" (Ibid, p xv). Overall, the book provides a cultural analysis of "the phonograph and recorded music" focusing specifically on:

> the ways that Americans interacted with recorded sound technologies, both in producing recorded music and in consuming it. Recording machines may seem simply to reproduce what's out there to be recorded, but decisions about who to record, when, where, why, and how are influenced by a variety of factors (Ibid, p xv).

Through the text, "three interrelated processes of recorded music in society" are explored (Ibid, p xv). The first, the "political economy of culture" (Ibid, p xvi), is concerned with "how different ways of financing and organizing cultural production influence the products to which the public is given access" (Ibid, p xvi). The second, acknowledges the active role of audiences in the reception and consumption of "phonographs and sound recordings" and the dialectics implied. And the third is the "process by which meaning comes to adhere to recorded music", which the author explores through analysis of recordings themselves, with information about them and artists. The relation phonograph and collective memory: "the ways in which music can stir our emotions and our memories" (Ibid, p xvi-xvii). The work offers chapters on the Victor Taking Machine, on "foreign" and "ethnic" records, on the role of women, on "race records" from blues to R&B (Ibid, p109), on the economics in the "Invention of Hillbilly Records in the South" (Ibid,

[75] Yu Lee An (music publishing in London from 18th to 19th century) and John Small based in Australia, and Jenny Nex (musical instruments in Georgian era) and David Rowland (history of piano and keyboard instruments) in UK.

[76] The author describes the 1890 to 1945 period of study, as "a formative period in commercialization of the phonograph [in US]: the first commercial recordings went on the market in 1890. Early in the twentieth century, after trials with cylinders, flat discs that turned at 78 revolutions per minute became the dominant form in which recorded sound reached the public. During the "78 rpm era"... a small number of the many companies that made records overwhelmingly dominated music recording and distribution" (Kenney, 1999, p xii).

p135), and on the industry's competition for “Hit Records” in the depression era (Ibid, p158).[77] Overall, Kenney's argument considers interaction between different spheres instead of determinism as an explanatory framework, and in this way expands ideas of the production-of-culture into the realm of production, consumption or use of technology. As the author explains:

> the give-and-take between representatives of the record companies and the public evolved with such complexity that it cannot be said that the industry as a whole simply imposed its musical tastes upon America. On the contrary... meaning in recorded music arose out of the relationships between specific records or groups of records in a given style category, the musical and cultural gestures to which they referred, and the reactions of record listeners" (Ibid, p xvi).

American studies and Afro American culture scholar Joel Dinerstein provides a social and cultural history of jazz with *Swinging the Machine: Modernity, Technology, and African American Culture between the World Wars* (2003), which situates the genre within broader transformations of culture in the context of industrialization and modernity, and shifts attention away from the recordings to explore the intimately connected spheres of jazz and dancing trends as that of tap dancers or the "Lindy hop". His exploration of the relation between "bodies and machines" in the first half of the 20th century, argues that African American culture during "The Machine Age" in many ways represented technology, including mimesis through dancing, rhythmic patterns, and lyrical references. In his recent *The Origins of Cool in Postwar America* (2017), Dinerstein traces the development of the notion of cool in social practices and individual identity during the cold war era in US and Europe, through film noir, music styles as jazz, blues and rock'n'roll, literature and acting techniques. It concentrates on personalities that embody the notion, in chapters on: Lester Young, Humphrey Bogart and "film noir cool", Albert Camus "existential cool from the idea of rebellion (and the blues), Billie Holiday and Simone de Beauvoir as the expression of "cool" in women, the convergence of jazz, noir, and existentialism, Jack Kerouac and jazz, Frank Sinatra, the US stars Marlon Brando, James Dean, and Elvis Presley, Sonny Rollins and Miles Davis.

Noteworthy among related social histories, is Colombian young researcher Juan David Arias Calle, whose master's thesis has contributed to the scarce literature of the topic in Colombia.“La Industria Musical En Medellín 1940-1960: Cambio Cultural, Circulación de Repertorios Y Experiencias de Escucha.” (2011). The text departs from a theory framework built around French post-structuralist philosopher Gilbert Simondon, of enough complexity for the reader, but of little use for the overall argument and later chapters. This work is rich in archival primary sources, nevertheless it falls short in terms of analysis., and is conspicuously poor in its knowledge of bibliography about global recording industry, a matter on which he comments often but without proper academic references. There is little attention to business matters, and no analysis of structural

[77] "Kenny's chapter on race records and the beginnings of rhythm and blues and his chapter on hillbilly music are both organized around the careers of industry principals, usually the men behind influential record labels. In the first instance, readers encounter Perry Bradford, Harry Pace, and J. Mayo".

changes of the industry itself in its multiplayer complexity, and the author himself remarks how the inner workings of the industry are still an unclear and unexplored matter. As many researchers that approach the topic of music industry in Colombia, his concern is not so much with production, but with the side of consumptions. His interest in the matter relates to changes in repertoire and what he calls "listening experience". The general argument there, is that music audiences in Medellín opened up to dance tropical music from the Atlantic Coast, through a process in which recording industry, radio broadcasting, and advertising had a central role.

A third thread in 21st century historiography of recording industry and sound technology, can be traced with authors that took a material turn, contributing different social histories of sound hardware as the player piano, the portable radio, and the jukebox. Brian Dolan contributed with *Inventing Entertainment : The Player Piano and the Origins of an American Musical Industry* (2009) and important enquiry about this 19th century machine which was a striking and important music automata.[78] Among historiographers of the jukebox, on the one hand is US historian Kerry Segrave (2002) *Jukeboxes: An American Social History* and his related *Vending Machines: An American Social History* (2002), which adds up to previous work of his related with the topic of the music industry.[79] His account of the jukebox chronicles the history of the machine relating technical and sociocultural concerns, and following a biological model of birth, maturity (golden era), and decay: his account covers from Edison in the 1870s, to the its earliest forms in 1880s, the overpowering competition of player pianos in the turn of the 20th century, their rise and boom from 1930s depression era to the 1950s, and their posterior decline during the 1960s in the context of broad sociocultural changes. This is a work of rich archival work, including written and visual evidence, but concerned more with narrative of evidence based events than with deeper analysis or theorization, as happens with his proliferous work on specific and very diverse aspects of US culture during the 19th and 20th centuries.[80] Among notable recent work within UK popular music studies, Adrian Horn's *Juke Box Britain* (2010) provides a cultural and social history of the hardware in 1950s and 1960s UK, and Richard Osborne (2012) a ground breaking history with *Vinyl: A History of the Analogue Record*, a long term history of the format since its post WWII appearance until the present by a cultural studies academic. Also, Australian Colin Symes, with *Setting the Record Straight: A Material History of Classical Recording* (2004), which explores the various material culture associated with the music: record, sleeves, liner notes, magazines, phonographs, and so on.[81]

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[78] Also see: Schiffer, Michael Brian. *The Portable Radio in American Life*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991, and Schiffer (2001, 2011a, 2001b)

[79] See: Martin and Segrave (1993) on the opposition to rock 'n' roll in US, and Segrave (1994) for a history of payola in the music industry since late 19th century.

[80] Among many others: tipping, shoplifting, lie detectors, product placement in Hollywood films, sun tanning, women and smoking, obesity, begging, wiretapping and electronic surveillance, and chewing gum.

[81] Also see: Cook, Nicholas, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

2.3 Musicology, ethnomusicology, and other studies of popular music

Music scholarship under the labels of popular music studies, popular musicology and ethnomusicology consolidated from the 1980s to the 1990s in UK and US marking significant breaks with previous traditions (Moore, 2003, Shuker, 2005, Stockes, 2003, Walser, 2003).[82] The study of popular music by musicologists meant a major schism with "formalist interpretations [of music] developing from traditional modernist musicology" (Moore, 2003, p9), and with their exclusive repertoire or concern with ideas as the genius, aesthetic autonomy, and universality.[83] In this break, "analysis" was "put at the service of answering some larger question" as focus moved to the relation of music with other spheres of human life (Ibid). The relation of musicology and anthropology also experienced a change, as ethnomusicology shifted from a concern with collecting music from an exotic and remote *other*, to an ethnography of the processes of creation and performance of music, *there* or anywhere, and later to an ethnomusicology of technology (Stokes, 2003, Shucker, 2005). At the same time, an interdisciplinary interest in popular music arose from scholars from social sciences and humanities, as well as other fields of knowledge, conforming the "interdisciplinary community of popular music" that came together in IASPM since its foundation in 1981 (Walser, 2003, p17). As Moore puts it popular music studies is "a field... which involves so few musicologists... but so many from other disciplines" (Moore, 2003, p1), in this sense it is conformed by a topic shared by a new musicology and ethnomusicology with sociology, cultural studies, media studies, literary theory, economy, organizational studies, different kinds of historians, as well as journalism and music criticism.[84] Overall, in the perspective of Moore (2003), terms as "popular musicology" or "popular music studies" denote interdisciplinary analytical approaches (minus formalism) of very diverse kind, a matter which might be deemed as "healthy" for the sakes of relativism and polysemy, but that also results in a lack of theoretical paradigm that structures it as a discipline.

Emerging from this late 20th century consolidation of musicology of popular music and ethnomusicology, two broad traditions of writing on the history of recording industry and sound technology can be traced since the 1990s.[85] One encompasses authors that contribute to the history or socio-cultural analysis of specific music genre, and that on the task touch upon recording industry indirectly, which is particularly important in Colombia, as is the case of Colombian musicologist Egberto Bermúdez and UK

[82] Moore (2003) explores a long process starting with pioneering works in the 1960s and 1970s, but stresses how in early 1980s it was very rare to find universities teaching "popular music (as a field distinct from 'classical' or 'non_Western' musics or jazz)" or any form of *popular musicology* (Ibid, p1).
[83] For Moore this schism has matured as 21st century "new musicology" or "critical musicology" (Moore, 2003, p4).
[84] Stokes (2003) explains that approaches to popular music in UK arose mostly from sociology and cultural studies, while in US academia they developed from a culturalist approach following anthropology. Moore (2003, p1) notes that in US musicology (historical study, aesthetics, criticism) developed apart from music theory (formal analysis), while in UK and Europe the term denotes both activities.
[85] Gronow (1983, p53) remarks that at that time "relatively few studies on the record industry" were available as both musicologists and communication studies had been deaf about the topic.

anthropologist Peter Wade. Another tradition can be traced following authors exploring the relation of technology and music from the 19th to the 20th century, in the line of US musicologist Mark Katz or Canadian music scholar Paul Théberge.

Music genre specific histories

Literature that approaches the recording industry as the centre of analysis is still not proliferous today for the Colombian case, and most advance on the subject has been made by research focused on specific music styles, in which the recording industry is an aspect among others in their history. Key works and authors in this line emerge both from a tradition of US and UK ethnomusicologists studying diverse music styles from Latin America and the Caribbean, and from a parallel tradition of Colombian popular music scholarship.

Within the first group is anthropologist and musicologist Peter Wade, whose *Music, Race & Nation: Música Tropical in Colombia* (2000) condensed ten years of research on Colombian popular music from the Atlantic coast, or tropical music. Along with him is Canadian ethnomusicologist Lise Waxer (1965-2002) with *The City of Musical Memory: Salsa, Record Grooves, and Popular Culture in Cali* (2002) which compiled previous work on salsa, Caribbean and afro-Cuban music in Colombia, with particular emphasis in the phenomenon in the city of Cali, considered a Latin American capital of salsa.[86] Also, US anthropologist and Caribbean popular music expert Deborah Paccini-Hernández, has been another significant contributor in this line since "Sound Systems, World Beat and Diasporan Identity in Cartagena, Colombia" (1996) which explored the encounter of salsa and local *champeta* music, a genre developed from the influence of African high-life and afro-beat in the 1970s.[87] A general feature of authors in the line of Wade, Waxer, and Paccini-Hernández is that they combine archival work and ethnography in their research, and that they are interested in music as a way of approaching broader issues as race, class, national identity, or gender politics.[88]

Such is the case with UK social anthropologist Peter Wade whose work since early 1980s has been devoted to studying ideas of race and social relations in such sphere in

[86] Also see Waxer (2000) on the emergence of Colombian salsa, Waxer (2001a) on the role of all women salsa bands, Waxer (2001b) on the phenomenon of Caribbean and salsa music vintage record collectors and DJs or the *viejoteca* in Cali, and Waxer's *Situating Salsa: Global Markets and Local Meanings in Latin Popular Music* (2002) for a broader perspective on the genre. On related Caribbean music also see Peter Manuel's Caribbean Currents: Caribbean Music from Rumba to Reggae (2016 [1995]).

[87] Also see by Paccini-Hernández: a volume co-edited with Eric Zolov and Hector Fernandez L'Hoeste, *Rockin' Las Americas: The Global Politics of Rock in Latin/o America* (2004) and another on the 21st century phenomenon of *Reggaeton* (2009), co-edited with Raquel Z. Rivera and Wayne Marshall. Also see Avant-Mier (2010, 2008) on rock and *latino* identity.

[88] Also see; Bermúdez (1994), "Syncretism, Identity, and Creativity in Afro-Colombian Musical Traditions." In: *Music and Black Ethnicity: The Caribbean and South America.* Gerard Béhage (1937-2005) has written on Brazil, Cuba, Argentina and México, but very little about Colombia. See: Manuel, Peter. "Popular Music in Latin America and the Caribbean," in The Greenwood Encyclopedia of World Popular Culture, ed. John Bratzel. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007, pp. 195-216.

Colombia. His research constitutes a significant contribution to the historiography of popular music with focus on "música tropical" or "música costeña—a complex continuum of eminently dance music styles from the Atlantic coast region of Colombia among which Cumbia, Porro and Vallenato are the more salient (Wade, 2000). His anthropological research has thoroughly analysed the interplay of ideas of race, blackness and *mestizaje* in national and cultural identities, and the social dynamics involved, particularly through the optic of popular music.[89] From his early experience in Colombia as an ethnographer Wade understood how "ideas about morality, territoriality and identity [in everyday life] became interwoven and expressed through ways of listening and dancing to music", and that the "role of music and dance in constructing identities" was fundamental in the processes of nation construction and race politics in Colombia (Wade, 2000, p vii).

In *Music, Race & Nation: Música Tropical in Colombia* (2000) the author condensed two decades of knowledge from this angle, developed through a dedicated broad research project, a team effort in library and archival research, "especially the press", interviews with musicians, industry people, researchers, and listening to radio and watching TV, in different cities of the country (Ibid, p ix)[90]. It constitutes a historiography of the cultural politics of race and national identity in Colombia, examined through popular music. The book represents a shift from previous scholarship in Colombian popular music whose debates concentrated on the origins of music, either on a tri-ethnic or a geographical narrative axis (Ibid, p43), or on the problem of authenticity (Ibid, p23).[91] This shift in research problem involves acknowledging "it is necessary to address the question of how changing technologies of communication, specifically those in the music industry, have mediated the tension between cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity in the national frame" (Ibid, p26). It also involves acknowledging the role played by a radio and recording industry developed with little State regulation in Colombia since the 1930s, composes by a constellation of "musicians from a variety of backgrounds and by businessmen with overriding commercial ends in view, catering to an increasingly diverse market with rapidly changing tastes" (Ibid, p28).

The book traces the transformation of ideas of nation, race, gender, sexuality, and national music during the 20th century in Colombia, in a process in which music capitalism and *música tropical* had an essential role. Its regional context is the late 19th century to 20th century emerge of national music in Latin America, as "tango in Argentina, samba and maxixe in Brazil, *danza* in Puerto Rico, *rancheras* in Mexico, *son* and rumba in Cuba". As Wade notes, these music styles "developed in the working class barrios of Latin American

[89] Wade can be read as a critique of *mestizaje* as an ideology of diversity, underlining it as strategy for erasing indigenous and Afro Colombian essence, as a euphemism for an ideology of eugenics and whitefication. His ideas about on the matter were reconsidered in 2008, with an argument that considers a dialectics of inclusion and exclusion in the idea of mestizaje.

[90] The period structure of his historical analysis was sketched in "Music, Blackness and National Identity: Three Moments in Colombian History" (1998). Also see: Wade (1999a) on representations of blackness in popular music, and Wade (1999b) on rap and black identity in the city of Cali.

[91] Wade develops a further move during the new century, from the study of ideologies of race, sex and national identity through music, to their analysis in the discourses of science, genetics and genomic studies. Key: Wade (2017).

cities, often by adopting European styles and combining them with African-derived (and to a much lesser extent Amerindian) aesthetics and rhythms, and... were then fastened upon by the middle classes, 'cleaned up', modernized, and made into acceptable national symbols" (Ibid, p8). In his analysis of the Colombian case his central concern is:

> how and why during the middle decades of the twentieth century certain music styles, originally 'folkloric' and confined to the Caribbean coastal region of the country, a region relatively marginal and rather 'black' in the national frame, became the Colombian music which was most successful commercially in the country and the best known internationally—despite its apparent incompatibility with the dominant version of national identity and despite the initial resistance of some sectors of the population, which saw the music as vulgar, common and sexually licentious (Ibid, p2).

For Wade, the history of recording industry in Colombia in its cultural dimension, is to a considerable extent "the history of the 'tropicalization' of Colombia through its music" (Ibid, p29). His account evidences a series of changes in society and culture. First, he does a long term overview of transformations in musical repertoire from the 19th to 20th century, and locates the rise to popularity of styles derived from music of Afro Colombian origins in the 1930s and its explosion in the 1950s. Secondly, he traces a significant change in cultural hegemony of national music mediated by recording industry: from the Andean *bambuco* to Atlantic Coast *porro* and *cumbia*. Both music genre underwent a similar process of *upwards percolation* from low brow to national music, and a swing from moral censorship to mass appeal: first bambuco, from late 19th century to the involvement of international recording industry from 1910s to 1930s, and in a posterior moment, *porro* and *cumbia* through the unfolding of domestic recording industry since the 1930s.[92] Thirdly, such changes in culture and society are understood as a process of *tropicalization* of culture, and also one in which music and dancing practices, bodies and morality "heat-up". Furthermore, as Wade explains: "the music was implicated in a whole process of change in sexual morality that was occurring in Colombia, as it was elsewhere in Latin America" (Ibid, p23).

While Wade's concerns are broader phenomena related to music—the role of race in processes of nation construction—this book is of particular importance because of the special attention given to recording industry in the Atlantic Coast cities of Cartagena, Barranquilla and Santa Marta, as well as Bogotá and particularly Medellín. Wade provides invaluable information about key artists and recordings of the era, and about the structure and main players involved with record companies during the 20th century in the Atlantic Coast, Bogotá and particularly in Medellín.[93] This is not without a certain disregard for the business aspect, and an analysis of the different dialectics involved: black culture as elite hegemonic/ black population as socially inferior (Ibid, p 6), Atlantic

[92] Peter Manuel (1995) notes "the typical pattern" in the emergence of national music in Latin Americe is: "lower class syncretic forms gradually percolate upwards, acquiring more musical sophistication and eventually coming to be enjoyed by the upper classes' and perhaps gaining the status of national music" (cited in Wade, 2000, p8).

[93] See: Chapter Four: Music, class, and race in La Costa, section “The Recording Industry” (pp94-96); and Chapter Six: The golden era of costeño music, section “‘Al ritmo paisa’: The Recording Industry” (pp149-153).

coast music's inclusion in national culture narratives/transformation and appropriation by recording companies and artists from other regions (Ibid, pp7-11), inclusion of blackness in national identity/blackness of music is "diluted" and other styles acquire the character of authentic black music (Ibid, pp8-10),[94] homogeneity and heterogeneity of music and tradition/modernization (19th and 20th century Latin American modernity, recording industry already had a role in *inventing* the bambuco tradition, and modernizing it as happened later with porro, another player in a dialectics of nationalism and transnationalism.

This key work of Peter Wade is based on a thorough review of previous literature on popular music in Colombia, including the work of record company man Hernán Restrepo Duque, and its arguments have been recapitulated in posterior articles and book chapters as his contribution to the *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World,* "Colombia" (2005), or to debates about early modernist thought in Latin America (Wade, 2007), or the recent straight forward article "The Commodification of 'black' music in 20th century Colombia"[95] His work, along with that of a group of Colombian popular music scholars published during the last decade—Bermúdez, Rendón Marín, Santamaría Delgado, Blanco Hernández Salgar—provide the secondary sources basis and the musicological framework from which this research moves forward in its particular direction.[96] It is worth underlying that while these works provide valuable and ample information about recording industry in Colombia, their musicological approaches are limited in terms of deeper analysis of the relations of players in the business aspect of recording industry and sound technology. Also, with a few exceptions, most of the work by these authors is music-genre specific, which considerably narrows down the analysis of recording industry's broad perspective and its marked genre diversity.

Among the proliferous writing of musicologist Egberto Bermúdez there are significant contributions to the historiography of the industrialization of music in Colombia based on exhaustive archive work. Bermúdez particularly focuses on evidencing the whole range of different music genre or *repertoire* involved in the process, and tracing its changes and the emergence of new musical styles, vis-a-vis an analysis of their socio cultural context. In "From Colombian 'National Song' to 'Colombian Song': 1860–1960" (2008) he follows the heterogeneous *repertoires* involved in the 19th to 20th century constructions of national music styles in Latin America, focusing on Colombia. The analysis covers from religious and patriotic hymns, and music in theatres, social reunions and the street, to repertoires during the development of domestic radio and recording industry, or the era of "The groove and the wave" from 1930s to 1960s (Bermúdez, 2008, pp222-256). This

[94] "[I]t is necessary to appreciate that music that is modernised and nationalized has to be defined against something else that remains putatively traditional and non-national (i.e., local)" (Wade, 2000, p8).
[95] My translation, original title in Spanish: "La Mercantilización de La Música 'negra' En Colombia Del Siglo XX" (Wade, 2011). Also see: Wade (2000) "Musical Nationalism in Transnational Perspective: Colombian Popular Music"; Wade (2002) "Music and the Formation of Black Identity in Colombia." NACLA Report on the Americas 35, no. 6 (2002); Wade (2008) "African Diaspora and Colombian Popular Music in the Twentieth Century".
[96] Along with Arias Calle (2011).

analysis is complemented with Bermúdez (2009) which concentrates on the first decade of the 20th century during which the first recordings by Colombian musicians were made, particularly in México city for Victor Talking Machine, and traces social and cultural contexts stressing that by that time "Colombian musical activity was already immersed in an international context, at the same time that its markets and economy were dominated by foreign capital and markets" (Bermúdez, 2009, p93).

Together, these two works emphasize how configurations of *national* music styles in Latin America involved the interplay of both European or "international" music repertoires and local music repertoires, both combined by musicians and artists that participated in a dynamic circuit between Habana, Mexico city, and Bogotá since the 19th century, in which a parallel circulation of musicians and sheet music between the cities linked the musicians repertoires. Early recordings by Latin American musicians from late 19th and early 20th century made mostly in US and México for companies as Columbia, Victor or Brunswick, include both "international repertoire" as opera, zarzuela and adaptations of classical pieces, as well as the emerging *national* repertoire from Cuba, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Perú, Chile, Argentina and Colombia (Ibid, p101). In the same way, early recordings by Colombian musicians between 1904 and 1908, involve both opera and zarzuela singers and duets of bambuco and pasillo (Ibid, p104). According to Bermúdez, in the practice of musicians of the time, there was not much discrepancy between the two repertoires, noting they shared harmonic and stylistic features (Ibid, p107).

Overall, Bermúdez offers a historiography of *songs* and *repertoire*—studied through archival work that includes newspapers and magazines of the time, as well as early catalogues of recording companies and the music publishing industry—pivotal terms to which the author does not devote the slightest effort of definition. Taken as a category that refers to the broad range of different music styles (in contrast with accounts of specific music genre), in Bermúdez diachronic presentation of evidence about changing repertoires from the 19th to 20th century in Colombia, there is emphasis on a series of schisms, and on differentiable constellations of music styles and genres (brought together in performance and listening practices, and in those to production and consumption). A version of "national" music interpreted as bambuco and pasillo is characteristic of the 19th century and early 20th century, and comes forward within a long process of "internationalization of Colombian song repertoires" which consolidates in the 1930s with the inclusion of works by Colombian authors in the recordings of Latin American recording industry stars as Carlos Gardel and Margarita Cueto (Bermúdez, 2008, pp231-234). Around the same time, "the first recordings of songs of the Colombian Atlantic coast dance-music repertoire" are made abroad between 1927 and 1928 by musicians and composers Angel M. Camacho y Cano and Adolfo Mejía, who "travelled to the United States and for a few years participated actively in the Latin-American music life of New York and other cities", after which recordings and printed scores of this sort of songs start to increase and constitute a "challenge to the canonic Colombian repertoire" established in the Andean region (Ibid, p232).

During the 1940s, at the same time that a conservative reaction took place in the Andean region intending a "revival" of the "purportedly 'authentic' sound of duets of the earlier periods" (Ibid, p242), a complex constellation of music styles emerged out of the combined influences of ranchera, tango, bolero, waltz and Ecuadorian pasillo, and those of música tropical from the Atlantic Coast, on audiences and musicians from rural areas of the Andean region, specially in the central Andean Antioquia, Caldas, and Risaralda (Ibid, pp244-246). The heterogeneous assemblage of styles referred to as "música de carrilera" or "música guasca" is further explored in Bermúdez (2006, 2007), a two part extended analysis of the relation between "música de parranda" and "música de despecho," in which such music is recognised as constitutive of these two interrelated strands of contemporary popular music.[97] Continuing his analysis of repertoire into the 1950s, Bermúdez argues that while all previous constellations of genres were exploited by the emergent domestic recording industry in Medellín, the context of strong protectionist economic policy allowed them to:

> manipulate the balance between national and foreign music repertoires. Old catalogue recordings [licensed from foreign companies] ... were reissued at the expense of holding new trends already popular internationally, such as rock and roll, shaping a nationalistic and conservative profile that only began to be seriously challenged in the late 1960s (Bermúdez, 2008, p251).

Overall, the work of Egberto Bermúdez is of considerable ground breaking importance in the historiography of recording industry in Colombia, as it traces the main changes in music genre repertoires during the long term development of the industry on a global level.[98] At the same time that his historical framework of events and music aesthetics, based on rich archive material is decidedly useful, some of his points, arguments and interpretations are substantially problematic. His historiography of repertoire is very rich in terms of descriptive archival evidence, but his analysis lacks abstraction and synthesis about the processes of change and continuity and makes very little use of theory. Bermúdez work departs from assertively situating music within a 19th century Latin American modernity, but gives the matter little or no thought, has happens with fundamental cultural dialectics which he points out, such as universal/local, foreign/national, and grief/celebration. His knowledge on the history of the industry itself

[97] This work connects different music styles, genre or tags that fall under the categories of "música de parranda" and "música de despecho", arguing they have a "shared history" as well as "aesthetic closeness" (Bermúdez, 2007, p80), and noting that radio and phonographic industry were "determinant" in their formation (Bermúdez, 2006, pp82-83). The specific role of recording industry is reviewed in the brief section "La ciudad y su música" (Ibid, pp86-95). Also see: Bermúdez (1996) on "música campesina y popular" or music from rural areas from 1880 to 1930, Bermúdez (2004) and on the influence of Mexican music on Colombian popular music identity.

[98] His music-genre based works are copious: see Bermúdez (1994, 1999, 2003, 2004, 2006b) on Afrocolombian music, Bermúdez (2014) on tango in Colombia, Bermúdez (2016) on 1960s pop/rock in Colombia, and Bermúdez (1995) on traditional Christmas songs or villancicos. Also see Bermúdez (1985) on the history of musical instruments, along with Bermúdez (2012) on the history of the accordion in Colombia, and Bermúdez (2013) for a long term account of the harp "in the Americas" since the 16th century "in the Americas".

and on the sociological development of its analysis, is notoriously narrow.[99] This is evident in his brief points about recording industry strategy in the 1950s as decidedly manipulative, and in a general conception of phonographic industry as an entity that operates changes with a rational commercial purpose, whose simplistic reductionism I debate elsewhere, along with his analysis of the role of guasca or carrilera music in Colombian recording industry and in culture and society at large which is also limited and problematic.

Another significant contribution the historiography of recording industry is that of Colombian musicologist Hector Rendón Marín, with works on the history of stringed instrument ensembles known nationally as *liras* during late 19th and early 20th century, that played both Western classical pieces and Andean originated music as bambuco and pasillo, and their continuation from 1940s to 1980 as *estudiantinas* in the city of Medellín. In Rendón Marín (2009, 2012) the author pays close attention to the relation of such groups with radio broadcasting, recording industry, the state and different patronage institutions, and underlines how in those four decades they changed from commercial to subsidy and institutional support dependant music. As happens with previously cited authors, while the focus is on the music, significant information about recording industry is provided on different matters as radio broadcasting development, and structure, strategy, distribution, and technology in recording industry.[100] Nevertheless, since his motivating concern is explaining the process of extinction of *estudiantinas*, a tradition in which the author himself is a practitioner, his overall historical explanation is reduced to blaming the sole commercial interests of recording industry and the lack of governmental support (Ibid, pp91-105).

On the one hand, Rendón Marín's work is disinterested in analysing the inner workings of recording industry, used limited bibliography on the history of recording industry, and evidences an Adornian pessimistic conception about cultural industry as the sacrifice of cultural value in expense of commercial value. His critical remarks about recording companies during the 1950s and 1960s in Medellín are various: they were formed out of families and business associates in search of a business opportunity, and not by musicians and music knowledgeable people, their main character was a "shared inexperience in the business" (Ibid, p89), they were careless about sound quality of recordings (Ibid, p95), lacked proper technology knowledge and training (Ibid, p155), and were also careless in handling information about authors, interpreters, and music styles (Ibid, pp108-109).[101] On the other hand, the information he provides and his analytic narrative allows sketching three broad distinct periods in Colombian recording industry history. After an

[99] His use of bibliography on the history of recording industry is surprisingly limited to only two books: Spotswood (2000) and Laird and Rust (2004). For Bermúdez, Adorno's "On popular music" and the interpretation of his arguments by Middleton (1990) "are still" the best "methodological tools" to approach main analytical problems regarding such music styles (Bermúdez, 2007, 74) [My translation]

[100] Among recording industry strategies mentioned are: international licensing and catalogue reissue (Bermúdez, 2009, p91-92, p100-104) since the 1950s, and exclusive artists (Ibid, p97) and visual strategy in the 1960s (Ibid, p104).

[101] My translation.

early phase from the late 19th century to the 1920s in which recording artists travelled abroad to record, the 1930s and 1940s represent a second phase in which recordings start to be made domestically using radio station equipment, event though the mastering and pressing process are still completed abroad. This second moment is marked by the modernising forces of domestic commercial radio at the service of manufacturing industry, with high content of recorded and live music, in parallel to with American and Mexican cinema, radio broadcasting from Cuba and Mexico, and the massive diffusion "vitrolas" and records (Ibid, pp68-70) and luxury retail shops for Victor Talking Machine in Medellín and Bogotá (Ibid, pp83-4).[102] Posteriorly, a third phase takes place from late 1940s to 1970s under record import restrictions that benefitted the development of a domestic recording industry sector based in Medellín, particularly marked by the conformation of national radio-networks Caracol and RCN (Ibid, p88, pp91-92). Again, while information provide allows sketching such framework, the matters pointed out are barely commented and not researched or analysed in depth.

Further developments by important new scholars in the field of popular music studies in Colombia during the last decade are less concerned with the sphere of production (or with formal aspects of the music), and geared towards an analysis of music and its role in constituting cultural identities and even shared systems of symbols. The work of musicologist Carolina Santamaría Delgado has focused on bambuco, tango and bolero and their role in a broad cultural process of cosmopolitan and pan Latin American identity catalysed by radio and recording industry since the 1930s.[103] Popular music sociologist Dario Blanco Arboleda has focused on cumbia and Caribbean Colombian music and its role in transcultural processes of identity, based on research on the case of Monterrey (México) where the music was appropriated as their own.[104] Recent contributions by social sciences and musicology academic Oscar Hernández Salgar move towards a semiotics analysis of popular music in the Colombian 20th century, attentive to aspects of power and emotion.[105]

I have concentrated in scholarship related to the Colombian case in reviewing music genre related historiographies because there is plenty bibliography from this angle to do

[102] Rendón Marín (2009, p68) poses it as a period of cultural hybridity.
[103] Work since then is condensed in Santamaría-Delgado (2014) *Vitrolas, rocolas y radioteatros: hábitos de escucha de la música popular en Medellín, 1930-1950*. Also see: Santamaria-Delgado *(*2007) on bambuco, Santamaría-Delgado (2008) on bolero, and Santamaría-Delgado (2009) on tango in Medellín. For earlier elaboration of her arguments see Santamaría-Delgado (2006, 2007a, 2007c).
[104] See Blanco Arboleda (2010, 2012, 2014) for recent accounts of the argument of Colombian cumbia and transculturality in México, which he has widely explored in earlier published work (Blanco Arboleda, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b, 2008). Also see Blanco Arboleda (2009) for a broader analysis of popular music in Colombia and regional cultural identity, and Blanco Arboleda (2013) for a discussion of hybridity and globalization in Colombian music and the tensions between ideas of tradition and modernity in the field of cultural policy.
[105] Hernández Salgar (2014) problematizes a commonly accepted cultural dialectics between Andean music, cold-sadness, and Atlantic Coast music, hot-celebration, examining the 1930s to 1960s period of Colombian popular music. Also see: Hernández Salgar (2012, 2013) for further semiotics analysis, Hernández Salgar (2007) on postcoloniality and Colombian music, and Hernández Salgar (2005) on Colombian musical cultures as symbolic constructions.

so. This is an exercise that can be done in many different ways of course, depending on one's research concerns. There is a recent work though that is worth mentioning regarding the US recording industry.[106] In *Segregating Sound: Inventing Folk and Pop Music in the Age of Jim Crow. Refiguring American Music* (2010), Karl Hagstrom Miller examines a dynamics of race and region in the construction of commercial music categories between 1880s and the 1920s. As he argues: "Music developed a color line," and was "associated with particular racial and ethnic identities", as blues and African American audience, at the same time that country music and rural white southern audience were strategically linked. The author is concerned with a transformation of the "meaning and symbolic power of southern music", and a process he calls "segregating sound." Through it "a variety of people—scholars and artists, industrialists and consumers—came to compartmentalize southern music according to race", in contrast with a fluidity of black and white musicians between different genre which was characteristic in music practice and performance in late 19th century. Millner's interpretation of this process is clearly pessimistic, as diverse complexity was reduced into simple categories "much of the rest of the music performed and heard in the region was left out," black musicians were systematically excluded from regions of the repertoire (Millner, 2010, p2). It is worth noting that for Millner this is to a large extent the result of rational music industry strategy:

> The commercial recordings of the 1920s offer dramatically different portraits of black and white southerners' musical worlds. Industry enforcement of racial and marketing categories on race records left relatively little evidence of black southerners' long investment in commercial pop or their participation in the region's interracial music culture. Old-time catalogues of white southern music, on the other hand, were stuffed with evidence of both. Phonograph companies gave white southerners more freedom to record a wide variety of music. A number of factors influenced the industry's decision: the treacherous politics of segregation, the breakaway popularity of the blues, a regional market segmentation strategy, a belief in the importance of native singers, concerns about the redundancy of songs across a company's catalogues, and the desire to control copyrights (Ibid, pp216-217).

Ethnomusicology of technology

Another important early contributor to study of non-western music—US ethnomusicologist Peter Manuel—also provides pioneering studies of the relation between music and technology.[107] *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India* (1993) is representative of a turn to the question of technology in ethnomusicology, with a study motivated by the political potential of cassette technology in the "third world" during its boom in mid 1970s to mid 1980s. Manuel analyses the effects of this low price technology in its mass scale appropriation, considering it as democratizing and potentially progressive: its use aids the circulation of grass-roots

[106] Also see: DeVeaux (1988) on bebop and the 1942 American Federation of Musician's ban, and further expaning on the genre see DeVeaux (1997) and Giddins and DeVeaux (2009). Also: see Waterman (1990) for a social history of jùjú music in Africa.

[107] See Manuel (1988) for an early account of his interest in non-Western music, which came to include India, Spain and significantly the Caribbean. See Manuel (2016 [1995]) on Caribbean music.

music and political causes, subverts a long term monopoly of the recording function and challenges the recording industry.[108]

In time with Manuel, UK musician, ethnomusicologist and Indian music expert Gerry Farrell (1951-2003) authored "The Early Days of the Gramophone Industry in India: Historical, Social and Musical Perspectives" (1993), providing a historiography approach in which the question of technology involves its relations with both music and society at large. Based on archival research, Farrell explores the era since the first recordings of Indian music for commercial purposes made in 1902 by Fred Gaisberg travelling as an agent for the Gramophone and Typewriter Ltd, and during which a domestic recording industry unfolded out of the early forceful strategies of market cornering by UK companies in their global expansion. The text describes the foreign operation of these companies during this early stage, explores the marketing of the gramophone in India as "The marvel of the 20th century" with particularly analysis of visual advertisement evidence, and in parallel devotes great attention to changes in the social sphere of music brought about by recording technology, as well as to formal changes in the music. From changes in musician's place in society and their working conditions (emphasis on roles of female singers), to the implications of an exchange of recorded music that opened up social, cultural and regional frontiers within the country. At the same time that previously obscure or stigmatized music styles and dances became mass popular, moral structures were transgressed by the flow of music and particularly of female singers. Among formal changes introduced in the music with the purpose of recording it, "musical forms such as the vocal genre *khyāl* were adapted to suit the requirements of recording" (Farrell , 1993, p31), traditional music as this was altered to fit the 2-3 minute format, affecting structure, and use of improvisatory passages, and in general long duration genres got rejected as the available technology could not capture their time proportions.

From Farrell (1993) and Manuel (1993) a tradition of ethnomusicologists and cultural historians further developed the analysis of music and technology and their "musical and extramusical ramifications", from people's appropriation of certain technologies in unexpected ways, to an elaborate understanding of the relations between sound technology, society and culture. A fundamental contribution in this sense is the work of Canadian scholar Paul Théberge, since *Any Sound You Can Imagine: Making Music/Consuming Technology* (1997) a book that broke ground in different ways: it constituted a turn to the study of Western contemporary society in ethnomusicology, it made use of cultural studies theory to study historical changes in the relations between digital technology, music practice and consumption, and it constituted a study of popular music which was non-genre specific, not concerned with recordings per se, but with in the transformations of the artistic/technological practices involved in music making. While the crucial matter in Théberge (1997) is the digitalization of musical instruments since the 1980s and the ontological changes in musical practice that this brought about in

[108] Cassette technology is seen as "a democratic-participant mass medium, whose musical and extramusical ramifications may constitute a contribution to communications and social theory in general, as well as to an appreciation of Indian music and culture" (Manuel, 1993, p4).

Western society, the main arguments depart from the analysis of "the history of the musical instrument trade (and especially the development of keyboard instruments), of the music press as an area of specialized periodical publishing (and, also, the rise of enthusiasts in the area of communications technologies), and of musical practice as a set of specific skills, techniques, and knowledge in action" (Ibid, p10-11). In this sense, Théberge's analysis of three interrelated phenomena, based on industry research and analysis of music journalism, constitutes an important contribution to the historiography of sound technology by exploring the connected histories of the piano and keyboard instruments, of music journalism, and of the relation between musical practices and new technologies.[109]

It is worth noting that His approach challenges the cultural/technology industries divide, at the same time that connects the appearance of new music technologies with broader transformations of culture and society, in an analysis concerned with "the digitization of keyboard instruments" (Ibid, p10) understood as a breaking point in the long term history of those instruments.[110] The author's ultimate concern is how the digital era in music technology brought a significant change in the relation of musicians and musical instruments (means of production). For him the key is "the manner in which popular musicians have become consumers of technology" (Ibid, p6) in a new phenomenon of conspicuous consumption of music technology by musicians, which makes "part of a much larger shift in the nature of production and consumption in the late twentieth century" (Ibid, p13).[111] Nevertheless, while Théberge´s emphasis is how consumption of technology becomes a cultural facet in the world of musicians and music producers, perhaps his most interesting point is the late 20th century convergence between the industries of musical instruments and of "sound production and reproduction" technologies (Ibid, p11). In this sense, Théberge pioneers a line of inquiry into how musical instruments have been modified by sound technologies and how technologies have been used and turned into musical instruments.[112] The encounter of his sociology of culture approach the sound technology with recent currents in the analysis of such

[109] For Théberge (1997) music journalism is a source for the analysis of "the various reactions, positive and negative, to digital instruments among musicians and the press" (Ibid, p10), and also a matter of study in itself, concerned with "patterns of association, apprenticeship, and the acquisition of musical knowledge" (Ibid).

[110] "The history of the piano—its industrial base, its promotional strategies, and its role in musical culture" (Théberge, 1997, p11) provide a long term framework for understanding the 1980s commercial boom of "digital synthesisers, samplers, and drum machines" (Ibid, p2) along with "digital... processors, and computer-based recording and editing systems" (Ibid, p5). The appearance of these instruments/technologies or "the digitization of keyboard instruments" (Ibid, p10) mark an important breaking point in a long term process: "the advent of a fully computerized studio recording apparatus" (Ibid, p10).

[111] Catalysed by a "compulsive need" for "the latest technology available" (Théberge, 1997, p2).

[112] Main aspects of analysis: design and organization in "the musical instrument and electronics industries," from the long term history of the piano to the digital synthesizer (Théberge, 1997, p7); the development of "musicians' magazines, networks, and user groups" and the process of "mediation" of sound and instrument technology and of circulation of knowledge about it (Ibid, p11); and "long-held traditions and conventions of musical practice" and changes introduced by digital instruments "that both are and are not manifest in musical sounds" (Ibid, p10).

matters can be assessed in the co-edited volume Théberge et. al (2015) *Living Stereo: Histories and Cultures of Multichannel Sound*.[113]

In a similar vein, an important posterior contribution to the historiography of sound technology is that of US musicology and philosophy scholar Mark Katz, with *Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music* (2004). Through a long term analysis—covering phonograph technology from the turn of the century, to its electrical developments in the 1930s, and all the way to the 1980s DJ battles and the following digital era and the internet—the author develops a "study of phonograph effects" (Katz, 2004, p211). It pays particular attention to the ways in which composers and performers have responded and adapted to new recording technologies, and to the changes in musical execution and writing derived from the restrictions and particular conditions inherent in the technology. These matters are specially explored with the cases of jazz music during the first half of the 20th century, and of the use of vibrato in violin performance during the first three decades. Katz argues that jazz music and sound technology "are so intertwined that it is difficult to conceive of the one without the other" (Ibid, p93), and delineates a series of "phonograph effects":

> The portability of records allowed jazz to travel where the musicians did not, and introduced many notable performers to their craft. The time limitation of the 78-rpm disc made it necessary for composers and performers to compress formal structures and limit improvisation. Because jazz was learned primarily by ear rather than through scores, the repeatable record became a crucial pedagogical tool for musicians; this quality of repeatability also changed the way in which improvisation was conceived, heard, and studied. The mechanical limitations of early recording technology required bands to alter their instrumentation and ensemble placement, and impelled musicians to modify their playing styles (Ibid).

Along with Katz argument about the widespread use of vibrato in violin recordings since 1920s as a strategy in the side of performers to "to meet the special needs of recording" (Ibid, p104), other posterior changes in music derived from recording technology, the phonograph and records are explored.[114] From the case of *grammophonmusik* in 1930s Germany—a term that refers to music composed specifically for the phonograph and with phonographs used as musical instruments by the likes of Paul Hindemith and Ernst Toch (Ibid, pp109-123)—to that of the "turntable as weapon" in the world of hip-hop music (Ibid, pp124-143), the point that innovations are often used in unpredicted ways and for unexpected purposes is underlined. In a final overall thought, Katz remarks that a change that characterises the present era is that fidelity and sound quality concerns that for

[113] Also see: Peter Manuel "Music cultures of mechanical reproduction," in *The Cambridge History of World Music*, ed. Philip Bohlman. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press 2013, pp55-74.

[114] Katz downplays other theories about the rise of vibrato in violin playing during the 20th century—part of the zeitgeist, chin rest since the 19th century gives left hand more expressiveness, use of metal strings, a trend started by singers and by famous violinists—and argues it is largely a phonograph effect: "Violinists recording acoustically, then, needed a better way to project sound to the horn, while those recording electrically had to minimize the scratchiness captured by the microphone. Vibrato helped violinists resolve both dilemmas" (Katz, 2004, p103). Vibrato helped recording musicians "to conceal imperfect intonation from the unforgiving phonograph" (Ibid, p105), and was, as Katz puts it, used for conveying emotion and individuation of tone through a media that lacked the visual stimuli of live performance (Ibid, p106).

decades motivated the industry have become secondary in our "post-fidelity age", in which "it is convenience, not quality, that is paramount for most listeners" (Ibid, p217). This for Katz, can be read through a simplistic cultural regression conception, but perhaps more interestingly as the culmination of a long process of relating with music recordings: they are no longer valued against live music (the real) and most people agree that fidelity "is just one of many ways to judge recorded sound" (Ibid, p219).

In Mark Katz (2004) the media effects question, posed directly on the phonograph, is theoretically actualized through an understanding of technology as a social construction, expressed in the idea that: "Just as the technology shapes the activities of its users, their activities shape the technology" (Katz, 2004, p221). While the author eschews accusations technological determinism which such idea, and also by stating that "users... [u]ltimately... control recording's influence" (Ibid), his argument does strongly emphasize technology as imposition, limit, and as the forced determining new conditions. This is true, even if reverse processes are also acknowledged, in which uses clearly impose the ways in which music technology industries develop, as is the case with the phonograph, appropriated by users as a music machine (and not a dictation machine as originally intended) in the early 20th century, and re-appropriated as a musical instrument, in experimental music in 1930s and in hip-hop since late 1970s.[115]

Finally, another important author within this tradition of studies of the relation of music and technology in contemporary societies is US Marxist scholar Timothy Dean Taylor, whose historical musicology formation has led to important research on the earlier period of the industrialization of music.[116] Taylor (2007) is at the same time a theoretical discussion about the process of commodification of music guided by Marx's notion of reification and an account of the history of the player piano in US: "the first mass-produced technology that allowed music to be made by individuals with no musical training or experience" (Ibid, p283). This is a historiography of the early period of music industrialization of music, late 19th to early 20th century or the dawn of the era of "mechanical music", during which parallel industries of player pianos, sheet music, and musical instruments thrived.[117] More recently, a co-edited volume with Mark Katz and Tony Grajeda: *Music, Sound, and Technology in America: A Documentary History of Early Phonograph, Cinema, and Radio* (Taylor et al, 2012), offers a rich compilation of primary sources, documenting how new sound technologies were received from late 19th to early 20th century, and the ideas involved in their discussion and understanding. The text includes articles originally published in trade and music magazines, company documents, advertisements, and other early period primary sources. Additionally, Taylor (2012) *The*

[115] See Katz (2006) for further research in the violin, and Katz (2012) for a recent account of DJs in hio-hop. Also see Timothy Day (2000) *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History*, an academic musician and cultural historian exploring the effects of recording technology on the performance of classical music.

[116] Taylor (2001) explores the relations between music, technology and culture, as well as the related history of musical practices and music listening, particularly since the 1940s until the present electronic music.

[117] Also see: Taylor (2002) "Music and the Rise of Radio in 1920s America: Technological Imperialism, Socialization, and the Transformation of Intimacy."

Sounds of Capitalism: Advertising, Music, and the Conquest of Culture (2012), provides a history of the almost one century long relations between music production and the advertisement industry in US.[118]

2.4 Mass communications and media: from media histories to media archaeologies

In the canonical *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964), a meditation about 20th century pervasiveness of media technology leaving no aspect of human life untouched, Marshall McLuhan (1911-1980) included a brief and loosely structured reflection about the phonograph's past and its significance in the 20th century, among a long list of characteristic communication apparatuses.[119] In the long history of the phonograph, which "owes its origin to the electrical telegraph and the telephone", its encounter with radio media and technology in the 1930s is of outmost significance for McLuhan, as is the post WWII era of LP, tape recording and hi-fi (McLuhan and Gordon, 2003, p566).[120] Along with film, he reads the phonograph "as the prelude to the automation of human song and dance" (Ibid, p575) and as "a hot medium" (Ibid, p567). The phonograph for McLuhan is indeed "an extension and amplification of the voice that may well have diminished individual vocal activity, much as the car had reduced pedestrian activity" (Ibid), with a noteworthy role in the mass dissemination of music: "The phonograph: music hall without walls" (Ibid, p584).

Approaches to the topic by academic media historians were late to appear nevertheless. The field of media theory and media history as it unfolded during the 20th century kept focus on historiography of the press, radio broadcasting and film (Nicholas, 2012). As Finish mass communications sociologist and ethnomusicologist Pekka Gronow discussed with concern in the early 1980s, in "standard textbooks on mass communication... [r]ecords are seldom mentioned at all, and certainly not considered as a medium comparable to film or radio," mostly because "communications research does not know how to deal with music" (Gronow, 1983, p53).[121] His work since then set out to fill that void and constituted pioneer comprehensive research in key matters as: the early 20th

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[118] See: Weheliye (2005) for an account of sound technology and phonography as a fundamental catalyser and mediator in the emergence of a modern black culture or "sonic afro-modernity" during the 20th century; Krims (2010) "The Changing Functions of Music Recordings and Listening Practices," a chapter meditating the relations of culture, sound technology and music performance, composition and production.

[119] It's worth noting that some years later an LP based on another of his influential works appeared as *Marshall McLuhan - The Medium Is The Massage: With Marshall McLuhan* (Columbia - CS 9501, 1968), combining sound, music and speech (McLuhan's and other participants' as well).

[120] "A brief summary of technological events relating to the phonograph might go this way: The telegraph translated writing into sound, a fact directly related to the origin of both the telephone and phonograph. With the telegraph, the only walls left are the vernacular walls that the photograph and movie and wirephoto overleap so easily. The electrification of writing was almost as big a step into the nonvisual and auditory space as the later steps soon taken by telephone, radio, and TV" (McLuhan and Gordon, 2003, p584).

[121] "But musicologists have been equally blind to music as mass communication, and, as a consequence, the relatively few studies on the record industry which are available usually fail to consider this aspect" (Gronow, 1983, p53).

century global strategy of recording companies in UK, Europe and US, and the prompt international dimension of recording industry.

Gronow (1981) explained how international expansion was a founding strategy of end-of-19th-century formed companies from UK, US and Europe, documenting particularly the activities of The Gramophone Company from 1900s to 1920s in "North Africa and the Turkic population of Russia in addition to Asia," including Egypt, Afghanistan, India, Tibet, Nepal, and the Caucasus (Ibid, p252).[122] A key moment in this early history of internationalization is the agreed division of world markets between UK and US leading companies: "Gramophone was partly owned by Victor, and in 1907 the companies agreed to divide the globe between them. Victor got the Americas, China, Japan and the Philippines, while Gramophone got the rest of the world (Gronow, 1981, p254).[123] His posterior *An International History of the Recording Industry* (1998) co-authored with Ilpo Saunio, expands his international recording industry argument of: a very early stage formation by global expansion strategies of UK, Europe and US companies that produced and marketed both the hardware and the recordings, interacting with local players including *agents* for those companies as well as musicians.[124]

The study of the transnational dimension of recording industry and the global phenomena of recording companies was also advanced by synchronic studies particularly since mid 1990s. Journalism and mass communications scholar Robert Burnett, with *The Global Jukebox: The International Music Industry* (1995) made an important contribution to the production-of-culture approach. The book accrues his research on the contemporary situation of late 20th century in the context of increased globalization and related changes in the international markets of recorded music.[125] It analyses structure and strategy of international music industry—concentrating on the UK, US, Europe and Japan block—considering the operation of both majors and small players. The general situation is posed as one in which majors concentrate activities in marketing and licencing efforts, and mostly in establishing and controlling global distribution networks, while the A&R function is increasingly decentralized. There is a noteworthy concern with the asymmetries of power in an international level in this work, shared with previous work by musician and journalist Roger Wallis and Swedish musicologist Krister Malm, *Big*

[122] The text also documents Victor Talking Machine Company's "recording expeditions [since 1905] which covered Mexico, Hawaii, Japan and possibly other countries in Asia", noting how initially "records were manufactured in the U.S.A., but in the 1920s, factories were established in Japan, China (Shanghai) and South America." (Gronow, 1981: 259). And also those of Columbia Phonographic Company since 1902 recording in Europe, Latin America, Japan, and China, and of French and German companies.
[123] Gronow quoting Perkins, Kelly & Ward 1976, p57.
[124] Gronow (1983) traces "the development of sound recording as a mass medium", considering "all available information on the growth of record sales throughout the history of the medium" (Ibid, p54). And deploys a four period model: emergence in late 19th century; "the breakthrough" from the turn to 20th until WWI; a "Rise and fall" during the interim of world wars; and a post WWII "expansion". Also see: Gronow (1996) which expands on his ethnomusicological approach to recording industry; Gronow (1995) for an assessment of recording industry in Finland.
[125] Also see: Burnett (1990) for an analysis of diversity and concentration in the style of early organizational studies and production of culture tradition.

Sounds from Small Peoples: The Music Industry in Small Countries (1984).[126] In this line of studies of a global dimension, a recent important contribution is Lee Marshall's edited volume *The International Recording Industries* (2013), with chapters by experts on the contemporary structure and dynamics of recording industry in seven countries: Brazil, Czech Republic, France, Ukraine, Japan, South Africa, and Finland.[127] Additionally, Martin Cloonan offers a chapter of overall analysis of the contemporary situation in which the effects of internet on patterns distribution and production is determinant, while Dave Laing's cited chapter does an appraisal of the long history of international recording industry.[128]

All together, this scholarship which combines diachronic approaches with synchronic analysis in specific moments in history, and connects research from the fields of mass communication and popular music studies, stresses the early interconnectedness of leading major recording companies from UK and US with players in other continents and regions of the world.[129] This feature is embedded in their use of the term *international recording industry*, which underlines the interaction of a global network of players as a significant structural character of the business. It's worth noting that major players in Latin American recording industry as Mexico and Argentina are absent in these main works in media and UK popular music studies, as is Colombia, even though there is important contribution to these cases from other fields as ethnomusicology and anthropology.[130]

Some twenty years after Gronow's complaint, Asa Briggs and Peter Burke's *A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet* (2000), examined "the story of various communications devices which prepared the way for what has been called... 'the

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[126] Wallis and Malm (1984) analyse the contemporary inner working of record companies in different regions of the world—Jamaica, Trinidad and Chile, Tunisia, Kenya, and Tanzania, Sri Lanka, Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway, and Wales—based on interviews with record company staff and executives. Authors acknowledge "transnational music industry is a jungle of relationships which is very hard, not to say impossible to untangle" (Ibid, p49), and explore different aspects which extend to broadcasting and the conflicts in the copyright side of the business and the difficulties of its international operation. Overall, it expresses a concern with the power asymmetries between transnational and domestic record companies, concluding that "smaller countries are finding it harder and harder for their own music to compete with international repertoire" (Ibid, p281).

[127] The case of Finland is authored by Pekka Gronow.

[128] Also see: Ewbank, Alison J., and Papageorgiou, Fouli T. Eds. *Whose Master's Voices? The Development of Popular Music in Thirteen Cultures*. London: Greenwood Press, 1997. [Chapters on Music Industry in Brazil, Hawaii, Jamaica, Israel, Japan (history), Spain, Uruguay]. And also see the now classic text: Roberts, John Storm. *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States*. Oxford University Press, 1999.

[129] From a regional international perspective the cultural studies work of Yúdice & Ochoa (2002) and the cultural history of Avant-Mier (2010), are both of particular importance and insight, even though they concern mostly the contemporary era. They focus on international recording industry change of strategy towards Latin America in the turn of the 21st century, in conditions of domestic recorded music market domination, and the long term effects of the Hispanic or Latin audiences in US, that as I evidence later, had been booming since the 1950s. Also see: Beng, Tan Sooi. "The 78 RPM Record Industry in Malaya Prior to World War II." *Asian Music* 28, no. 1 (Autumn, - Winter, 1997 1996): 1–41; Shigeru, K. "The Japanese Record Industry." *Popular Music* 10, no. 3 (1991): 327–345.; Laird, Ross. *Sound Beginnings: The Early Record Industry in Australia*. Sydney: Currency Press, 1999.

[130] See previous section on ethno-musicology.

media revolution of the twentieth century'". By then "gramophones" had a recognized place among different forms of *communication media* involved in the process, from railways, ships, the mail, telegraphs, telephones, wireless, camera and film, to early television (Briggs and Burke, 2009 [2000], p121). Nevertheless, while the work of Jesús Martín-Barbero since his canonical work *Communication, Culture and Hegemony: From the Media to Mediations* (1993), originally published in Spanish in 1987, became the backbone of a school of media studies in Colombia during the 1990s, studies of Colombian recording industry or the phonograph have been overlooked in this tradition.[131] While the influential author does acknowledge the fundamental role of music in urban mass culture in Latin America, as is common in the field, his work focuses on radio and TV and significantly on the *telenovela* phenomena in Colombia and Latin America.[132] His master work remarks the broad and deep influence of Mexican cinema and its music in cultural patterns and new ways of life and identity (Ibid, p180-181), but his treatment of recording industry is limited to some thoughts on music industry in Brazil (Martín-Barbero, 1987, pp177-193).

Furthermore, the ontological basis of Martín-Barbero's school might have undermined or at least delayed the development of further knowledge on the production sphere of media in Colombia. As an explicit follower of Walter Benjamin's redemptory understanding of mass media, and resonant with the Birmingham school of Cultural Studies, his work meant a radical shift towards the study of consumption, or the sphere of *reception*. It was particularly born out of disenchantment with previous decades' studies of production guided by Marxists and Frankfurt school readings of mass media.[133] He noted their blindness to "conflicts and contradictions" in the sphere of production and to "the least hint of seduction and resistance" in that of audiences (Martín-Barbero, 1987, p10). By mid 1980s Martín-Barbero's response was focusing on the processes through which those audiences reinterpret the messages of media and cultural industries, and play with their meaning in order to integrate to their own life, exercising a form of resistance to national and civilising cultural hegemony (Ibid). His media studies invited to move away from conceiving "messages" as "hegemonic ideology" and from analyses of "ownership and control of media" (Schlesinger, 1993, p xii), and towards observing "the process of communications from its *other* side, that of reception, and of the resistances that take place there, the side of appropriation" (Martín-Barbero, 1987, p10).[134]

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[131] Martín-Barbero is an important figure in Latin American cultural studies with the likes of Néstor García Canclini, and George Yúdice. The former is well know for the sociological and historical argument of *hybridity* in the formation of mass urban popular culture in Latin America: *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* (2005).

[132] See Martín-Barbero (1998b) on *telenovelas* in Colombia, and Martín-Barbero (1991) on urban dynamics of culture.

[133] Concerned with manipulation and ideological domination, guided by the Manichaeism of "dominating-senders"/"dominated-receivers" (Martín-Barbero, 1987, p10).

[134] Original text in Spanish is "apropiación desde los usos" (Ibid: 10). Particularly relevant for historians of recording industry in Martín-Barbero's work is his analysis of the role of mass media in the formation of national culture (Martín-Barbero, 1987, 177-193). Among points as the saturation of radios and TVs in 1960s-70s, and changes of strategy in radio with the advent of television in that time, he develops a two phases model of the Latin American 20th century history related to broad changes in mass media's cultural politics or the dynamics of "mediations and social movements": from 1930s to 1950s mass media have a

In contrast to the Colombian case, during the 1990s and the 2000s historiography exploring recording industry as a phenomena of media and communications technology was particularly developed by a tradition of authors in the fields of Radio, Television and Film studies and American studies, mostly in US academia, including André J. Millard**,** Steven James Wurtzler, Kyle S. Barnett and Tim J. Anderson. This tradition of scholars, developed an interest in the history of media technologies of sound recording and reproduction, its institutions, political economy, social context and its relation to culture and music, which in contrast with the production-of-culture approach, is not organized around a shared set of problems on a theory level, but mostly devoted to a narrative description of a process of events and changes, situated in their historical social context, with some deeper reflection, cause-and-effect inclined explanation, and historical-period-based models.

André J. Millard's *America on Record: A History of Recorded Sound* (2005 [1995]) represents a techno deterministic approach to the matter which focuses in the long term history of "recorded-sound industry", a term used profusely to stress its guiding interest in "the development of recorded-sound technology" (Millard, 2005, p7). It points out that the history of sound technology was shaped by the interaction of different players in communication industries, including those of telephone, radio, and film, whose technological innovations had important impact on music recording companies. Narrative and analysis connect the spheres of technology, business, history and culture, and attention is given to the roles of institutions, machines, recording technology, new carrier formats as the LP and the Cassette, and specific styles of music. The book follows two parallel periodization models, one is technological, and the other is institutional. As Millard explains, "[t]he technological history of the phonograph", goes through an *acoustic* era from 19th century to 1920s, an *electrical* era of 1930s and 1940s which expands and diversifies in the following decades, and a *digital* era since the 1980s, each constituted by the expansion of "a different method of recording sound" (Millard, 2005, pp6-5). At the same time, changes in the structure and strategy of communication media institutions involved, allows discerning five different periods since the 19th century, roughly following the axis of inventors-empires-conglomerates.[135]

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social and political role, and after the 1960s this role becomes ideological. The 1930s to 1950s period is marked by "crisis in hegemony" and an entrance to modernity in which the *nation* as shared common experience is constructed markedly through radio broadcasting, both commercial and state owned. This allowed for important bottom-up negotiations of cultural identity and the constitution of a urban mass culture in which national, popular and Latin American identity overlapped. The period that starts in the 1960s and unfolds until the authors time, is one of diversification of the cultural matrixes with which social movements and a new urban youth interact. Identity and ideas of the nation are confronted with those of trans-nationality and globalization, while up-to-bottom discourse articulated it with policies and ideologies of economic *development* (Martín-Barbero, 1987: 178-180). [My translation]

[135] Millard's institutional model can summarised as follows: 1877-1900, an era of " inventors" which progressed to organizing strategy aiming to sell "a phonograph in every home"; 1900-1930, an era of internationalization of "talking machine business"; 1930-1960, an era in which mergers between radio broadcasting, equipment manufacturers and recording companies conforms "empires of sound"; 1960-1990s, an era of further mergers that produce "media conglomerates", which progresses into the present era of internet and "connectivity". Also see: Millard (2004) an edited volume on the history of the electric guitar, and Millard (2012) for an account of *Beatlemania* in which technology, business, teen culture and politics aspects are interlaced."

The feature of interconnection of music industry with other businesses has been expanded by the likes of Kyle S. Barnett, under the *media convergence* motto. In "Furniture Music: The Phonograph as Furniture, 1900–1930" (2006), he explores the 1910s to 1920s conjuncture in which the number of phonograph companies exploded in US and the sales of pianos were surpassed by those of sound reproduction hardware. As he explains, while in main established companies as Victor, Columbia, and Edison the activities of phonograph manufacturing and music recording *converged*, many new players became involved "either by making cabinets to conceal phonograph technology, by manufacturing domestic phonographs, or both" (Barnett, 2006, p301). The author is fixated with the fact that "[m]any of these companies had strong ties to furniture making or in a few cases were furniture companies" (Barnett, 2006, p305), and "phonograph companies and popular press sources understood the domestic phonograph as furniture" (Barnett, 2006, p301). In the cases of Paramount Records and its parent company Wisconsin Chair Company, of Gennett Records and its parent Starr Piano company, of Vocallion Records and the Aeolian company of music instruments, and Brunswick Records and Brunswick-Balke-Collender, there is a convergence in ownership which links the manufacturing of phonographs, phonograph cabinets and chairs and domestic furniture, with that of pianos, organs and player pianos, and even billiard pool tables, bowling balls, and bar fixtures (Ibid, p305).[136]

Among other notable works in this tradition of communication media historians is Michael Chanan's *Repeated Takes: A Short History of Recording and Its Effects on Music* (1995), concerned with sound technology dissemination from the Edison era to the 1990s, and the consequential changes in music practice, perception and experience. While previous work in structure and strategy is used for organizing his argument and discerning periods, his understanding of the effects of technology in music are slightly Adornian, and the author, pessimistic about disembodiment, remains concerned with conspicuous consumption and manipulation. Steven James Wurtzler's *Electric Sounds: Technological Change and the Rise of Corporate Mass Media* (2007) expands the institutional, political and socio-cultural spheres when exploring "the larger issues of sound technology" focused on the late 1920s to early 1930s breaking point of the electrical era. The author analyses the confluence of a set of features as: synchronous sound in film, the formation of radio-networks, their involvement in advertising, new media regulatory policy, conglomeration of film, radio and recording industry, and significant changes in sound commodities. And in such light Wurtzler argues that: "the innovation of electrical sound technology prompted a restructuring and consolidation of corporate mass media interests, shifts in both representational conventions and patterns of media consumption, and a renegotiation of the social function assigned to mass media

[136] Barnett (2009) expands on the case of Gennett Records from 1910s 1920s, whose parent "Starr Piano Company was able to use its extensive national distribution network, both in furniture dealerships and their own piano stores. As the phonograph rose in popularity, Starr Piano founded Starr Records; the label was renamed Gennett when the company found that competitors were reticent to sell records that indirectly publicized the Starr piano line" (Barnett, 2009: 306). Also see Barnett (2014) for recent work on talent scouts in US recording industry from 1920 to 1935.

forms" (Wurtzler, 2007, p2). The contribution of communications media scholar Tim J. Anderson is also worth noting in this tradition, with *Making easy listening* (2006), a material culture turn in the study of sound recording in the post WWII period, or his recent contribution to a cultural history of sound technology with "Training the Listener: Stereo Demonstration Discs in an Emerging Consumer Market" (2015).[137]

In this tradition of historians of mass media technologies of the 20th century led by US scholars, technology is a clear determinant. Authors are normally contributors to popular music studies and ethnomusicology journals, and music is approached as communication and as commodity, therefore recording industry is understood in its interaction with other mass communication *media*. It provides study of production that connects the spheres of cultural and technology industries, and to some extent, study of the relation of technology, music and culture. Nevertheless, there is no collective theoretical coherence and not much interest in producing hard sociological theory in the line of the UK led production-of-culture approach.

In sharp contrast, a cultural and linguistic turn in communication media historiography can be traced from the encounter of media theory and Foucaldian discourse analysis in German media theorist Friedrich A. Kittler (1943-2011) and his influential *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (1999), which explores the "media revolution of 1880s" in which phonographs and gramophones along with the cinematic camera and the typewriter arose (Kittler, 1999, p16).[138] The book deploys his method of "media discourse analysis", which entails, as Winthrop-Young and Wutz (1999) explain, "discourse analysis... expanded as well as supplemented by media theory" (Ibid: xxii).[139] Kittler's approach emerges from the influence of Derrida, Foucault, and Lacan in 1970s German academia, as a poststructuralist actualization and further extension of the media effects questions posed by the Toronto School of Media Studies—McLuhan, Harold Innis, Walter Ong. Such are the guidelines in his account of the "Gramophone" which concentrates in its early cultural and technological history. It *digs* through Edison's ideas on his invention as memory recording machine and through the ideas in a selection of literature, philosophical and journalistic texts from late 19th to early 20th century: from Jean-Marie Guyau, "Memory and Phonograph" (1880), to Salomo Friedlaender, "Goethe Speaks into the Phonograph" (1916).[140] Kittler's analysis of Edison's phonograph and Berliner's gramophone is far removed from concerns with the market of music, business structure

[137] Also see: Anderson (2004) on the recording bans instigated by American Federation of Musicians instigated during the 1940s in a power struggle with the recording industry. Another pioneer contribution in this tradition came from film, mass communications and arts historians John Harvith and Susan Edwards Harvith, with *Edison, Musicians, and the Phonograph*: *A Century in Retrospect* (1987), an edited volume compiling interviews with artists, recording experts and company people since the early era, relying also on archive work in the Belfer Audio Archive at Syracuse University Libraries. Interviews discuss the relation between recorded music and live performance, and their *reality* and representational value.

[138] The book was originally published in German in 1986 and not translated to English until the end of the 1990s.

[139] The method and term of media discourse is initially associated to the work of Kittler and other German media theorists as Jochen Hörisch (1951-) and Norbert Bolz (1953-).

[140] Also: Rainer Maria Rilke, "Primal Sound" (1919) and Maurice Renard, "Death and the Shell" (1907).

and strategy, and so on. The sound hardware is explored, not much as a music reproduction machine, but as a memory and time machine (also a character of cinematographs). What these "were able to store" he says, "was time: time as a mixture of audio frequencies in the acoustic realm and as the movement of single-image sequences in the optical" (Kittler, 1999, p3).[141] Also, as his account moves from the 19th to the 20th century, Kittler develops a well known argument of his: "[t]he entertainment industry is, in any conceivable sense of the word, an abuse of army equipment" (Ibid, pp96-7). He examines the development of sound technology as a spin-off from war technology research during the first and second world wars. Among other sound technological innovations of the wars as headphones and stereo sound signals, he explores Germany's role in the development of magnetic tape recording, and UK's Decca Record Company FFRR (full frequency range recording) which captured the noise of German submarines in Shellac (Ibid, p99).

From Kittler's technological deterministic theory of the relation of humans and media technology and its Foucauldian methodology, different threads can be traced in a miscellaneous tradition of cultural historians of the media that overlap with historians of technology conforming a cultural turn in media history. It can be argued, that all authors in these threads share and develop in their own way a central theme in Kittler's work: that paradigmatic "epistemological breaks are tied to technological ruptures" (Winthrop-Young and Wutz, 1999, xxxiv). One of the strands of Kittlerians is formed by the work of US media historian Lisa Gitelman since her *Scripts, Grooves, and Writing Machines: Representing Technology in the Edison Era* (1999) and by that of Canadian cultural historian of sound reproduction technologies Jonathan Sterne since *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (2003). Gitelman's is a study of the phonograph from an unexpected angle. As she explains, hers is a book "about machines for writing and reading" in late 19th century US, in which "the main character is the phonograph" (Gitelman, 1999, p1). She explores it as a technology of inscription with emphasis in its early day use as a dictation machine: new forms of inscription "like the grooved surfaces of phonograph records, provoked explicit questions about textuality, about how some inscriptions might or might not be like texts" (Ibid, p3). Early phonography is placed in a relational plane with writing practices as the office mimeograph, "shorthand reporting, typescripts, printing telegraphs, and silent motion pictures" (Ibid, p1), and it is argued that they share the "same parameters of economy and durability" and the same ideas of objectivity and professionalization of 19th century managerial bureaucracy (Ibid, p3).

Jonathan Sterne, on the other hand, while also concentrating in the early period, keeps focus on the sound aspect, with a shared history of "the telephone, the phonograph, radio, and other related technologies", concentrating on Berliner and Bell as sources of

[141] "Ever since that epochal change [the media revolution of 1880s] we have been in possession of storage technologies that can record and reproduce the very time flow of acoustic and optical data. Ears and eyes have become autonomous. And that changed the state of reality more than lithography and photography, which (according to Benjamin's thesis) in the first third of the nineteenth century merely propelled the work of art into the age of its technical reproducibility. Media 'define what really is' [Bolz, 1986, 34]; they are always already beyond aesthetics" (Kittler, 1999, p3).

"documentation about the meaning of sound and listening" (Sterne, 2003, p28). Sterne is concerned with "the social and cultural conditions that gave rise to sound reproduction and, in turn, how those technologies crystallized and combined larger cultural currents", including "transformations in the fundamental nature of sound, the human ear, the faculty of hearing, and practices of listening that occurred over the long nineteenth century" (Ibid, p2). His overall historical analyses entails the idea that "sound-reproduction technology indexes an acoustic modernity" during the 19th to the 20th century (Ibid, p9). This modernity involves media with the "power to separate a sound from its source" (Ibid, p19) and related "constructs and practices of sound, hearing, and listening" (Ibid, p2) shaped by the logics of capitalism, rationalism, science, and colonialism among other factors. These constructs are as much fundamental parts of everyday life, as they are "foundational to modern modes of knowledge, culture and social organization" (Ibid). In posterior work, the author develops a cultural history of the MP3 format, which is far from concerns about it's effect on recording industry. Initially proposing the MP3 as a cultural artefact (Sterne, 2006) he moved on to produce a cultural history of sound compression with *MP3: The Meaning of a Format* (2012). The book departs from the history of psycho-acoustics or auditory psychology in the context of AT&T's research and development in the 1910s, and moves on to approach a three decade history of engineers that developed the MP3 algorithm, and also the process through which computers became sound media.[142]

The intellectual legacy of Kittler is, though, predominantly identified with another strand of post structuralist cultural historians of media that go, not without differences, under the umbrella of *media archaeology*, a term which gained popularity during the 21st century denoting interdisciplinary studies of media technological objects and their cultural dimension, led by German, Finish and Dutch scholars. As Natale (2012) explains, "there is not just one 'media archaeology,' but several of them: different authors... have developed substantially different versions of it" (Ibid, p524). Key works exhibiting an established field are Siegfried Zielinski's *Deep Time of the Media: Toward an Archaeology of Hearing and Seeing by Technical Means* (2006), as well as Dutch media and technology scholar Eric Kluitenberg's edited volume *The Book of Imaginary Media: Excavating the Dream of the Ultimate Communication Medium* (2006), as well as Finish cultural historians Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka's *Media Archaeology...* (2011) which maps the field, traces its roots, and discusses its epistemological and ontological implications.[143] As they put it:

> Media archaeology rummages textual, visual, and auditory archives as well as collections of artifacts, emphasising both the discursive and the material manifestations of culture. Its explorations move fluidly between disciplines... allowing it to roam across the landscape of the humanities and social science and occasionally to leap into the arts (Ibid, p3).

[142] Also see Gitelman (2006, 2014) and Gitelman and Pingree, eds. *New Media, 1740-1915. Media in Transition* (2003). And also see: Sterne (2016) on the notion of *analog* technology, Sterne (2015) on reverb and echo.

[143] Kluitenberg's ed. (2006) is a publication that resulted from the festival 'An Archaeology of Imaginary Media,' held at De Balie in Amsterdam, February 2004.

Discussions between leading *media archaeologists* as Zielinski, Parikka, Wolfgang Ernst, Inke Arns, and Timothy Drucken do evidence, as Natale (2012, p526) points out about the filed, a "methodological anarchy".[144] Their differences involve fundamental matters as notions of technology, media and politics, and argumentations are prone to draw ambiguous and contradictory positions. Nevertheless, there are some matters of agreement. On the one hand there is a shared conception that media archaeology is *not* about *nostalgia*, but about: forgotten futures, finding predecessors of present technology in antiquity, finding machines that didn't get to be known or mass produced, or about imaginary machines. On the other hand, at the same time that all agree that media involves both a physical and non-physical dimension, all authors differentiate themselves, first, from traditional archaeology, and secondly from factual and context based historiography, as is expected from a poststructuralist position. Interdisciplinarity as well, is celebrated by different media archaeologists, as well as the overlapping of media academia and media artistic practice.

Within the *media archaeology* thread, German media theorist Siegfried Zielinski consolidated a non-evolutionary *longue durée* approach to *media technology* with *Deep Time of the Media* (2006)*, with a two millennia exploration of devices for hearing and seeing.* Zielinski is observant of "forgotten or hitherto invisible layers and events in the historical development of the media" (Ibid, p9), and of "the tension between calculation and imagination, between certainty and unpredictability" (Ibid, p10).[145] *His deep time analysis is concerned with Nietzschean genealogy and with connecting past and present*.[146] As he further explains, his media archaeology aims at connecting "the future in a direct way to the past, to generate the present and the future out of the past" (Zielinksi, 2012, 4':02''), and ultimately at "building new artefacts out of the knowledge of what might have been" (Ibid, 21':39''): his media archaeology in this sense "is about *utopia*." [147]

The further development of Zielinski's strand of media archaeology during the new century has been compiled in five edited volumes as *Variantology - On Deep Time Relations of the Arts, Sciences and Technologies*, which brings together work by philosophers, theologians, physicists, historians of film, mathematicians, biologists, musicologists, art theorists, and particularly artists (See Zielinski et al., 2005, 2006, 2008,

[144] Here I am referring to the presentations and discussions held by these authors in the conference "Search For A Method", held in the frame of Transmediale in February 2012. Particular elements of their interventions are quoted below.

[145] In "researching the deep time of media constellations... we shall encounter past situations where things and situations were still in a state of flux, where the options for development in various directions were still wide open, where the future was conceivable as holding multifarious possibilities of technical and cultural solutions for constructing media worlds. We shall encounter people who loved to experiment and take risks. In media, we move in the realm of illusions" (Kittler, 2006: p10).

[146] This "deep time of the media" approach allows the analysis "to enter into a relationship of tension with various present-day moments, relativize them, and render them more decisive" (Kittler, 2006: p11).

[147] Zielinski, Siegfried. "Presentation Siegfried Zielinski - Search for a Method | Transmediale." https://transmediale.de, May 22, 2012. [Accessed: 2017-08-01 17:02:09] Also see Zielinski (1999) a history of the parallel development of cinema and television, and for further insight into his media theorization see Zielinski and Burbano (2007) and his recent book *After the Media* (Zielinski, 2013).

2010, 2011).[148] Interdisciplinarity and an "openness for media questions" are advocated through the label of *variantology,* as well as the joining of forces of academics and practitioners in arts and media.[149] Among authors in this series it's worth noting contributions as: Mara Mills, "Hearing Things: Telephones and Auditory Theory" (2006),[150] a long history of the idea of the telephone as a technological ear, stressing that "[t]he telephone and the ear were measured against one another in the twentieth century, the former becoming a psychoacoustic instrument as well as an appliance for communication" from which the result was "new definition of normal hearing" (2006, p229); and a text by German physicist and early 20th century historian of science Eilhard Wiedemann, "On Musical Automata" (2010 [1915]), which departs from a "clock attributed to Archimedes" described in an archival Arab manuscript, with the particularity of having "a flautist connected to this clock that intermittently plays its flute" (Ibid, p402). Such exploration of an ancient history of music machines in the Arabic world, is carried forward in the edited volume *Allah's Automata: Artifacts of the Arab-Islamic Renaissance (800-1200)* (Zielinski et al. eds., 2015).[151]

Another relevant author within the *media archaeology* thread conformed after Kittler, is German media scholar Wolfgang Ernst. In his view, media archaeology "is not necessarily about contextual information about past media" (Ernst**,** 18':11''), but about "the epistemological conditions in which the commands, executions, operations take place" (Ibid, 20':22''). For Ernst: "the *archae* in media archaeology is not about origins... but about discovering principles, the rules that govern media operativity both as hardware and as software" (Ibid,16':02''). His elaborate conception has been deployed in works as "'Electrified Voices': Non-Human Agencies of Socio-Cultural Memory" (2016) and *Sonic Time Machines: Explicit Sound, Sirenic Voices, and Implicit Sonicity. Recursions: Theories of Media, Materiality, and Cultural Techniques* (2016). The latter, departs from a philosophical inquiry in which "the acoustic, the sonic, and the musical" are discussed as spheres and notions that are to be differentiated in order for the author to introduce a notion of *sonicity*. Through it he conceptualizes the "temporal essence" of phenomena "ranging from resonance to signalling in recording and transmission technologies" (Ernst,

[148] During the 1990s Zielinski developed a study of media technology in which theory came together with artistic praxis understood as a form of knowledge production with the potential of invention, which sheds particular light on "the handling and design of the interfaces between artifacts and systems and their users" (Zielinski, 2006, p9-10).

[149] The research project *Variantology / Archaeology of the Media*, started in 2004 by Siegfried Zielinski based in University of the Arts Berlin, included academics from different fields and artists to expand interaction in the research of media. It aimed for an "openness for media questions", and an openness of "both media and the arts via their interactions with scientific and technological processes". See: "Variantology - On Deep Time Relations of the Arts, Sciences and Technologies," http://variantology.com/?lang=en. [Accessed: August 11, 2017]

[150] See also Mills (2011) for further research on the development of telephone technology and its relation with research on deafness and engineering of communication.

[151] The book was part of the Exhibition Exo-Evolution, October 31, 2015-February 28, 2016, ZKM, Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe. In the *Variantology* series also see: UK experimental musician Anthony Moore's "The Musical Yardstick" (2005) touching on the Pythagorean monochord, proportions and music harmony.

2016b, p7). In Ernst terms: "*Sonicity* names oscillatory events and their mathematically reverse equivalent: the frequency domain as an epistemological object." (Ibid, p22).

In synthesis, historiography of recording industry and sound technology emerging from the fields of mass communications and media studies, consolidates during the 1990s and expands in the new century, rendering different sorts of media histories and different kinds media *archaeologies*, which in most cases share a technological deterministic understanding (with variations of degree). One branch of media historians develops in symbiosis with ethno-musicology and popular music studies, and particularly contributes with an *international recording industry* conception, and by interpreting and studying music as *mass media* (broader constellation of players, shares role in broader cultural, social and political phenomena). Another branch of media historians develops through an interplay with media theory, philosophy, cultural history, and history of science and technology, and contributes by expanding the cultural dimension of technology, and in particular by focusing on media hardware—the phonograph/gramophone—as an angle to approach broader cultural and social matters.

2.5 From historians of science and technology, to the fields of aural and sound studies

US historian David L. Morton is representative of a tradition of historians of technology, which study the development of machines within their social and economic contexts, and are also concerned with the cultural effects of technology, or even the ways that culture shapes technology itself. In "Sound recording: the life story of a technology" (2004), Morton "surveys the history of the devices used to record that musical cross-section of history, showing how music, the music business, and recording technology have co-evolved" (Morton, 2004, p ix). This work covers chapters on the early days of sound technology in the 19th century, the development of discs, the rise of the talkies, record and radio, sound in the WWII and after it, the era and ideas involved in Hi-Fi, and the development of the recording studio, and of course online music.[152]

A recent and interesting author in a similar vein is also a US scholar and a historian of sound technology. In her recent *Chasing sound: technology, culture, and the art of studio recording from Edison to the LP* (2013), Susan Schmidt Horning explores the "evolution of music recording from the art of capturing a performance to the art of engineering an illusion, which changed the sound of music, changed the character of the song, and ultimately, reversed the historic relationship between live and recorded music" (Schmidt Horning, 2013, p4). Therefore her work does a broad historical glance concentrating in the recording studio, as for her it "belongs at the centre of... analysis because it was there

[152] Also see: Morton, D. (2000). *Off the record : the technology and culture of sound recording in America*. New Brunswick, NJ; London: Rutgers University Press; Morton, D. (2004a). *Electronics: the life story of a technology*Greenwood technographies. Westport, Conn. ; London: Greenwood.

that music began the shift from live performance art to a technologically mediated art" (Ibid, 5).[153]

It could be said that the interest in the economic, social and overall, the cultural study of sound technology, has been helpful in the conformation of a very broad and eclectic field of sound studies roughly during the last two decades. In this sense, the passing from the 1990s to the 21st century, also meant an academic journey from the study of music through musicology and ethnomusicology, to the study of its related technology, to the recent constellation of the broad spectrum of sound, not limited to the bit we call music, but extended to a phenomenon that has increased in everyday presence in different shapes and timbres during the 20th and the 21st century. In the face of space and time constraints I will finish up by pointing out the main readers that bring together scholars from many different fields, that study sound from different angles., Jonathan Sterne, in his introduction to his edited volume The Sound Studies Reader (2012), notes that: "Sound studies is a name for the interdisciplinary ferment in the human sciences that takes sound as its analytical point of departure or arrival. By analysing both sonic practices and the discourses and institutions that describe them, it redescribes what sound does in the human world, and what humans do in the sonic world (I say it redescribes rather than describes because good scholarship always goes beyond the common-sense categories used in everyday descriptive language—it tells us what we don't already know)" (Sterne, 2102, p2). Earlier thoughts of his on the matter already questioned and examined "the nature of sound and hearing", and explained that "a history of sound... embodies a hard-to-grasp but necessary paradox of nature and culture... At its core, the phenomenon of sound and the history of sound rest at the in-between point of culture and nature" (Sterne, 2003, p10). Other important compendiums to move in a similar direction are: Pinch, T.J. and Bijsterveld, K. (eds), *The Oxford handbook of sound studies* (2012),; Suisman and Strasser (eds), *Sound in the age of mechanical reproduction* (2010); and Michael Bull (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Sound Studies* (2017), in which the author points out: "Sound is no longer just sound; it has become technologically produced and mediated sound. Sound is no longer produced only by humans and nature, for machines roar everywhere and technologies not only measure sound in a myriad of new ways but also produce and emulate sounds, such as in video games and movies" (Bull, 2017, p4). In regard to this interdisciplinary field that has grown substantially since the 2000s, the author, brings up "the need to tune the ears to the multiple cultural layers that might be embedded in any sound", and to embrace "a new way of understanding the world through the sonic" (Ibid, p1), in contrast to the visual. As he explains he follows a notion: "deep listening" (Ibid) as an approach to sound that "makes us re-think... the meaning, nature and significance of our social experience... our relation to the community... our relational experiences, how we relate to others, ourselves and the places and spaces we inhabit...

[153] Among other books than can be considered histories of sound technology, see the recent Burgess (2104) *The History of Music Production*, which is the work of respected musician and scholar. Also see the edited volume by Braun (2002) *Music and Technology in the Twentieth Century,* as well as Braun (2000, 2003).

our relationship to power... our relationship to other senses and to embodiment itself" (Ibid, p2.).[154]

3. Concluding remarks on this broad literature review

A necessary conclusion from this extensive excursion through the various ranges of literature concerned with the past of recording and sound technology, and through the ideas elaborated by different kinds of authors, is that heterogeneity is the main character if one considers them to conform a *field* of study. The task was certainly ambitious in scope, yet of the kind that will always remain unfinished: at the same time that lesser known works will come to light, new research and thought will surely continue to engross the related bibliography, and new traditions and approaches might emerge. The attempt of producing a map of the different approaches and organizing them as a ramification of traditions, schools, and disciplines or streams, should remain useful, and is in itself an important contribution to knowledge of the present thesis.[155] Even if the classificatory logic implied in the exercise can be a matter of debate—it might be done in different ways, and it is true that some authors could be placed in more than one category—it does give a much needed broad perspective of how approaches to the history of an object of study of the complexity of recording and sound technology industries, have developed and diversified since mid 20th century.

The present excursion started out by pointing out how an interest in writing and researching about the past of recording and sound technology industries was pioneered by un-scholarly writers: from journalists and business insiders who many times lived through the times they write about, to record and antique sound hardware collectors.[156] It then followed different sorts of scholars that have written on the subject at least since the 1950s, and reviews works from social historians, economic historians, organizational studies, business history, popular music studies, musicologists, ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, media and mass communication studies, media theory, media archaeology, science and technology studies and sound studies. While 8% of the titles that conform the bibliography reviewed were published from late 1960s to the 1970s, and only 7% during the 1980s, the bulk of works—85%—is formed by material published between the 1990s and the recent present. As mentioned in the first pages of the chapter, I bring together the available literature related to the Colombian case side by side with a majority of work produced in UK, Europe, and US. It would be ideal to extend the review

[154] Also see: Bull, M. and Back, L. (2015). The Auditory Culture Reader [2003]2nd Revised edition. London ; New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.; Bull, M. (ed.) (2013). Sound studies : critical concepts in media and cultural studies [4 Vols]. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group; Bull, M. (2000). *Sounding Out the City: Personal Stereos and the Management of Everyday Life*Reprint edition. Oxford: Berg Publishers.; Bull, M. (2018). *Sirens*. Place of publication not identified: Bloomsbury Academic.; Bull, M. and Back, L. (2015). Introduction. Into sound... once more with feeling. In: *The Auditory Culture Reader*.2nd Revised edition. London ; New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 1–20.

[155] And certainly one I would have appreciated during the early days of this research.

[156] It is worth mentioning that phenomena as record collecting have been taken seriously in popular music studies, by the likes of Shuker (2013).

in order to include historiography produced in other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean—for instance Mexico, Argentina, Cuba, Venezuela, and Perú—yet, such aim escapes the scope of this account, which already deals with a copious bibliography. This is indeed a task to be completed in the future, and its relevance will become clear in different chapters of this thesis, which highlight that national or local history of the phenomenon of recording and sound technology industries, is embedded within its international or transnational history since its early stages. When one concentrates on the specific geography of Colombia, the interplay between domestic and international players and music from different parts of the world strikes the eye.

In this respect, this task fills a void evidenced on several of the reviewed works concentrated on the Colombian case, whose bibliographies expose a very limited knowledge about the vast amount of academic work devoted to the history of the global phenomenon catalysed by recording and sound technology industries. I hope then that this lengthy exercise serves other researchers interested in the Colombian case, by introducing them to the vast amount of work done so far. I hope it inspires new research of diverse kinds on the many aspects still to be explored in the history of a global phenomenon as it was experienced in the country.

Chapter 3. Historiography theory and methodology: writing cultural and social history in the 21st century, and primary sources for studying the recent past

This thesis' account of the past of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia, analyses a historical process in which industrialization in the country as a broad economic and social phenomenon and the specific object of study are interlinked. It is guided by a plan for social historians sketched by Hobsbawm (2005a [1972]), encompassing a broad description of the structure in question and its movement in time, the dynamics between the different players involved in the sphere of production, and the different forms of tensions involved [see Chapter 1]. A task carried forward through an archive based methodology and an analysis informed by relevant works from different academic fields, including: social, cultural, economic and political historians of the Colombian 20th century, ethnomusicologists, academics in the broad field of media history, and others concerned with sound technology and recording industry history.

The present chapter is initially devoted to an exploration of contemporary theory in the contested field of historiography, which was part of the research process and its search for theoretical and methodological grounds. This exploration is implemented in its first section, which—based on the works of prominent historians interested in the theoretical aspect of their discipline—highlights some important epistemological and ontological implications of writing social and cultural history in the 21st century. Within a discipline that as Megill (2004) notes is characterised by fragmentation and not by paradigmatic coherence, this task involves understanding the particular dialectics between *realist* and *anti-realist* conceptions in contemporary historiography, and developing a special awareness of the critiques, problems and limitations of the study of the past. Afterwards, the second section of this chapter is dedicated to presenting the research methodology, which as mentioned earlier is based on extensive historical archive work. It starts by discussing methodological implications of writing history of the recent past, and then moves on to describing the primary sources used, their collection and analysis, organizing them in two broad sets: *Journalistic* and *Institutional* sources. The chapter ends with some further meditations on writing history of the recent past, and the relation of historians dedicated mostly to the 20th century with their own present.

Before moving on the first section, it is worth noting that this research which can be defined as a social and economic history that looks at the production sphere of phenomena that are both cultural and technological, also shares grounds with different fields (or sub-fields) of history writing, due to the complex nature of its object of study and the way it is approached. On the one hand, it shares some implications of what is deemed as *contemporary history*, as it deals with the recent past. Ideas from different authors thinking about this diverse sub-field are used in the second section of this chapter (Hartog, 2014; Hobsbawm, 2005; Kandiah, 2017; Evans, 2015; Palmowski and Spohr

Readman, 2011; Franco and Levín, 2007). They aid meditation on the research's periodicity and the discussion and presentation of the archival work and primary sources. It is also fair to say that this work shares some ground with the growing subfield of *global history*, because in spite of the specific localization of the problem of study in Colombia, it pays special attention to the aspect of internationalization in the country's recording and sound technology industries, which, as the text evidences, is fundamental for understanding its past. As Cheng (2012) explains, a so-called *global turn* in history writing, particularly in the last two decades, refers to a growing interest in researching the non-western world, mostly during the 20th century, and in "analysing transnational connections between historical events and developments" and "between different countries and regions of the world" (Ibid, p138). The sub-field challenges an old tradition of constraining history writing to countries, at the same time that questioning conceptions of nationalism and globalization is a common concern for its practitioners. Nevertheless, the turn involves understanding that "national history and global history are not mutually exclusive approaches" (Ibid). Therefore it is neither general world history, nor an overall rejection of the nation as a unit of analysis. Even more, for the likes of American historian Rosemarie Zagari, "the adoption of a global perspective could actually enhance an understanding of nationalism as a historical force by placing the development of nations in a broader transnational context" (Ibid).[1]

Due to its subject, the present work also shares grounds with at least two other relatively new fields in history that gained wider visibility towards the end of the 20th century. Namely, with *business history* and with *media history*, both complex, contested and with the same character of non-homogeneity and interdisciplinarity that characterises the present state of history writing (Kobrak and Schneider, 2011; Nerone, 2013). The intention here is not to situate this account strictly within those fields, nor to establish formal links with related spheres of theory, however, this research can be considered a contribution to them, and there are some general resonances worth pointing out.

In the view of Kobrak and Schneider (2011) contemporary business history is significantly distinct from "company sponsored pure narratives of a firm's important milestones" (Ibid, p406) and involves explanation and analytical accounts of the past of business companies.[2] It is, though, characterized by different schisms, e.g. between practitioners closer to the historical profession, and those to the discipline of management or business studies and organizational studies; or between scholars concerned with the particular—history of firms—and others interested in elaborating

[1] Cheng in reference to the general argument of: Rosemarie Zagari, "The significance of the 'Global Turn' for the early American Republic: Globalization in the Age of Nation-Building", Journal of the Early Republic, 31 (Spring 2011), pp6-9.

[2] "Business history, based on well-questioned primary and secondary sources, can and should integrate theoretical-social interests, general economic, technological, and social circumstances, individual experiences, institutional transformational responses, and business's overall political context to weave coherent and poignant stories while always striving to shed light on how businesses help define our age" (Kobrak and Schneider, 2011, p407).

business theory, while those considered business historians can be found "strewn over a wide range of academic departments, even in business schools, from departments as far-flung as finance and communications" (Ibid, p403). The field, "a relatively young offshoot of history and economics", is, as he puts it, "[a] house divided... over what should be studied and for what purpose ", and one that "suffers from insufficient methodological consensus about the importance and employment of sources" (Ibid, pp402-3). Yet, it can also be said that it has been "enriched by different styles, foci, and forms of history" (Ibid, p402), with its incommensurable "breadth and depth" including "varieties of business history from biography to comparative, cross-cultural sector analyses and contract history" (Ibid, p407). Following the terms of Kobrak and Schneider (2011), this research approaches the "firm as historical actor" (Ibid, p403), yet the focus is not in one specific company, but in the sector as a whole. It shares with contemporary business historians an interest in understanding "how the institution works and interacts with its environment" (Ibid, p409), and in situating companies in their historical context, i.e. "their larger social, political and economic contexts" (Ibid, p401).

Media history is not less a complex and diverse field. For Nerone (2013) its central character is anarchy, it is "hardly a coherent field" (Ibid, p1) and its "boundaries... are very difficult to describe" (Ibid, p4). Its breadth includes historians, along with sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and economists among several others interested in *communication* in the past or related matters, and not least academics within the also complex field of *media studies*. Overall, media history is "an interdiscipline that brings historical research into dialogue with the unruly tribe of communication theories" (Ibid, p3), and with two broad academic traditions which themselves encompass "multitudes" of approaches, positions, methods and relations with other disciplines (Ibid, p4). The varying "narratives of media history" are attributed to "disagreement over who is the protagonist (technologies or institutions)", and also to discrepancies over "what supporting characters are most involved (markets, governments, individuals, gendered power structures), where the story is set (homes, communities, nations, virtual spaces, the globe), and what the story means. Is it a comedy or a tragedy?" (Ibid, p2). As a media historian, Kyle S. Barnett notes that "while the notion that sound recordings constitute media seem so obvious as not to be arguable, they have rarely been included in media history," a matter that he considers notably "surprising given the ubiquity of recorded music in media and the long involvement of other industries in ownership and cross-promotion" (Barnett, 2009, p81). Furthermore, Nicholas (2012) argues that media history has mostly produced independent narratives and has been commonly concentrated on the press, radio and film, and that it might benefit from more systemic approaches that consider that audiences experience different media in parallel, today as in the past.

The present attempt at writing a social history of recording and sound technology industries in mid 20th century Colombia, acknowledges their role as mass communication media. As *media*, they are observed both as "a subsystem of industrial capitalism" and as a

"multiform cultural environment" (Nerone, 2013, p14), and read both in the sense of institutions, "the organizations that produce and distribute" texts, and in the sense of technologies, "the tools of communication" (Ibid, p2). Overall, they are analysed as a "social construction", in other words: "[as] a complex negotiation among many different actors, with the decisive role being played sometimes by entrepreneurs, sometimes by policymakers, sometimes by audiences, and sometimes by technicians", which entails an interplay between histories "of science, of entrepreneurs, of regulators, and of publics or audiences" (Ibid, pp8-9).

1. Epistemological and ontological implications of writing social and cultural history in the 21st century

The term *historiography* is one of particular ambiguity, as it is used in several senses to refer to different—but interconnected—aspects of the historical discipline. As Cheng (2012, p1) explains, historians differ in the way they understand the term historiography "defining it variously to mean the writing of history, the study of historical methodology, the analysis of the different schools of interpretation on a particular historical topic, or the history of historical writing". While in Chapter 2 I offer a historiography of recording and sound technology industries, in the sense of a literature review of works on the topic, this present section deals with historiography in the sense of the theoretical and methodological branch of academic historical discipline. Following historian and UCL professor Egbert Klautke, historiography in such sense denotes reflection on the continuous change of historical writing through time, the myriad varieties in which it is practiced, and the fundamental questions all critical writers of history should consider:

> What is history, and how do you write it? How can we know about the past, how can we represent or recreate it? Is one view of history 'better' than another? Why are there so many different 'schools'? Is there such a thing as objectivity? Are historians rigorous professionals in pursuit of historical truth, or are they really little [more] than propagandists or story-tellers? [3]

The ambiguity of *historiography* is significant not simply in semantic terms, but also as it relates to the complex and conflicting inner wirings of history of the late 20th and 21st centuries, which, as I will argue below, conform as a set of epistemological and ontological dialectics that characterize the discipline's present. For radical poststructuralist Alun Munslow (2006) *history* shouldn't be understood as a synonym of *the past*, as he insists that *history* should be read as *historiography*, as "the whole enterprise of studying the past in all its facets" (Ibid, p142), "the act of writing history" (Ibid, p143). Coming from him, an academic in the postmodernist tradition who continues to question historians claims to objectivity, a fair lesson from Munslow's reasoning is that discussions about history are fundamentally methodological and theoretical.

In that sense, this section explores historiography understood as historians' self scrutiny and their own questioning about what they do, how they do it, and about the assumptions that guide them. This is done in the light of a set of key works by cultural, social, political and intellectual historians, some specifically on the modern and recent *history of history*—Cheng (2012), Iggers and Wang (2008), Bentley (2005), Green and Troup (1999)—and others with interest in discussing matters of theory and methodology—François Hartog (2014), Cannadine (2008), Munslow (2006), Pocock (2005), Allan Megill (2004), Mandler

[3] Klautke, H. (no date). SEHI1002 Modern Historiography. Available from http://www.ucl.ac.uk/ssees/undergraduate-courses/ug_course_outlines_1516/hs-sehi1002 [Accessed 16 June 2017].

(2004), and Hesse (2004). My specific aim in the scrutiny of their writing is to bring up at least two main and broad implications of writing history today. The first relates to the actual state of non-homogeneity or fragmentation of the discipline when a broad diversity of fields and approaches constitutes its present (and to a large extent also its past). This, on a theoretical level, implies that there is no dominant paradigm in historiography today. Then, the second implication of writing history in the 21st century, concerns the lessons that all sorts of historians ought to have learned from the postmodern disenchantment of the discipline. An indispensable *awareness* for all academic historians today, about the long term debates on the epistemological and ontological problems or limitations of the study of the past (even if their positions on the matter are dissonant).

1.1 A discipline of prolonged revolutions: ontological and epistemological dialectics in contemporary historiography

As French cultural historian François Hartog pointed out a few years ago, "[f]or the last thirty years, the conditions for practicing the historian's craft have changed and they continue to change in front of our very eyes", thus the period since the 1980s until today has been commonly interpreted as one of crisis in the discipline (Hartog, 2014, p203). A long term reading from "the formation of the modern concept of history starting at the end of the eighteenth century", to "the end of the twentieth century would show a crumbling or an eclipse of this modern concept (or perhaps an even more dramatic change)" (Ibid, p217). Concerns about a crisis in history particularly in the 1990s, as UK social and cultural historian David Cannadine explains, came in part because "postmodern critics doubted history's claims and historian's capacities to tell the truth about anything" and in part "because it had become over-specialized to the point of complete incoherence" (Cannadine, 2008, p4). For a discipline in which some practitioners continue striving for some sort of scientific status,[4] the growing acceptance of arguments by the likes of Hayden White in the early 1980s came as an accusation of fundamental flaws and as a death threat. In the American historian's radical view, all writings about history ought to be understood as literature, and in no case as science; for him "historical narratives" were "manifestly... verbal fictions the contents of which are more *invented* than *found*" (White, 1982, p82, in Iggers and Wang, 2008, p368).[5]

As Cheng (2012) remarks, "the history of historical writing has been characterized by a constant process of change and conflict", and in such conditions, "[w]hat a study of historiography shows us, then, is that all history is in a sense revisionist history" (Ibid, p146). And for that matter, "historians have differed [widely] not only in their interpretation of historical event, but in their very definitions of history" (Ibid, p3).

[4] For an interesting discussion see: Kleinberg (2016), "Just the Facts: The Fantasy of a Historical Science", *History of the Present*, 6 (1), pp87–103.
[5] Iggers and Wang (2008, p368), quoting: Hayden White, 'The Historical Text as Literary Artifact', in *The Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, Baltimore, CT, 1982, p82.

Similarly, Iggers and Wang (2008) claim that "the history of historiography is a continuous dialogue, which does not tell a single story, but offers varying, often conflicting interpretations" (Ibid, p16), and has been "always marked by new perspectives which enrich the understanding of the past but which themselves are replaced by other perspectives" (Ibid, p379). And reflecting on the situation in the turn of the 21st century, Munslow (2006) analogously pointed out: "historiography is a contested terrain at many levels, not least that of competing interpretations, but also at the level of the assumptions that historians make about what constitutes particular varieties, versions, visions, re-visions and conceptions of history" (Ibid, p144).

For historians as David Cannadine, whose particular commitment is writing about *what actually happened*, and who dismiss late 20th century claims about the "end of history" by the hand of postmodern thinkers, the situation in the new century is very little dramatic and mostly one of optimistic progress.[6] On the one hand, he acknowledges that perceptions may differ, and "[d]epending on your point of view, the cumulative effect of these successive 'new' versions of the past, piled one on top of the other, has been either a growing enrichment of the subject, as ever more sub-specialisms proliferated, or [from a pessimistic optic] its fatal fragmentation" (Cannadine, 2008, p26). On the other hand, upon examining impressive figures of growth of the academic discipline of history in the UK during the 1990s, he concluded that proposing that the "subject was in terminal crisis" deserved not less than a sarcastic smile: "How wrong in retrospect, these paranoiacs and pessimists were!" (Ibid, p4). In his view, the effects of the postmodernist critique were never like death and very much like a renewed multiplied life:

> For history in Britain today seems more vital and vigorous than it has ever been: stimulated an enriched by the insights of post-modernism, rather than overwhelmed by them; and with its claims that it seeks and finds something of the truth of what really happened in the past both vindicated and reasserted (Ibid).

Iggers and Wang's (2008) depiction of the historical discipline in the post-1990 era may be extended without much risk to the present decade. As they argue, while "there are main trends of change in the way history is written today" (Ibid, p367), there is "considerable diversity", and most importantly: "There is clearly no new paradigm of historical studies" (Ibid, p379). And as they suggest, this is a long term condition of the discipline that goes back at least to "the period of early professionalization when what later historians of historiography called a 'Rankean' paradigm emerged". A context in which "there was [also] considerable variety and thus no common language such as that found in the Kuhnian paradigm postulated for the natural sciences" (Ibid, p379).[7]

[6] It seems pertinent to clarify that we deal with the expression "the end of history" in terms of a supposed *end of historiography*, implied in the debates between different kinds of historians discussed in this chapter, and not in the well known terms associated to Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992) which controversially claimed capitalism had reached a final stage of equilibrium and stability.

[7] "Not only was there considerable diversity in what the paradigm of professional historical studies meant, but much historical writing, to mention two historical thinkers of the nineteenth century such as Marx and

Acknowledging such conditions of no dominant paradigm, historiography in the post-1990 era:

> must avoid the illusion held in the course of the last two centuries successively by Rankeans, positivists, Marxists, empirical social scientists, culturalists and advocates of the linguistic turn, that they had definitive answers (Ibid, p379).

American intellectual historian Allan Megill looks deeper into those no-paradigm conditions of contemporary and past historiography. In his view, in spite of strong calls for conceptual unity and shared goals in the discipline of historians during the 20th century—as those of the *Annales* school of the 1940s and the "new cultural history" of the 1980s—in the early 21th century "it is obvious that historical study has not converged, but has instead moved off in a multitude of different directions" (Megill, 2004, p208). Instead of achieving cohesiveness, in the turn of the present century the discipline fragmented "into a multitude of practices that are irreducible to each other" (Ibid, p218), and therefore, as it stands today, "the study of the past relies on conflicting modes of understanding and engagement" (Ibid, p226). As he notes, "history can hardly be said to have conceptual devices or interpretive perspectives that would let the vast current outpouring of historical scholarship come together into a single coherent picture" (Ibid, p208). Professional historians of the 21st century research and write in a discipline which is characterized by "the competitions for hegemony" between two main paradigms or, as he calls them, "coherence propositions": the long tradition of social history and that of the new cultural history that was established in the 1980s (Ibid, p209).[8]

What is striking about Megill is that his argument is not *for* nor *against* one (or the other) coherence proposition, but ultimately against the need for a ruling hegemonic paradigm in historiography that renders the other(s) obsolete. Firstly, instead of calling for resolution of the conflict between the different modes of understanding, he starkly suggests "that it is a considerable mistake to regard history as an enterprise that ought to be fixated on a search for coherence" (Ibid, p226). Even more, while he gives value to research programs or paradigms in the sense of commitments shared by groups of historians with common subject matters, he stresses that dominance is unnecessary and perhaps undesirable: "the notion that historians generally ought to be judged according to the degree of their work's accordance with a currently dominant paradigm strikes me as crippling and, in a literal sense, counterproductive" (Ibid, p226).

Secondly, Megill touches on a politics in the discipline, in which historians working in opposing fields compete, not only epistemologically but also for research funding and

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Burckhardt, operated with very different conceptions about what constituted the subject of historical studies and how it was to be approached" (Iggers and Wang, 2008, p379).

[8] "[W]hat is currently the hegemonizing and imperializing fraction of the discipline, the so-called "new cultural history" an orientation that arose in the 1980s as both an extension of and a rebellion against the dominance of social history" (Ibid, p207).

institutional backing, and reminds how "coherence propositions should be seen both as grabs for power and as attempts to address a genuine problem" (Ibid, p207). At the same time, Megill suggests a shift in the sense of *coherence* in historiography. If it meant *unity* in the late 20th century—the conformation of a majority of historians following a dominant conception of historiography, and excluding contradictors—in the turn of the new century, for Megill "coherence is now seen as a matter of willed commitment to one or another "paradigm" of historical research "(Ibid, p221). For him coherence is mostly a matter of choice, and less one of epistemological hegemony:

> the writing of the new cultural history (as of the old social history) is carried out on the basis of what is essentially a choice. It is no more than that. And in fact the arbitrariness of the decision for or against cultural or social history is recognized by the most self-aware of our advanced historians (Ibid, p223).

In line with the ideas above (constant change, conflicting positions, fragmentation and long term absence of a dominant paradigm) the process of change in historiographical thinking from the late 20th century to the present, can be read as the passing from a situation of crisis declared in the early 1980s—when the harsh questioning of its relation to reality by postmodernist cultural historians was received by many other sorts of historians as a rather insolent death threat—to the contemporary situation of the 21st century in which the effects of the postmodernist critique of history writing came to be read in a contrastingly different way, and accepted as a healthy self-reflection characteristic of an optimist and fruitful current state. The zeitgeist of the contemporary academic discipline, one could argue, is precisely this tension between opposed conceptions of the task of researching and writing history, and it is better understood as productive *dialectics*, than in terms of *battles* between emerging paradigms seeking to win an epistemological war.

Writing in the last years of the 20th century, UK political historian Michael Bentley already disregarded the dilemma of *to be or not to be* a postmodernist as one that "has no serious or unambiguous answer". For him, while the effects of the so-called cultural and linguistic turns might have been inevitable in one way or another, "no one but a hermit in a cave is likely to have remained unaffected by some of them if only in self-conscious reaction". Therefore, those effects do not conform today a crippling crisis, and they are more likely related to the discipline's strengthening in terms of thought about its methods and theories, as Bentley put it: "Indeed consciousness itself has been the victor in this dubious *jihad*" (Bentley, 2005, p viii). And as he suggests:

> Better, perhaps, to move beyond an assumed contrast of positions and recognize, quite simply, that the form and content of discussion throughout the humanities since the 1970s have shifted in ways that have produced distinct approaches to many of the concepts that historians assume everyday—knowledge, understanding, imagination, explanation, analysis, narrative... (Ibid).

Some five years later, UK academic Alun Munslow whose work has been devoted to historiography and the philosophy of history in the radical line of Hayden White and Keith Jenkins, explained how:

> Today, historians can elect to accept or challenge the very idea of history as a licit discipline, by occupying any position on a continuum that stretches from naïve reconstructionist empiricism, via a bewildering variety of social theorising and historical constructionism... through to (any one of several forms of) post-empiricism" (Munslow, 2006, p79).

Munslow's analysis of the contemporary situation distinguishes three broad *genres* in historiography, or three kinds of historian, defined according to their different ontological and epistemological grounds: reconstructionist, constructionist and post-empiricist historians. "Reconstructionist historians" don't question any assumptions, believe that a "genuine knowledge of empirical reality is achievable", are "shrewdly anti-theoretical" and conceive the past and history as one and the same, and set goals as *discovering* the past or the reconstruction of history (Ibid, p8). "Constructionist historians", a category associated with economic historians, social historians and some cultural historians, are denoted as carriers of a "conceptually informed empiricism", or as honest self-reflective empiricists. They are relativists to some extent, question referentiality and representationalism to some degree, and usually aim at constructing the best narrative possible about the past, in spite of such self critique (Ibid, p9). Finally, "post-empiricist historians" contrast sharply with the other two kinds of historians. For them:

> Every application of a social theory, or a concept in the pursuit of history, is a destabilisation of the past. Every conceptualisation and every appeal to laws of human behaviour is an intervention. The post-empiricist assumption is that, in effect, the past existed but not independently of the historian's mind, which is unavoidably implicated in fashioning that which seemed to have happened. Historians are not ontologically detached bystanders but are, through our organising concepts, active participants in making knowledge of the past – not what it once was, but what it now is (Ibid, pp65-66).

As a post-empiricist himself, Munslow is at large against the realistic history that provided the empirical foundation of the discipline when it was formalized academically (Ibid, pp3-11), and he is mostly concerned with what he calls the "empiricist leash", and his argument is in part a piece of a broader one: "The post modern reversal: the real end of history or the end of realistic history?" (Ibid, pp11-18). His three genres of history writing can be largely reduced to two. On the one hand, reconstructionist history or constructionist history is for him still constrained by an empiricist *leash*, while post-empiricists, as non-realists, deconstructionists and discourse analysts, are for him certainly free from that accessory. His work continues a tradition of postmodernist thought rooted in the ideas of Ferdinand de Saussure, Roland Barthes, Jaques Derrida, and Michel Foucault, and with the works of Hayden White and Keith Jenkins still today represents an extreme position. Such stance is harmonious with "the linguistic turn in historical scholarship", which gave primacy to language in the construction of social

reality, and which debated "whether objective truth was attainable or even desirable goal for historians" (Cheng, 2012, p126).

From this perspective, the competition for hegemony between coherence propositions by social historians and culturalists takes the shape of a realists/anti-realists dialectics in historiography. Approaches in proximity with social sciences are disregarded for their "preoccupations with large-scale anonymous structures and processes which neglected the life experiences of the ordinary people", and certainly because of their "commitment to empirical, including quantitative studies and the belief that these studies could offer objective knowledge" (Iggers and Wang, 2008, pp367-8). In the same line of thinking Munslow disregards basic assumptions of empiricist historians as: "there is a past reality that is intrinsically knowable by the knowing subject through the discovery of its structural principles"; "historical truth is found in the referential correspondence of the historian's facts to that structural reality, as derived from the conceptual procedure of inference"; and "language is up to the job of written representation" (Munslow, 2006, p6).

At the same time, disdain for such an extreme position flourished from an early stage as well. After Lawrence Stone "called for historians to come together in opposition to the 'growing army of enemies of rationality,' embodied by postmodernism" in late 1980s (Cheng, 2012, pp128-129), a backlash against post-structuralism in Anglophone countries materialized in several books by historians and philosophers of history during the 1990s (Bentley, 2005, p152).[9] In what could be considered a pro-realist stance, and against a simple (and dangerous) blurring between truth and falsehood, social historian Eric Hobsbawm joined those voices stating:

> I strongly defend that what historians investigate is real... I believe that without the distinction between what is and what is not so, there can be no history. Rome defeated and destroyed Carthage in the Punic Wars, not the other way around. How we assemble and interpret our chosen sample of verifiable data (which may include not only what happened but what people thought about it) is another matter (Hobsbawm, 1997, p viii-ix).

In such conditions of epistemological dialectics, the discipline after the 1990s "was marked by continuities in historical thought and writing but also witnessed significant reorientations" (Iggers and Wang, 2008, p392). The echoes of postmodernist dismissal of the social sciences approaches to history, these "continued to be important in and after the 1990s. At the same time social history became more aware of the importance of cultural factors and the need to supplement empirical and quantitative studies with methods suited to the study of culture" (Cheng, 2012, p368). It is clear today that "the social sciences have survived the critique of the cultural and linguistic turn" (Iggers and Wang, 2008, p378), while the culturalist tradition started by those, also carries on. Some

[9] Bentley mentions key works as: John Vincent, *An intelligent person's guide to history* (1995); Richard J. Evans, *In defence of history* (1997); Susan Haack, *Evidence and inquiry: Towards reconstruction in epistemology* (1993); Martin Bunzl, *Real History: Reflections on historical practice* (1997); C . Behan McCullagh, *The Truth of History* (1998).

historians within it remain "committed to a radical culturalist position", even though "extreme epistemological relativism" declined considerably after the 1990s (Ibid, pp368-9).[10] But cultural history also experienced reorientations in those terms. Historians influenced by the cultural turn but which "refused to accept the obliteration of the social... implied by the most radical forms of culturalism or poststructuralism" were significantly brought together in Lynn Hunt and Victoria B. Bonnell's *Beyond the cultural turn* in 1999 (Ibid, p369). Overall, in post 1990 cultural history there was an important move, "not away from the stress on culture and language, but away from the extreme forms of culturalism and excessive concentration on language which had prevailed in the 1970s and 1980s, and the radical epistemological relativism which had followed from them" (Ibid, p378).

Debates in the inaugural number of the *Journal Cultural and Social History* in 2004, by cultural historians Peter Mandler and Carla Hesse pointed in the same direction. The first, underlined the "need to resume communication with social science" as his fundamental proposition (Mandler, 2004, p116), being clear that "there is no going back to the arrogance of ultra-empiricism", while remaining "part of a community of rational discourse, of argument based on common standards of evidence, evaluation and explanation" (Ibid, pp94-5). And the second, endorsed such a position and expanded on what would constitute a *programme of reform* into a "new empiricism" in cultural history, which disavowed those "who have taken a radically discursive turn" (Hesse, 2004, p201). As she put it, poststructuralist critiques "have done an enormous amount to raise the level of sophistication and self-consciousness of social historians about how they use sources and the kind of questions they ask from them" (Ibid, p205). They made customary for social historians to ask "methodological and empirical questions" about how to write history, and after them "social history became self-reflexive" (Ibid, pp203-4). The proposed programme implied starting "to reconstitute a dialogue between realist and anti-realist practitioners of cultural history", as well as a "plea for a renewal of the dialogue between cultural historians and the social sciences" (Ibid, p202), between those "who have remained committed to an empiricist project of reconstituting historical 'facts' as well as interpreting systems of meaning" (Ibid, p201). And as she underlined, the dialogue should follow "terms that move the profession forward rather than demanding that it revert to naive empiricism and idealist epistemology of social history before the discursive turn" (Ibid, p207).

In those terms, Hesse celebrated a group of social and cultural historians "who remained troubled enough about these problems with the discursive turn to remain realists, albeit chastened ones", and while agreeing with "post-structuralist rejection of a Kantian (idealist) epistemology and the assumptions about human nature and agency that this

[10] For such "extreme" or "radical" writing see for example: White, H.V. (2014). *The practical past.* Flashpoints. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press; Munslow, A. (2010). *The Future of History*. Palgrave Macmillan.

position carried with it... turned back to David Hume rather than embracing Jaques Derrida". She embraces historiography that "took a turn from Marx to Durkheim in the sense that it ceased to see culture as a reflection or expression of social experience (as superstructure) and began to conceptualize the social and cultural as mutually constitutive of one another. Culture was thus reconceived as the infrastructure rather than the superstructure of social experience." Furthermore, as a main assumption she stresses that "text and context need to be understood on an equal footing and not as background and foreground", and that "in order to understand how meanings arise and how they operate, or signify, we need to investigate both how the text works as a system of signification, and also how it is produced, used and interpreted" (Hesse, 2004, pp205-6).

In a similar vein, Iggers and Wang (2008, p369) acknowledge how among cultural historians of the 21st century it is not uncommon to be conscious and cautious about different forms of determinism, including not only that of social and economic character associated with Marxism, but also the "the linguistic determinism implicit in Foucault's conception that discourse determined consciousness, which served as the foundation to much of the linguistic turn". Additionally, they remark important reorientations in the conception of 'social science':

> It has been expanded beyond the narrow confines of concern with macro-historical and macro-societal structures and processes, which could be approached quantitatively, to include elements of culture, which involve interpretations. But interpretation does not need to mean intuitive 'thick' description' in the Geertzian manner, but involve a logic of inquiry with clearly defined questions by which a socio-cultural subject matter is subjected to analysis (Ibid, p378-9).

Alun Munslow, while maintaining a postmodernist position himself, acknowledges that most historians in the present consider themselves as what he calls (not without a pinch of disdain), "sophisticated empiricists", and that few "would defend a crude sceptical empiricist position" (Munslow, 2006, p89). As he points out, those under such label:

> accept a middle position that rejects extreme empiricism (a.k.a. rationalism), maintaining that we observe but we also mentally process information deploying a priori... knowledge and categories of analysis as appropriate and helpful. ... Today most historians do not accept that history can be known through an exact correspondence of ‘knowing’ and ‘being’. Most historians see themselves as ‘sophisticated empiricists’ who judge the reality of the past by a measure of understanding based upon sense data as filtered through the grid of mental structures pre-existing in their minds (Ibid).

Finally, among those historians that Munslow would regard as reconstructionist, constructionist, or accuse of empiricist, there is a significant matter regarding the conception of *truth* they attain. As it is common that works on the same topic may arrive at different explanations or conclusions about the past, the truth or the reality which such historians explore is not conceived as monolithic. As Megill (2004, p225) remarks, some

historians "see history as the carrying out of politics by other means". The idea brings forward a political and moral dimension in certain types of historiography, related to the well known Winston Churchill aphorism 'History is written by the victors': in histories of war, crimes against humanity or other political conflicts (mostly but not exclusively), accounts are expected to be at odds depending on whose side the historian morally stands, and giving rise to what is commonly known as revisionist history.

Alan Ford (2011), devoted to Irish religious history, gives a good example of a context in which religious powers of Protestantism and Catholicism have had a long history of antagonism. As he points out, in his field one may read "two parallel streams of historiography" (Ibid, 8':10'' - 8':50''), a protestant school of historiography, which writes history which in specific eras and matters is effectively dissonant with that of a catholic school of historiography. In such a case critical historiographical thinking means acknowledging that: "the biases and assumptions that [historians] bring to the writing of history" (Ibid, 0':55''); that people read and use history in processes in which identity is intertwined; that history is not simply about gathering and presenting 'the facts', but much more about interpretation (Ibid, 10':24''); and most significantly, "the overarching question" of "whether history tells the truth" (Ibid, p1, p27), in a case in which different historians write different versions of the truth.[11]

In such cases in which politics, identity and the moral standing of historians overlap, it seems natural that "agreement among historians is remarkably difficult to achieve, and historical events are open to a multiplicity of interpretations. The same evidence can generate two quite different stories about the past, and problems arise when these are incompatible" (Green and Troup, 1999, p6). Historian of political thought John GA Pocock, remarks that "[t]here is a plurality of narratives because politics is a contested activity, in which actors have diverse goals, tell different stories, and, to some degree, live in the narratives they succeed in relating" (Pocock, 2005, p9). Even more: "historians are likely to discover that there can be more than one history of events within the society, and that any event may be part of more histories than one" in this sense one finds that once more "history is contested, debatable and multiple" (Ibid, p8). Iggers and Wang (2008, p15) stress a daring commitment in these cases were historians necessarily embody their own "ethical and political commitments which colour... [their] perception of history", as for the authors "it is often possible to demonstrate the falsity of historical statements, the distortions which feed into political ideologies", so "an important task of the historian... [is] to dismantle distortions and myths". As they add:

> Because this is only very partially possible, the history of historiography is a continuous dialogue, which does not tell a single story, but offers varying, often conflicting interpretations. These enrich our picture of the past, but nevertheless remain subject to

[11] Why Study Historiography with Alan Ford (4 July 2011). Directed by University of Nottingham. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BCKW26Up9Dc [Accessed 25 January 2017].

> critical examination [by academics]... as to their factual basis and their logical consistency (Ibid, p16).

1.2 A well tempered contemporary historian: awareness of the discipline's critique, its problems and limitations

From the above discussion, I move on to sketch a second fundamental implication of writing history in the 21st century. As reviewed, the postmodern critique of the historical discipline, instead of burying it as an obsolete practice, in fact gave it incentives for important reorientations and, overall, it had much fruitful effects. As we have seen, the discipline is characterized by epistemological and ontological dialectics, some of them maintained in a situation of no dominating paradigm, and others resolved, creating new approaches that add to its abundant varieties. Nevertheless, in a contested field academic historians ought to have some important matter in common, and it is not merely the minimum common grounds of "their focus on the past and their commitment to rules of evidence and argument that have stood the test of time" (Megill, 2004, p227). All sorts of practitioners of academic historical research and writing today, ought to share an indispensable *awareness* about what those dialectics imply, about debates on epistemological and ontological problems or limitations of the study of the past, and about historiography in the sense of a theoretical and critical branch of the discipline. Such awareness implies being self-reflective about the historian's task, and doing a critical reading of diverse matters as teleology, determinism, reductionism, positivism, reality, facts, history as real or history as fiction, and relativism (even if their positions on these are dissonant).

Cheng (2012) remarks that postmodernist critiques overall led historians to "reflect more deeply on what defines history as a discipline and to clarify their methodological assumptions" (Ibid, p132). Iggers and Wang (2008), stress that professional historians today "are fully aware of the limits of rational inquiry, of the impossibility of arriving at definitive answers in which many of the professionally trained historians in the nineteenth century still believed. We recognize the extent to which historical accounts reflect different, often conflicting perspectives" (Ibid, p15). Similarly, Munslow (2006, p79) points that in the light of the intellectual impact of postmodernism and the "deconstructionist revolution", today "the cultural historian has to be continuously self-reflexive in his/her thinking about how to do history." For Bentley (2005, p161) historians in the early 21st century should be aware that "relativism will not go away, that thoughtful historians suspect that their methods are inadequate to overcome doubts about attaining 'truth', and that historiography contains within its complexities and contestation the measure of our difficulty if not the solving of it." In terms of Megill (2004), coherence in the sense of a dominant paradigm is not what should be expected of the discipline in the present era, since "historians have offered, and continue to offer, many things besides coherence" (Ibid, p227). For him instead:

> One of the things that historians offer, or ought to offer, is a critical perspective on the past, on the present, and on our present use of the past. Criticism here means the revealing of fissures and contradictions—in the past, in historians' representations of the past, in historians' assumptions as they seek to represent the past, and in dominant and perhaps also non-dominant assumptions in the present concerning the future, the present, and the past. Another thing that historians offer, or ought to offer, is a modelling of high epistemological standards (Ibid).

In these different ways, a fundamental implication of writing history in the 21st century is that academic practitioners are expected to be *self-aware*, *self-conscious*, *thoughtful* and *critical* of the discipline's notions, assumptions and methods, of its ontological as well as its epistemological grounds, and aware of the *history* of historiography. This applies both to those that would admit to be "realists" but in any case "chastened ones" and never naive positivists, and to those that continue to push forward with radical critique, and insist on the importance of a myriad of questions including: "the impositional role of the historian, the nature of the social construction of reality, the character of historical explanation, the art of interpretation and the constitution of the historical imagination, the relationship of form and content and the problems of representation and the linguistic turn" and others concerning "cultural and historical relativism and the cognitive links between history and literature, history and theory, and the philosophy of history more generally" (Munslow, 2006, p143). This is certainly a hard task that requires extensive and continuous reading and discussion, since the matters are broad, diverse, and complex, as the discipline of historians is itself today. An awareness of such complexity is what academic historians of different sorts and views are expected to share.[12]

[12] For the record, it is worth quoting an inventory of the multiple matters involved in historiography debates, which Munslow (2006, pp69-70) presents as features of "postmodern history" and mostly tenents of a radical critique: "a questioning of epistemological certainty", "placing a question mark over inference, assuming an anti-representationalist position", remaining critical about "teleological explanation (the past viewed as future flight)", "accepting that there is no knowable reality (there are only discourses), viewing history as truth-effect rather than truth, presuming we do not discover patterns in contingent events but instead impose them because that is how we want to emplot... or organise the past." Additionally: "rethinking the facile distinction of fact and fiction, welcoming the ideological self-reflexivity of the author-historian by rejecting grand narrative/totalising or foundationalist concepts of explanation (e.g. class did not exist in the past until historians borrowed it from sociologists as a concept), reconceiving historical truth as existing at the local here-and-now level, noting that narrative closure is not essential to writing the past, granting there are no historical facts (apart from simple consensual statements), and acknowledging that metaphors are deployed as historical explanations... Finally... confirming that history is always about moral choices (not assuming that there *must* be a given meaning in the evidence, and what it *must* suggest according to a transcendent ethic), and exploring the possibilities in the relationship of form and content in historical explanation" (Ibid). Bentley (2005, p142) lists other related characteristics of postmodern writers worth noting: "a rejection, philosophically, of the self as a 'knowing subject' in the form presented in European thought after Kant and before Heidegger; an allied reflection of the possibility of finding a singular 'true' picture of the external world, present or past; a concern to 'decentre' and destabilize conventional academic subjects of enquiry; a wish to see canons of orthodoxy in reading and writing give way to plural readings and interpretations; a fascination with text itself and its relation with the reality it purports to represent; a drive to amplify previously unheard voices from unprivileged groups and peoples; a preoccupation with gender as the most immediate generator of underprivileged or unpowered status; a dwelling on power and lack and lack of it as a conditioner of intellectual as much as political configurations within a culture".

As other authors cited above, Cannadine (2008) complies with the idea that such awareness is a common trait shared by most historians today: in "the aftermath of post-modernity" he says, most agree on being "more self-aware and self-reflexive than ever before, and that self-scrutiny and self-examination are the prevailing modes" (Ibid, p33). But more significantly, in examining the last hundred years of academic history in Britain, he makes the point about a particular continuity in a process that has certainly involved deep transformations in the discipline and "the widening of its scope and the proliferation of its sub-fields" (Ibid, p27). What remained constant in the long term is a set of common questions that have shaped epistemological and ontological debates in the profession, since:

> many of the controversies concerning the nature and purpose of history, over which scholars disagree now and have disagreed during the intervening hundred years, remain essentially the same, despite the changes that have taken place elsewhere in the scale and substance of the subject (Ibid).

Following David Cannadine, it is possible to suggest that the awareness of a *well tempered* contemporary historian that claims to be self-reflexive, involves familiarity with those shared grounds of long-standing self-questionings. Among them: Is history an art or a science? Should its writing be analytical or narrative? Should it stress change or continuity? Should it concern a broad geographic perspective, or devote to the particular? The long term or the event? History of the elites and the powerful, or *history from below*? Should the past be read as a foreign country or as one familiar? Has the past been determined by long-term forces, or by accidents and contingencies? And (at the core of postmodernist debate): should realist history be deemed as fiction, an inevitably subjective construction, or should it claim to say something about reality?

This set of questions asked by historians about what they do, if not exhaustive of the myriad dilemmas in the history of the discipline, does provide a map of main dialectics that are still relevant in the present. In this matter, David Cannadine disregards "exaggeratedly opposed" (Ibid, p29), "dogmatically polarized" (Ibid, p32), "extreme and entrenched adversarial positions" (Ibid, p33), and "Manichean.. formulations of the practice and purpose of history" (Ibid, pp30-31). And he insistently stresses that: "historians need to emancipate themselves from the spurious thraldom of dichotomized modes of thinking" (Ibid, p33), because "in practice there is more agreement and common ground between many of them" (Ibid, p33). His significant lesson here, is that the dialectics that have been discussed in this section, and others in the historical discipline, are better understood as conforming a *continuum* of perspectives and possibilities for history writing:

> If we are to think more creatively and constructively about what we are doing, we should be more concerned with gradations, continuums and nuances than with postulating mutually-exclusive alternatives (Ibid, pp33-4).

In such terms, for Cannadine the old debate of *art or science?*, is not much about disagreement today, since "most historians readily concede that history is both a science and an art" (Ibid, p28). Secondly, a continuum should be acknowledged between "those who favour analytical history, which stresses static structure, and those who prefer dynamic narrative, which tells a story" (Ibid, p28), while "the best history is situated somewhere between these extremes, seeking simultaneously to animate structure and contextualize narrative" (Ibid, p29). In our time, "most historians recognize, analysis without narrative loses any sense of the sequencing (and unpredictability) of events through time, while narrative without analysis fails to convey the structural constraints within which events actually take place" (Ibid, p29). Thirdly, regarding the debate of transformations or continuity, he underlines that "historians are better employed trying to establish a balance between continuity and change, rather than insisting on the importance of one to the exclusion of the other" (Ibid, p29). Fourthly, differences between historians "surveying the broad historical landscape" and those that deal with "dense thickets of local detail" (Ibid, p30), are "best resolved by envisaging a continuum of expositional strategies" (Ibid, p30). On this matter he adds, that "[n]ow, as always, one of the most important tasks of the historian is to make connections, as Ranke long ago urged, between the particular and the general." And also remarks that "Micro history only works if there is a sense of the broader context which particular events illuminate, and are themselves illuminated by; global history loses its edge without concrete detail and local specificity" (Ibid, p30).

In fifth place, regarding approaches concerned with "those people who were in power, made the rules, possessed the wealth, and set the tone" (Cannadine, 2008, p30) and those concerned with common people, or differences "between high and low, elite and popular, be it in politics, society, culture or anything else", Cannadine calls for adequate "attention to the inter-connectedness of things" (Ibid, p30). As he stresses: "For all its alliterative appeal, few societies in practice have ever been polarized – politically, economically, socially or culturally – between two hermetically-sealed and mutually-antagonistic collectivities labelled the ‘patricians’ and the ‘plebs’" (Ibid, pp30-31).

Sixthly, concerning sociologically informed debates of structure and agency, and the question "[a]re historical developments inevitable, the outcome of long-term forces over which men and women have no control, or are they accidental, the result of caprice and contingency?" (Ibid, p31), he reminds how "Marx famously observed that men and women do indeed make their own history, but they do not do so under circumstances of their own choosing" (Ibid, p32). Finally, among other questions he examines, is that at the centre of late 20th century postmodernist death sentence to the historian's discipline—"Is history fiction by another name, in which the author makes it all up, or is it about fact, truth and certainty?"—he remarks how "Trevelyan rightly noted that the very essence of

history was not 'the imagination roaming at large, but pursuing the fact and fastening upon it'" (Ibid, p32).[13]

2. Primary sources and methodological implications of writing history of the recent past

Scrutiny of the past of music industrialization from a global perspective can encompass, in its broadest chronology, a prolonged period of time esteemed at least since the sound technology developments of the second half of the 19th century in Europe, UK and US, but also extendible to include the whole of the 19th century, or even what media historians call the Gutenberg Galaxy, which involves the past of humanity since the invention of the printing press.[14] I acknowledge this *longue durée* dimension of my topic, to make the point that such is not the time frame which delimitates the scrutiny and analysis of archival material collected during the research process that led to this account of the so-called Golden age of recording industry in Colombia.

As I have explained in Chapter 1, this work concentrates mostly on the 1949 to 1963 period due to its coherence and special significance of those years for the establishment of recording companies in Medellín and Bogotá (with some attention to the previous situation of earlier decades illustrated by secondary sources). Such temporality calls for considering some methodological and conceptual implications of writing *history of the recent past*, in the light of historians concerned with theory and method for writing 'the history of one's own lifetime" (Hobsbawn, 2005 [1972], p302), and with reflections about the field of academic enquiry known as *contemporary history*. I will do a brief discussion on such matters in the following pages, and then move on to a section that reviews the different kinds of primary sources explored during this research, and will come back to the topic of doing history of the recent past in the final section.[15]

As charted by Kandiah (2017), Evans (2015), Palmowski and Spohr Readman (2011) and Franco and Levín (2007), the term "contemporary history" can refer in general terms to historical writing since the 1950s until today, specifically concerned with studying phenomena, events or processes that took place during the 20th century, and as such,

[13] Other questions reviewed by Cannadine (2008, pp31-32) are: "Is the past a foreign country, where they do things differently from us here and now, or a familiar country, where they do things the same?", which reminds that cultural historian "Jacques Barzun long ago observed that the task of the historian was to discover 'the familiar within the strange, without losing sense of either'". And: is history writing "for fellow scholars" or should it "reach as broad a public audience as possible[?]", about which he points out that "in practice, there is a continuum of historical writing, extending all the way from arcane technical works to best-sellers, and our most distinguished historians have invariably spanned it" (Ibid, p31).

[14] Reference to MacLuhan's *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (1962), which implies a specific period of human history defined by the printing press.

[15] Noting that the relation of the historians` work with his own present is a common matter of debate and thought within the field, that final section does some reflection on the relation of this account of history of recording industry in Colombia with the present situation of the music business.

involving a past not many decades apart from the present of those who write its history. As a field of historical practice, it has experienced special and growing popularity since the 1980s until today (Hartog, 2014; Franco and Levín, 2007) even though its precise definition and delimitation is not without difficulties.

As it stands today, contemporary history on the one hand maintains the spirit of early practitioners in 1950s Germany and those connected to the *Journal of Contemporary History* launched in the late 1960s by Jewish German historians working in parallel from UK and US. This implies defining the period and topic of study guided by a moral and political commitment to writing history about catastrophic and particularly violent events of the 20th century which conform agreeable breaking-points, such as Nazi Germany, WWII, the Holocaust, and fascism which were of importance to the founders of the mentioned journal. On the other hand, the field has since its early decades continuously opened up both in its time scope and in topics of focus, and it is precisely "this openness that makes contemporary history much harder to define," since it "has moved far from the earlier intellectual and moral focus", acquiring a "greater breadth of intellectual and moral concerns", by "taking into account not just political and institutional, but also cultural and anthropological approaches" (Palmowski and Spohr Readman, 2011, pp504-5).

From an initial specific interest in Europe the field quickly broadened to inquiries about non-European countries, leaning towards a transnational approach. Contemporary history as practiced in different countries has developed out of concerns with different breaking-points in the 20th century or different shocking events. Anglo and German traditions have produced history since the Russian Revolution, the First World War, the Great Depression, the Cold War, the decline of the welfare state in UK after Thatcher; while in Spain and France contemporary history has involved both the 19th and the 20th centuries (Palmowski and Spohr Readman, 2011, p504), and in Latin America historians in the field have emerged out of concerns as the excesses of the military dictatorship from the late 1970s to the early 1980s (Franco and Levín, 2007, pp18-19).

At the same time, the expansion of historical studies of the recent past has not exclusively been concerned with catastrophic events, as from an early stage a variety of topics were also researched. Recent past enquiries have expanded in line with new trends in social and cultural history, covering matters as diverse as: Leftist political movements, working class-culture, conservatism, literature, education, religion, women, colonialism, consumerism, youth culture, jazz, film history, sports, nationalism, race, gender, sexuality, globalization, and the environment, as well as theory and methodology of *contemporary history* (Evans, 2015).

In principle, I relate to this field not in the sense of history writing sparked by shocking events of the past, but in that of studying phenomena and events that took place during

the second half of the 20th century, during the recent past, and which are still of broad interest today. It is from such matters of periodicity that I draw lessons from other historians considered in the sections below, firstly in regards to the collection and analysis of primary sources, and secondly regarding the relation between the recent past that contemporary historians study and the present in which they write. Nonetheless, it is significant to acknowledge that a social and cultural history of the kind I am engaged in here, focusing in the Colombian end of the 1940s to the beginning of the 1960s, is inescapably entwined with the economic and political underpinnings of an era, or a socio-cultural phenomenon broadly know as *La Violencia.* The name alludes to the bloodiness of bipartisan confrontations amidst an effervescent industrial sector, which catalysed internal migrations and ignited a fast paced concentration of the population in urban settings and also in a few main cities. This is certainly a particularly traumatic period in Colombian history, and its political economy and social dimensions are very much those in which music industry developed at the time. Many of its social, cultural and political consequences are relevant matters today: from the 2016 Peace Treaty with the oldest guerrilla movement that formed as a result of that era of intense violence, to the continuation of record companies involved in the popularization to mass levels of different music genre which are still part of the popular music landscapes of today.

2.1 The primary sources, their collection and analysis

A significant finding of my experience in different sorts of archives visited during several field trips to Colombia between 2012 and 2014, is that, at the same time that there are no record company archives (which for this sort of research would be ideal and certainly a priority), there is a good deal of other kinds of archives, with a breadth of sources whose copiousness and richness of information unquestionably defy exhaustion by a single research exercise. I visited at least eight different institutions with historical archives, including: magazine and newspaper archives in Centro Cultural Biblioteca Luis Echavarría Villegas of EAFIT University, Biblioteca Pública Piloto of Medellìn, and Biblioteca Central Universidad de Antioquia Carlos Gaviria Dìaz in Medellín, and in Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia in Bogotá; the researchers area in Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango in Bogotá, for state official documents and reports of different sorts, and Archivo Histórico de Medellín for both for journalistic and state produced sources, the later also collected in the Office of Departmental Planning, in the regional government offices in Medellín of Gobernación de Antioquia. Additionally, various record catalogues and some valuable documents were registered at the Fonoteca Hernán Restrepo Duque, also in Medellín, a municipal institution that hosts the phonographic collection of Hernán Restrepo Duque, renown A&R, disk jockey and music journalist of the era (donated after his death).

Some practitioners of contemporary history—especially those concerned with the excesses of regimes, events of warfare, genocides, and atrocities—might confront a problem of lack of sources and barriers of access to certain materials as Governmental or

institutional documents (Palmowski and Spohr Readman, 2011, p489). Others studying other phenomena and processes of the 20th century might confront precisely the opposite, i.e. an abundance of possible and accessible sources (Ibid, 2011, p494). As Eric Hobsbawm put it when reflecting on methodology and the writing of his *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*: "[i]nadequacy of sources is the last thing we can complain about." In contrast, "the fundamental problem for the contemporary historian in our endlessly bureaucratized, documented and endlessly enquiring times is an unmanageable excess of primary sources rather than a shortage of them" (Hobsbawm, 2005 [1993], p316). Such was the case during the research process of this thesis which, as it stands, is markedly archive based. I was painfully challenged by an abundance of relevant sources of different kinds, whose richness in documents and other forms of useful information at the same time produced a feeling of joy.

While this thesis concentrates on the 1949 to 1963 period, my work collecting primary sources inevitably became ambitious. With several sources I extended the revision to include the three decade period of 1949 to 1980, concentrating on information relevant for my research questions about the sphere of production of recording and sound technology companies, yet, compiling other sorts of information related to the spheres of circulation and consumption useful for future research. An extensive collection of archival material was undertaken using firstly a selection of newspapers and magazines. Their selection prioritized sources not commonly referenced by other authors, and aimed at obtaining perspectives from the local level of Medellín, the national level of Bogotá (Colombia`s capital and home of national newspapers and national government), and at including least one international source. It was also cautious to include both Liberal party and Conservative party oriented media (the dominant political forces of the era, at the crux of the period's confrontations). It also included statics reports by national and regional governments, as well as magazines of the time specialized in Colombian economy and in the growing industrial sector. As well as record company catalogues, and some record collections which counted with releases by record companies of the time.[16]

The collection of primary sources involved a rigorous, systematic and exhaustive revision which, in the absence of proper indexes for most of the material, meant literally turning page by page in copious editions of newspapers and magazines in search of relevant information (which was anything but scarce). Digital pictures were taken when appropriate, and with the aid of an archive diary a record of reviewed material was kept along with notes about key findings and particular matters of interest that emerged.[17] It is then fair to state that an important achievement of this research is the accruement of a rich and massive collection of primary sources of different kinds, which provide

[16] See Appendices 3.1 to 3.3 for charts with primary sources scrutinized.

[17] I thank and credit anthropologist Daniel Grisales from Universidad de Antioquia, who patiently accompanied and assisted me through considerable part of the exhausting archive work done in Medellín and Bogotá.

qualitative as well as relevant quantitative data, rich enough to produce this thesis, and to be used in future works.[18]

An important strategy for dealing with the abundant primary sources collected, followed a suggestion from historiographers Anna Green and Kathleen Troup. As they explain, when researching late modern times, "even though much evidence is destroyed, it remains virtually impossible for any modern historian to read all existing archival source material bearing upon their research, for the time-scale (and endurance) is beyond any one individual" (Green and Troup, 1999, p5). That being my case, as I have explained above, it was reasonable to consider their following suggestion: "When the quantity of surviving documents exceeds human capacity Elton recommended the exhaustive study of one set of 'master' documents to guide the historian in his or her subsequent selective use of the remaining archives" (Ibid).[19]

In that sense, *El Diario* newspaper from Medellín as well as *La República* from Bogotá conformed a central part of the set of *master documents* for this research, due to their richness and their specificity as outlets of both popular music journalism, and economic and political matters related to the sphere of production of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia. With them the renown trade journal *Billboard Magazine*, as well as some among a group I denominate *institutional sources*: the yearly report on imports and exports *Anuario Estadístico de Comercio Exterior* and *Revista Economía Colombiana* (specialized on affairs of Colombian economy) are both national government publications of the time; while *Revista Industria Colombiana* was published by a private publisher which overtly advocated the interests of the country's industrial sector. And finally, a group of record company catalogues conform another important part of the master documents of this research, due to their key information about licenses with foreign companies and distribution networks. Some key complementary sources used are: *Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia* with information on population growth on of other kinds described in the next pages, as well as *Pantalla* magazine from Medellín.[20]

In the following pages, I describe with further detail the mentioned master primary sources, and also comment on others which fell outside of the selection in order to point out important material for other investigations. About all these, I will underline their worthiness for the study of the past of production in recording and sound technology

[18] To give a concrete dimension of the abundance of information confronted during the phase of analysis, the material collected in newspapers, magazines and other institutional sources amount to more than 13 thousand photographs of folios or pages (without counting others such as record label catalogues and record collections, which are also highly copious).
[19] Citing English empiricist historian Elton, G.R. *The practice of history* (London [1967] 1987), pp92-3.
[20] Other complementary sources used for specific information are: *Radio-periódico El Clarín* from Medellín, *Semana* and *Cromos* journalism magazines from Bogotá, *El Tiempo* newspaper from the same city, and *El Colombiano* newspaper from Medellín.

industries, but will also point out valuable information useful for future research in other related aspects that was spotted during their scrutiny.[21]

Journalistic sources

El Diario newspaper from Medellín was a high circulation Liberal newspaper of the era, featuring valuable sections of cultural journalism, among other political, economic, different social affairs and sports. It contains extensive information about record companies from Colombia, Latin America, Europe and US, including: news about labels, popular artists and different players in the industry, and in many cases chronicles of companies and artists as well interviews with record company executives, record shop owners; as well as news and discussions about the music released and played on the radio and in jukeboxes in public places as "cafés" and "cantinas", along with charts of hit records. It specifically covered weekly affairs of mass popular culture in radio, music, and film, from 1949 to 1950 through the sections *Cine-Radio-Teatro* and *Radio Mania*, and later through *Antena* in 1951, and *Radioletras* from 1952. Its value for this account, is particularly high because it specifically addressed a record buying audience through the column "Discoteca" featured in those sections of the newspaper since 1951. It was a regular outlet for diverse news related to domestic and international record companies in Colombia, written from the perspective of Medellín, even though covering related matters in other cities, mostly Bogotá, Cartagena and Barranquilla.

By 1949 the editor of these sections of *El Diario* was journalist Hernán Restrepo Duque, whom, as his writing reveals, was well acquainted with people in the record business and commercial radio, and in parallel ran the radio show *Radio Lente*. Noteworthy, he became a successful publicity director and A&R executive with the Sonolux record company since 1953. His importance as a non-academic researcher of popular music has been reviewed in Chapter 2, still it is worth mentioning that his contribution to the field of popular music, as a music journalist, has been celebrated by pioneering Colombian musicologist Egberto Bermúdez (2008), and others as journalist Ana María Cano (1986), and independent music historian and biographer Mauricio Restrepo Hill (2012). His writing about record companies, record releases, the music business and media in general is highly valuable for studies of the sphere of production, and his journalism also offers rich material for those interested in a critical analysis of aesthetic or cultural politics, music genre and audiences during the 1950s, as it reveals perceptions about Colombian society and culture at large during the time.

La República is a Conservative newspaper from Bogotá, started in 1954, with emphasis on economy and finance, which proved rich in information about the manufacturing industry at large in the country, and led to important information about recording companies. Of

[21] See Appendices 3.1 to 3.3 for charts listing primary sources, their archives and the years covered in each.

particular interest among information collected from copious daily editions from the years 1954 to 1960, are matters related to importers of sound technology hardware, the development of a sector within Colombian industry which imported disassembled parts and pieces of machines to assemble them domestically, termed as *industria del ensamble*. The sector encompassed from small workshops assembling radios, record players and jukeboxes, to large scale operations as that of Philips, and in a broader level, a car assembly industry (on which there is copious information). It includes special supplements and dedicated sections to literature, film, music, radio, entertainment and celebrities which might be of interest for other researchers.

An important master source for this research is the well known US trade journal of recording industry *Billboard* magazine, certainly with valuable writing about international recording industry and also about many Latin American companies, including Colombian ones. As a *trade journal* directed, if not exclusively, to an audience within the industry and the music related media, it reveals a particular interest during the era in the growth of *markets* for sound technology and music recordings in Latin America, and also in those for *Latin* music within the US. I recorded a broad set of information related to Colombia from the period 1945 to 1980, moving some years further into the past to follow matters related to jukebox exports from US to Colombia, excited about the possibilities of future research and analysis on the matter. From the oldest editions until 1963, the magazine includes a lengthy section of pages covering the 'coin machine' business, which included from venders to amusement games, and particularly jukeboxes, a topic in which the source offers good information about strategies of US companies for expanding in the Latin American markets, and their competition with UK and European companies.[22]

It should be noted that a trade journal of such character and audience didn't exist in Colombia during the era studied, nevertheless the master source *El Diario* is perhaps the closest to it, with *Pantalla,* another complementary source used here. The latter was a magazine published from 1952 to 1971, and as a media specifically directed to film, radio and recorded music audiences, it offers abundant and diverse material with the same kind of analytical richness of *El Diario*. I recorded information from issues available at EAFIT university library raging from the years 1957 to 1968, yet it was not used as part of the master selection because material for most part of the 1950s was not available. It remains a pendant task to find the earlier numbers of this publication. There is another source close in nature to a trade journal, which should be noted as an exception, named *Oiga* magazine and published by record company Codiscos in Medellín during the 1950s.[23] Apparently short lived, the Fonoteca Hernán Restrepo Duque in Medellín holds a collection of only twelve numbers dating from 1957 and 1958.[24] The magazine features

[22] See Appendices 4.9 to 4.14, and 6.5 to 6.8.
[23] *Oiga. Un magazine a todo full. De la compañía Colombiana de Discos Limitada "Codiscos"*. 1957-1958.
[24] Ibid, Año 1, numbers 2-8, 10-13, Año 2, numbers 17, 20.

popular artists and recordings of these years, and also includes news, chronicles and interviews with staff at different levels, yet the writing lacks depth and is mostly anecdotic, and proved not as useful as the sources selected.[25]

All the above sources were subjected to diachronic and exhaustive inspection in search of relevant information during the collection phase in archives, achieving an initial broad look at the period of study, its main events, topics, and issues. It should be noted that most of the material lacked proper indexes that could be used to browse their content promptly. A later phase of analysis, required patient reading and transcription of relevant information organized using entries in the Zotero computer app to be searched and tagged in different ways according to different aspects of analysis. Along with these, conventional techniques of counting mentions of companies and players involved in either selling records or selling sound hardware were deployed to create charts, tables, and maps I present along the text (and also as appendices). Adverts proved particularly useful, as they not only evidence the activity of specific players, about also give information about different matters as popular artists and recordings, technologies, and many times provide information on networks of distribution.

Finally, it is worth mentioning another source, fruitful for future research. *Radio Periódico Clarín* was a conservative radio news program of several daily emissions, covering social, political and economic matters of Medellín and the whole country, started in Medellín in 1958, and aired through Radio Visión radio station in Medellín, affiliated to the Todelar national network.[26] The written scripts used by radio presenters since then until the 1980s were donated to Archivo Histórico de Medellín, providing a particularly special written version of broadcasted daily news of the times. I recorded information related to recording and sound technology companies from 1959 to 1972, and use some of it, even though most of it falls outside the 1949-1963 period of focus of this thesis.

Institutional sources

Writing history of recording industry in Colombia is challenged, firstly by a particular lack of accessible record company archives and the non existence of official record sales reports. This matter has been reported by previous researchers as Rendón Marín (2009) and was also confirmed by myself, at least for the case of two main Colombian record companies, Codiscos and Discos Fuentes, whose offices I visited in Medellín and Bogotá. Staff and executives were happy to meet and answer my questions about different topics, nevertheless internal company documents of the past (of the likes of staff memos,

[25] I also scrutinized *Cromos* magazine, a well known varieties publication from Bogotá started in the early 20th century and still published today, and commonly used by researchers in popular culture in Colombia. Its potential though, was shadowed by that of other journalistic sources described above.

[26] See: Velásquez Restrepo, Diego Alonso. "Radioperiodico Clarín: Recuperación de una fuente inédita", Secretaria de Cultura Ciudadana, Programa de Memoria y Patrimonio, Archivo Histórico de Medellín, 2009-2010.

meeting minutes, contracts, and letters) were either not kept or are simply not available for public scrutiny.[27]

Secondly, as mentioned before, a proper trade journal for Colombian recording industry has never been published and there are no domestic sources with official record sales. A Colombian association of recording companies, ASINCOL, started operating formally in 1963 based in Medellín,[28] only two years after a Latin American federation of phonographic industry, FLAPF, was formed.[29] The relations between these two since then remain obscure, as the matter has not been studied. Yet, there is evidence that by the end of the century the Colombian association was already affiliated to FLAPF, which since its heyday worked in coordination with IFPI, the long standing federation of international recording industry (ultimately merging with it in 1999, in the context of joint efforts against piracy and a world level drop in sales of CDs).[30] Notwithstanding, in IFPI reports the earliest official sales figures of music recordings in Colombia found are for the year 1985,[31] with a gap until 1999, since when figures for the country are yearly published.[32] Furthermore, while a retrospective IFPI report published in 1990 provides worldwide record sales since 1969, only two countries from the Latin American region are included: Argentina, with figures since 1972, and Brazil, since 1977.[33] Notwithstanding, through this research the task of complementing such lack of official sales data, was achieved by bringing together data from different and sporadic journalistic reports coming from magazines and newspapers [See Chapter 7].[34]

In Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia in Bogotá, I systematically explored the indexes of two specific magazines of the era that came to my attention through previous archive work (with *La República* newspaper), both published in Bogotá since the early 1950s and

[27] Upon my visit to Discos Fuentes, I was provided by the press and publicity department with a digital folder with a vast amount of information on artists, releases, music styles and specific compilation projects. Detail is given in the following pages.

[28] As a document from Dirección Jurídica in Gobernación de Antioquia, signed in Medellín, July 5, 1979, certifies that "'Asociación de Productores e Industriales Fonográficos de Colombia' (ASINCOL)" based in Medellín was recognized as a legal entity, through Resolución No. 102 of September 2nd, 1963, produced by the Gobernación in order to confer it *Personería Jurídica* (In: Asincol: estatutos y solicitud de decomiso de fonogramas ilícitos a la Alcaldía. (1981), Archivo Histórico de Medellín, Fondo: ALCALDIA - Sección: DESPACHO DEL ALCALDE - Serie: COMUNICACIONES - Lugar: MEDELLIN, Caja C57, Folio 57).

[29] White, Adam "IFPI, Latin America Trade Body to Merge", *Billboard*, November 6, 1999, p18.

[30] Ibid.

[31] See: International Federation of Phonogram and Videogram Producers. *IFPI. 1987*. Edited by Dave Laing and Carol Wilson. London: IFPI, 1987. Figures reported in US$ millions for Latin America include: México with LPs US$12.5 (US$30 in 1984), and Tapes US$8 (US$25 in 1984); Colombia with LPs US$9, and Tapes US$6; and Argentina with LPs US$1.4 (US$3.2 in 1984), and Tapes US$ 4.7.

[32] *2000 Recording Industry World Sales* (2001). IFPI. Available from http://www.ifpi.org/content/library/worldsales2000.pdf [Accessed 30 May 2017].

[33] Hung, M. and Garcia Morencos, E. (eds) (1990). *World record sales 1969-1990 : a statistical history of the world recording industry / compiled and edited by Michèle Hung and Esteban Garcia Morencos.* London: IFPI (International Federation of Phonogram and Videogram Producers).

[34] See Appendices 6.9 and 6.10 for IFPI data on record sales in Latin America from 1960 to 1980, and 1999 vs. 2004.

concerned with the industrial boom of the country and its economy: *Economía Colombiana: Revista de la Contraloría General de la República,* a magazine published by Colombian national audit organ; and *Industria Colombiana*, a magazine published by Editorial Kelly and specifically concerned with the growth of the country's industrial sector. In both the operation of big players in the sound and media technology business—as Philips, Philco, Siemens, General Electric, Ericsson, I.B.M. de Colombia S.A. and Hitachi—is evidenced by regular advertisements, and also by reporting on matters as wide scale contracts with the State. In the same way, the activity of importers and retailers of sound hardware based in Bogotá is evidenced: country wide distributing J. Glottmann. S.A., Radiotécnica a small conglomerate of three complementary companies, and German musical instruments trader Deutscher Innen-Und Aussenhandel - Kulturwaren.

I examined 116 numbers of *Economía Colombiana* between the years 1954 and 1980. A noteworthy section, named "La Industria" in the late 1950s, featured reviews of several domestic industrial entrepreneurs from Cali and Medellín, including among others textile companies, breweries, paints, and particularly recording industry. In particular, it offers the key article "Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos" (1958), celebrating the growth of "Compañía Colombiana de Discos, Ltda. (CODISCOS)" through an interview with its founder Alfredo Díez.[35] Other particularly valuable articles, discuss the economic dimension of cantinas, State monopoly of alcohol industry and the moral, public health and economic contradictions involved in their relation.[36] I also systematically examined 65 numbers of *Industria Colombiana*, from the first in 1954 to those from 1960 (last in the collection), and recorded other two highly valuable articles: "La Philips Colombiana S.A." (1955) and "Grabaciones nacionales" (1956).[37] In this source, as in the previously mentioned, recording industry and an unfolding hardware assembly sector, "industria del ensamble", are perceived as promising new sectors of the economy (even though the topic fades out after the 1950s).

Anuario Estadístico: Comercio Exterior was also an important source of quantitative information used as a master source in the present work. It has been published yearly during most of the 20th century by Colombian national level state institutions Contraloría General de la República de Colombia and Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE), with extensive and detailed reports of figures of Colombian international commerce (and also some general statistic analysis).[38] Through figures

[35] "Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos" [Interview with Alfredo Díez president of Compañía Colombiana de Discos, Ltda. - CODISCOS] (1958), in *Economía Colombiana: revista de la Contraloría General de la República*, Year 5, Vol 16 (47), March 1958, pp611–616.

[36] Felix Angel Vallejo, "El Negocio del Alcohol", Año II, Vol. 7, No.18. October 1955. pp43-52; "El Estado Cantinero" de Leopoldo Lascarro, Año III, Vol. 8, No. 21. January 1956. pp21-24.

[37] "La Philips Colombiana S.A.", *Industria Colombiana*, Año II, No. 22, November 1955, pp29-30; García Vela, E. "Grabaciones nacionales", *Industria Colombiana*, Año III, No. 29, May 1956, pp45–47.

[38] Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango in Bogotá holds a collection of *Anuario Estadístico: Comercio Exterior* with yearly numbers from 1916 until the present.

collected from this source I was able to construct long run series—between 1949, the 1960s and in many cases the 1970s—using the stated value of imports of different kinds of commodities as records, tapes and other sound carriers, and a broad variety of sound technology hardware, including parts and pieces: which are presented in different graphs along this text. This is a source of significant value for further studies related to the enormous diversity of commodities it reports on. For example, names of specific commodities reveal technologies common in a specific period, and their changes and those in their categories of classification may represent from technological changes to those in the politics of international trade.

I should acknowledge, in the light of Green and Troup (1999), how indeed "[o]ne of the difficulties in producing a series lies in ensuring that the units of comparison are consistent," because it is likely that while some labels may remain for long periods of time, their meaning might change (Ibid, p144).[39] As I mentioned above, while analysing this data I was observant of changes in names of commodities and in their categories, and when aggregating them into bundles of sound software commodities (or sound carriers) and sound hardware commodities I was as careful and rigorous as possible.[40] Moreover, the figures for each commodity—weight in kilos and value in US$—are also found disaggregated according to their countries of origin and to the specific regions of the country to which they were sent from abroad. This allowed the production of several maps which I use in Chapter 5 to trace the geography of distribution of different commodities including records and phonographs.[41] It is worth noting that this kind of data has been used very little in studies of the topic so far, that the series constructed here are not available anywhere else, and haven't been presented in any other studies. Also, that the collection process of this data and its detailed analysis was particularly time consuming, required extreme patience, and was definitely eye exhausting.[42]

In Fonoteca Hernán Restrepo Duque in Medellín, in addition to a numerous collection of phonograms, a broad collection of record company catalogues, both domestic and foreign, was found and served as a master source. They give very good information about how all catalogues of the time were composed by recordings released in their own labels, and by recordings of foreign labels released by them through licensing agreements, and this gives a good perspective of the degree of internationalization of the internal music market and

[39] "In using census data, for example, we may find that the work associated with a particular occupational group varied over time, despite an identical label". Also, in certain cases, constructing the series might be "straightforward, but interpreting its meaning is more problematic" (Green and Troup, 1999, "Quantitative history" in *The houses of history*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 144).

[40] I am also expectant of critique by researchers interested in the matter, to which I would be happy to provide files of figures and their statistic analysis. See Appendices 5.6 to 5.56, and 7.3 to 7.21 for charts with the data used for these maps and much more.

[41] Those maps with the label "Data source" at the bottom were constructed using such data, while those which simply state "Source" are images collected from the original primary source

[42] Most of those reports have attractively designed covers, but the actual pages can be careless for an actual reader, with tiny font sizes, sometimes blurredly printed.

the character of such. Relevant material was collected from a total of 33 catalogues published between the 1950s and 1990s, by eleven different record companies in Medellín, Bogotá and Barranquilla, including: Sonolux, Codiscos, Fuentes, Discos Victoria, Sello Vergara, Bambuco, Orbe, CBS, Philips Colombia, Discos Atlantic and Tropical.[43] Of these, 13 whose publishing dates fall within the period of focus were considered for detailed analysis. Along with the different labels in which the companies organized their own recordings and the many foreign companies with which they had licenses to release their recordings domestically, they provide different types of information useful for future research as: the music genres produced;[44] the artists released (particularly those with more releases evidence the *star system* of each company); the different types of carriers produced, which included 78 and 45 r.p.m. singles, and 33 1/3 r.p.m. Long Plays and Extended Plays (called *compactos*); and strategies like doing hits compilations, either by artists or music styles. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that catalogues from the 1950s are specially explicit about the music genre of the songs that conform the A and B sides of singles.[45]

Along with record catalogues, during field work in Medellín and Bogotá, I had the opportunity to talk to and visit private record collectors, whom happily allowed an extent and detailed inspection of their records, mostly LPs and some 75 rpms. I took photographs of record covers, back covers, inner leaflets, and centre labels, which proved to have rich information on diverse matters as popular artists, music genre, distribution networks, and relations between companies.[46]

Additionally, the press and advertising department of Discos Fuentes was specially keen to offer a copy of a huge digital folder, with vast amounts of unclassified information, mostly press material for their artists, their recordings, the company, and non-academic articles about different music genres. Among them, I found a highly valuable audio file with a radio interview given by Discos Curro founder José María "Curro" Fuentes (even though it is not dated), and also use some complementary information mostly about specific artists. Future researchers might benefit from the kind of information contained in that folder, which holds close to 3200 files (mostly word, and some PDF) of which around 90% are biographies of musicians. It also includes: a small set of folders dedicated to specific stars—Fruko, Joe Arroyo, Los Corraleros del Majagual, The Latin Brothers, y Richie Ray y Bobby Cruz—each containing press reports, discographies, record cover images, photographs of the artists, digital music samples and videos; dedicated folders with material for at least four book publishing projects named *Andina*, *Balada*, *Bolero*, and *Fruko*; a digital copy of the magazine Revista Fonográfica, published by Discos Fuentes in

[43] Thirteen catalogues by Sonolux and five from Codiscos amount to more than half of them.
[44] See Appendices 4.19 to 4.22 for an analysis of the different music genre in catalogues by Sonolux, Sello Vergara and Tropical during the 1950s and 1960s.
[45] See Appendix 3.3 for a list of catalogues found in Fonoteca Hernán Restrepo Duque.
[46] I am specially grateful to Cesar Ossa, a dedicated record collector in Medellín, and to anthropologist Sebastian Gamez in Bogotá, for their openness and generosity.

1994, with apparently only one issue; a couple of folders with detailed information about the repertoire released in the compilation series *Catorce Cañonazos Bailables* from Vol. 1 to Vol. 53 (started in 1961), and *Síganme los Buenos* from Vol. 1 to Vol. 30 (started in 1977), which includes the list of songs for each release, with their respective authors, performers and music genre classification; and a folder with diverse information on the project *La Discoteca del Siglo: Historia Musical*, dated 1999, which consisted of a series of 33 CDS with lengthy leaflets dedicated to the history of different popular music genre of the 20th Century (including salsa, Cuban music, merengue, cumbia, vallenato, tropical music, bolero, ranchera, "música popular" from the Central Andean region, balada, rock, jazz, and tango).[47]

Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia, published by regional level State institution Gobernación de Antioquia, provided valuable complementary statistics on population growth in Medellín, the Antioquia region and the country. Such data is used in Chapter 5 to enrich the historical context of the so-called Golden Age of recording industry in Colombia, with population growth and its geographic distribution, both nationally and regionally, for a set of key years: 1951, 1957, 1964, 1968, 1973, and 1985.[48] It should be noted though that this source also offers plenty of quantitative information on cultural consumption of diverse kinds, mostly for the Antioquia region, including the city of Medellín and an extensive number of municipalities. Material useful for future research on this aspect includes: show business audiences and revenue in the Antioquia region and Medellín, including film, live music, theatre, football, bull and cock-fighting among several others; hours of radio station programming in the Antioquia region, disaggregated by genre, number of live vs. recorded shows, number of artists that performed in radio according to gender, and to nationality (foreign or Colombian); municipal tax revenue from jukebox or "pianos y tocadiscos" taxation in the Antioquia region, for the 28 municipalities of higher consumption in the years 1968, 1969 and 1970 (in previous and later years this is not reported); and liquor, beer and tobacco consumption in the same region, for different years between the late 1940s and 1980.[49]

Finally, it is relevant to report that the Archivo Histórico de Medellín, holds an extensive and very valuable repository of documents produced by and addressed to different

[47] The texts for each genre are contained in the folder, along with images and graphics for each. There is also a file presenting the list of authors that contributed and the titles of their articles: Óscar Ramiro Alzate T. is credited with "Historia de la Salsa en el Siglo XX", "Historia de la Música Cubana en el Siglo XX"; Carlos Deiby Velásquez S. with "Historia del Merengue en el Siglo XX", "Historia de la Música Cubana en el Siglo XX"; Ofelia Peláez with "Historia de la Cumbia en el Siglo XX", "Historia del Bolero en el Siglo XX", "Historia de la Música Popular en el Siglo XX", "Historia de la Música Ranchera en el Siglo XX", "Historia del Folclor Latinoamericano en el Siglo XX", "Historia de la Música Taurina en el Siglo XX", "Historia de la Música Tropical Bailable en el Siglo XX", "Historia de Guillermo Buitrago"; Juan Carlos Múnera E. with "Historia del Jazz en el Siglo XX", "Historia del Rock en el Siglo XX", "Historia de la Música Taurina en el Siglo XX"; Reinaldo Vélez M. with "Historia de la Balada en el Siglo XX"; Hernán Restrepo Duque with "Historia del Tango y la Milonga en el Siglo XX"; and Luis Felipe Jaramillo O. with "Historia del Vallenato en el Siglo XX".

[48] Also see Appendices 5.03, 5.1 and 5.2.

[49] See Appendices 4.1 to 4.8 and 4.15 to 4.18.

divisions of several municipal administration institutions since the colonial period until the present, compiled in the collections Fondo Municipio Medellín and Fondo Personería de Medellín. Due to the high amount of information represented by the previous master sources described above, this material came as an excess at the time of analysis and constructing a narrative, but I was careful to recorded several kinds of documents from the period 1951 to 1981 that should be useful in the future. These dealt with different matters including: contracts between the municipality and big players in technology business as Siemens, Philips, IBM and local sound hardware distributor and retailer J. Glottman; letters interchanged between Colombian copy right collecting society Sayco and authorities regarding their difficulties of establishing a new tax to public establishments exploiting copyrighted music, and likeminded legal processes; and the edition of "discos patrióticos" with recordings of the national anthem during the 1950s dictatorship of Rojas Pinilla.

Three particular documents from these sources should be highlighted because of their particular value and interest for other related investigations. The first, produced in 1951, reviews the process of taxation to jukebox or "traganíqueles" used in public establishments since 1944.[50] The other two, while not relevant for my 1950s period of focus, are noteworthy because of their potential usefulness for other researchers. The documents of civil lawsuit in which Discos Fuentes claimed legal right over the name “Los Corraleros del Majagual,” when the tropical music band directed by Manuel Cervantes was about to release a new record with Sonolux as "Los Auténticos Corraleros", a similar and defiant name. The process ran from June 1971 and February 1972, and compiles 151 folios with abundant information on the topic, and also about Discos Fuentes, its executives, and distributors, among others.[51] Thirdly, a 1981 document consists of a series of letters in which the Colombian association of record producers, "Asociación de Productores e Industriales Fonográficos de Colombia - Asincol-Profon", asks municipal authorities to help them in their battle against piracy. It contains valuable annexes as a list of members of the association and a copy of its legal statutes.[52]

Additionally, there are numerous letters and documents with complaints and debates about disruptions of *public order* with the loud and repeated use of sound hardware as record players, radios, and jukeboxes—or *tocadiscos*, *radiolas, alto-parlantes* and *traganíqueles.* A matter connected to the proliferation of establishments for alcohol and

[50] "Nulidad de acuerdo [Acuerdo No. 86, 15 de Diciembre de 1944] por el cual se crea un impuesto funcionamiento aparatos musicales traganíqueles, pianos eléctricos, tocadiscos", September 21, 1951, AHM, Fondo PERSONERIA, Sección DEPARTAMENTO CIVIL, Serie PROCESOS, Medellín, 1951, C159 [173?], legajos 5, folios 244-250.

[51] "Juicios sobre amparos administrativos solicitados y decretados a favor de fábrica de discos Fuentes limitada", 1971 to 1972, AHM, Fondo ALCALDIA, SECRETARIA DE GOBIERNO, 1971, Caja C817, Legajos 3, Folios 1-104.

[52] In: "Asincol: estatutos y solicitud de decomiso de fonogramas ilícitos a la Alcaldía" (1981), Archivo Histórico de Medellín, Fondo: ALCALDIA - Sección: DESPACHO DEL ALCALDE - Serie: COMUNICACIONES - Lugar: MEDELLIN, Caja C57, Folio 57.

recorded music consumption, as *cantinas* and *cafés*, the legal actions of people who ran them, *cantineros*, through trade associations as Fenacar and Adetraba, and the municipal designation of *Barrio Antioquia* neighbourhood as a tolerance zone or red-light district.

2.2 Other implications of writing history of the recent past

A methodological particularity of contemporary history that shouldn't go without some consideration relates to the definition of the field as "history within the memory of some persons now living" (Evans, 2015, p 732).[53] For Hartog (2014) the growing popularity of contemporary history since the late 20th century went hand in hand with "the rise of memory" as a conceptual and methodological concern for sociologists and for historians, particularly in cases in which the topic involved atrocities and crimes against humanity, where giving voice to *witnesses* and *victims* themselves, and their recollections, narratives of events and experiences, was of central importance (Ibid, p203). For Bentley (2005) "the interview method" used to access people's memory or collective memory, and which restricts historians "to the most recent periods" (Ibid, p158), is presented as conforming a genre of history writing in itself, namely *oral history*. This genre "blurs together history, commemoration and individual remembering" and as the author underlines, it "needs to be treated with a certain caution" (Ibid, p157). First, he notes how memory can not be simply understood as a matter of the individual in which external influence doesn't play a role; in the contrary, "[i]t is possible to argue that individual memory is itself a social construct, the product of our class, race, television, the newspaper we read and so on". Even more, if setting the afore mentioned aside, problems remain which "undermine the claim of memory to produce a direct link with the past", specifically when documentary record and memory clash, and the mistakes of the second are made evident: "dates telescoped or inverted, imagined witnessing of events which the subject could never have witnessed, moods conjured up—the perpetual sunshine of childhood, for example" (Ibid, p156).

Bentley's position on the matter stands then in a very critical perspective, and he ultimately calls for considering instead the idea that "history is precisely non-memory, a systematic discipline which seeks to rely on mechanisms and controls quite different from those which memory triggers and often intend to give memory the lie" (Bentley, 2005, p 156). Eric Hobsbawm's remarks about early experience in his career as a social historian conducting interviews with "senior citizens" and asking about events that took place in the days of their youth, stand in the same grounds. He drew three central lessons from using interviews as a historiographical method: "the first... was that they were not even worth interviewing unless I had found out more about the subject of the interview than they could remember. The second... was that, on any independent verifiable fact, their

[53] Evans refers to Niall Ferguson's definition, in a discussion about the periodicity the field has or should consider. He cites the definition from: W. Laqueur, 'Editorial', and R.J. Evans, N. Ferguson and S.G. Payne, 'Editorial', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39, 4 (October 2004), pp469–70 and pp471–2.

memory was likely to be wrong. The third lesson was that it was pointless to get them to change their ideas which had been formed and set a very long time ago"(Hobsbawm, 2005 [1993], p 307-308). The temporality explored in this research left out the possibility of conducting interviews with company staff active during the 1950s, because it is highly difficult to find informants that still live.[54] Yet, in the light of the above, it seems fair to state that my research aims and questions are fairly well served through an archive based methodology.

Finally, and to close this chapter, I will briefly acknowledge two main concerns regarding the relation of contemporary historians with their own present, as the recent past they study is commonly conceived as intimately linked with the current situation. As Palmowski and Spohr Readman (2011, p489) explain, a common critique of practitioners in the field is that they are too close to that recent past, or not distant enough, as to achieve objectivity or to be able to access key institutional documents that might be protected by confidentiality protocols. While lack of proper primary sources is out of the case in my account of recording industry in mid 20th century Colombia, I shall respond to the first issue not only by saying that I was born decades after the period I concentrate in. In this matter, I also stand in line with Hobsbawm as he states how the well know adagio among historians about the otherness of the past, i.e. 'The past is another country. They do things differently there', is as relevant for the study of the recent past as it is for inquiries about older times, and should be kept in mind. For him, not doing so is highly problematic, "[i]nsofar as the beginning of historical understanding is an appreciation of the otherness of the past, and [the] worst sin of historians is anachronism" (Hobsbawm, 2005 [1993], p309).[55]

For my case, as I am concerned with explaining change from early to mid 20th century recording and sound technology industries in Colombia, it is fairly reasonable to think as well that recording industries of today are not the same as those of the 1950s. Such an idea seems non controversial in light of the technological changes and the crises the digital age has brought, which have been widely covered by the media, but it might seem less obvious when dealing with other aspects. For example, the meanings conveyed by certain music genre during the 1950s might differ broadly from those discernible in later decades. While the nominal aspect of a genre may achieve long term continuity (as *vallenato* which has been popular since the 1940s until the present day), it is the task of historians to attend to the dynamics of change that music styles experience, from their formal character to those of audiences, its sociological dimension and meaning. Overall, as

[54] I regret the recent passing of Alvaro Arango aka "el doctor Arango", the only record company executive from the era I managed to meet. He joined Codiscos during early 1960s and held several positions including A&R until the 2000s. I met him in the 1990s when he started signing rock bands from the era (as Bajo Tierra in which I happened to play guitar and shout around), and also met him informally a few times during the course of this research.

[55] Hobsbawm exemplifies this by noting how different a German Nazis soldier from the 1930s is from neo-Nazi of the 1990s (Ibid).

Hobsbawm remarks, when writing history of the 20th century one should keep in mind that intense and rapid change is one central characteristic of these times: "The past thirty or forty years [1950s to early 1990s] have been the most revolutionary era in recorded history. Never before has the world, that is to say the lives of men and women who live on earth, been so profoundly, dramatically and extraordinarily transformed within such a brief period" (Hobsbawm, 2005 [1993], p308).

Other concerns regarding the relation of contemporary historians with their own present, derive from the fact that the recent past about which they write, and the events, phenomena or processes involved, are commonly not solely of interest for academics. They are many times matters of wide scale attention, even more when institutions involved are still active and when individuals that played a direct part in them, or their close relatives, are still living. In such cases, as Hartog (2014) discusses, the contemporary historian might play the role of "mediator between the past and the present" (Ibid, p203) and her or his voice is to be heard within a polyphonic public sphere. There it joins those of academics from other fields, non-academic commentators, witnesses or participants of the times or events, journalists, and in many cases politicians, lawmakers, lawyers and in particular case even judges; and engages in discussions mediated by notions of memory, commemoration, patrimony, identity, and when dealing with histories of violence, with those of trauma, crimes against humanity, victims and witnesses (Hartog, 2014, p206).[56] The contemporary historian in this way might end up playing the role of a public intellectual whose involvement in a politics of the present might overshadow or at least affect his principles as a historiographer, when expected not to simply say *something* about the past, but to extend towards explaining *how things came to be today*, and move towards an explanation of the present condition.[57]

While for Hartog these matters are in the long run problematic and a potential constraint for the field, for Palmowski and Spohr Readman (2011) they are nodal. The authors stress a significant moral and political dimension of studying the recent past. It implies "educating through empathy" with the expectation that people learn from the past, and avoid in the present certain mistakes recorded by history (Ibid, p490). And it also involves a "political mission" (Ibid, p486), considering that for them contemporary historians "must try to some extent to... 'speak truth to power'" (Ibid, p499), along with giving voice to victims, striving for justice, and debunking mythologies (Ibid, p498). Furthermore, when considering contemporary history as located "at the intersection between history and memory", what makes it more significant is not only its relation to

[56] "Historians cannot ignore these terms any more than anyone else can. In fact, they must, more than others, question them; they must seize their histories, their uses and misuses, before taking them up as the categories that might organize meaningful inquiries into and narratives of the past" (Hartog, 2014, p206).
[57] This matter is presented as problematic by the author, by posing such questions as: "Today, should historians place themselves only in the circle of the present, by which I mean this extended present, memory's new territory? In order to be admitted into public space and recognized in civil society, should historians "presentify" themselves?" (Hartog, 2014, p203).

the memories of individuals but to "social and cultural memory" and the fact that practitioners can have an effect on the formation of "collective memories" in the present by focusing on matters and moments that concern shared perceptions of the past, those "that politicians seek to affect or invoke in legitimizing future action" (Palmowski and Spohr Readman, 2011, p504).

In the light of this series of ideas, some reflection on the relation of this research with the present in which I am writing is worth for closing this long theoretical and methodological chapter with further reflections about the task of writing a social and cultural history of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia. Is there a polyphonic public sphere in which I would eventually engage when this text becomes available online? Apart from academics in the fields of ethnomusicology, media history, cultural studies or business history, who else is interested in the subject?

It is fair to start by stressing that key players of the era as Discos Fuentes and Codiscos formed in the mid 20th century are still operating today. Additionally, during the last decade there has been interest in the Colombian music produced by such companies since the 1940s by small labels in Europe and the US, which contrasts strongly with the present situation of crisis they face nowadays. As I learned from executives in both companies in 2015, they were working under conditions of contraction both in terms of personnel and infrastructure, and concentrating in digital markets and licensing business within them, with both anxiety and a perhaps polite optimism about the future. This situation has caught the attention of cultural journalists in the last years, which comment on the present crisis using arguments in which an interest in the history of record companies is interlaced with concerns about collective memory and patrimony. In *Arcadia* magazine from Bogotá, the sale of recording studios of Discos Fuentes set up since the 1950s in Medellín has been denounced as another case in which the government and cultural institutions neglect Colombian cultural patrimony, in the absence of any plans for preservation or restructuring of them as a cultural centre.[58] Similarly, through *Universo Centro* from Medellín, an old time executive in the business lamented the disposal of old matrix tapes from a pioneer record company after their sound content was digitalized.[59]

This research will enter such public sphere in a particular moment. A moment of crisis for long standing domestic record companies, in which at least some of them are debated as a matter of cultural patrimony, and not as one of *simply* commerce. It is certainly encouraging to find voices that show an interest in the past of cultural industries in Colombia that do not lean towards Adornian pessimism or deprecation of their social and cultural significance, even though such perception is not difficult to find in discussions

[58] Editorial "El último suspiro", *Arcadia*, Bogotá, no. 117, 2015, p3.
[59] Arango, Luis Alberto, "Canta Memoria", *Universo Centro*, Medellín, no. 45, Mayo 2013, p22.

about their present, commonly crossed by moral panics.[60] In parallel with such arguments of Colombian record companies as patrimony at risk, there has been growing interest in policymaking on cultural and creative industries, and information and communication technologies, both at the national and main city level, and it is noteworthy to say that the funds for this research come from State institutions with interest in such matters.[61]

Overall, having acknowledged the discursive dimension of a so-called Golden Age of music industry in Colombia, as well as the problems of such notion applied to an understanding of the past (see Chapter 1), the following chapters of this research will rigorously depict the socio-cultural and economic context of the 1950s in which recording and sound technologies were established in the Andean regions of Colombia, and then move on to sketch their structure and modes of production, the dynamics of its changes through the passing of time, and the main tensions involved at different levels. It arrives far from advocacy of specific players, or from a nostalgic celebration of *good old times*. If there is some contribution to *social memory*, it will be for sure through an analytical argument. This account is also far from explaining the current situation, nevertheless it might serve those concerned with understanding *how things came to be today*, by giving them elements to think in which ways the present condition is different from the past. Finally, if this research *speaks truth to power*, this is implied in a broader social sense, arguing about the exclusion of certain kinds of music and certain kinds of audiences from the histories of the matter written so far, and by calling for future research on other specific matters.[62] Also, if it speaks to policy makers commonly concerned with finding international models and experiences in the present, it would not least suggest that there might be some important lessons to learn from the country's experience in the past, and from different kinds of history.

[60] A particularly interesting example, is the song "Cuatro Babys" by Colombian star singer-rapper Maluma, whose lyric content has been heavily denounced as sexist and misogynistic. See: Maluma Responds to Online Petition Against His Song 'Cuatro Babys' | Billboard (2016). Available from http://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/latin/7603779/maluma-cuatro-babys-petition-response [Accessed 9 June 2017].

[61] Colciencias, Colfuturo, and Alcaldía de Medellín; Creative Economy Strategic Alliance (Americas) Meeting : Colombia, Medellin with the British Council (2013). *The CMCI Blog*. Available from https://lostincci.wordpress.com/2013/03/18/creative-economy-strategic-alliance-americas-meeting-colombia-medellin-with-the-british-council/ [Accessed 26 June 2017].

[62] A *history from below* focusing on factory workers, musicians, singers and composers, critical about working conditions and exploitation within the music industry, would be much welcomed. Also, a critical history about Colombian performance rights collecting society Sayco, formed in the 1940s, would be of high value, and would certainly engage directly, and perhaps dangerously, in *speaking truth to power*. Not least because the organisation is well known for its efficiency in collecting royalties and its deficiencies in distributing them, and has been under continuous scrutiny by the media during the last decade.

Part Two - Historical Analysis of the Colombian Case

Quiero comprarle a la vida
cinco centavitos de felicidad.
Héctor Ulloa a.k.a Don Chinche - "Cinco Centavitos"

Chapter 4. Mass media and popular music repertoires in mid 20th century Colombia

As Acosta (2003, pp250-252) proposed, the period from the 1930s to the 1950s can be understood as a phase of "consolidation" of media and cultural industries of different kinds in Colombia, and the period from the 1960s to 1980 as one of further "development". In regards to their social and cultural influence, historians Safford and Palacios (2002, p342) remark how since radio broadcasting and television appeared—in the 1930s and in the 1950s respectively—the media "tended to take the place of public education in shaping the national culture", in the midst of an on-going process of intense urbanization, dramatic population growth, middle-class formation and internal migrations catalysed by industrialization and political violence. Furthermore, they underline that the post WWII era involved the emergence of "new forms of popular culture" (Palacios, 2006, p236) or "new cultural patterns" (Safford and Palacios, 2002, p342). These ideas are related to the nation wide proliferation of a *urban* mass culture, which included mostly recorded music, sound films with musical content, the sports mass media events of soccer and cycling, national beauty contests, as well as *radio-novelas* and *radio-periódicos* (formats of soap opera and radio news shows, respectively). All these events were covered and transmitted nationally by radio broadcasting networks, which also had a considerable proportion of music in their programming, both with live performances of popular artists in their studios, and through recorded music (Téllez, 1974; Safford and Palacios, 2002; Rendón Marín, 2009). Importantly among these cultural changes, Palacios (2006, p238) recognises a mighty "musical explosion" during the second half of the 20th century, as audiences composed mostly by a recently formed urban youth diversified their taste and embraced music genre from different internal regions, and from Latin America, Europe and the US.

In the first part of this chapter I want to extend the argument that radio broadcasting, film exhibition industry and jukeboxes were main media for the circulation of recorded music in Colombia since the 1930s, i.e. several years before a domestic recording industry was properly established.[1] In other words, Colombia developed a strong broadcasting sector, and a robust cinema exhibition business, way earlier than it did so properly in the realm of domestic phonographic production. While this research concentrates on the sphere of production during the unfolding of recording and sound technology companies, mainly in Medellín and Bogotá from 1949 to 1963, it seems fair to give some background on the main media for the circulation of recorded music that were established before that period, using secondary sources as well as some primary sources.

[1] During the 1950s, television technology was a priority of General Rojas Pinilla's short mandate from mid 1953 to the 10th of May 1957. Yet, it was only until the 1960s that the new audio-visual media developed significantly at the same time that it opened up to private interests. Since then a strong commercial TV broadcasting sector started developing with head quarters in Bogotá, and radio broadcasting leaders Caracol and RCN as the main domestic venture capitalists. In the long run these two companies expanded into Colombia's biggest media conglomerates of the present. For historiographies of television in Colombia see: Amaral Ceballos (2004), Benavides Campos (2012), Hoyos (1990a), Hoyos (1990b), Vizcaíno Gutiérrez (1992, 1994, 2005), Zapata and Ospina de Fernández, 2005.

Also, since this research does not concentrate on the music itself, it is also important to give a general overview of the above mentioned “musical explosion”, stressing that its main characteristics were diversity of music genre and a high influence of foreign styles and artists. The second part of the chapter does so, based on the work of musicologists, and attempts a systematization of the popular music repertoire listened by Colombian audiences between the 1940s and 1960s.

After this, the third and final part of the chapter provides material from primary sources, useful for future researchers on matters of music and audiences. I start with a brief overview of some of the well known stars of the time, and then provide a set of the earliest charts evidenced in issues of *El Diario* newspaper published during 1953. A brief analysis of those charts, and of the reviews of some releases by some nascent record companies in Medellín, suggests music considered of low artistic value by cultural journalists, particularly "parranda" and early forms of "música de carrilera" [railroad music], were of considerable importance for the growth of the new sector, as were the cantinas and jukeboxes associated with lower class audiences in rural areas and Medellín. The tensions between the aesthetic judgement of journalists and the music of new recording artists in those lines achieving high record sales during the 1950s, were expressed in the term "estilo carrilerudo" [railroadesque style], often used to describe their releases with marked disregard and a moral panic tone. Significantly, several of these artists were recent migrants from the central Andean region, with experience as street musicians but generally without formal music training, and repertoires that included their own compositions as well as cover versions of foreign songs, spanning from ranchera, tango, pasillo, porro, and bolero, to syncretic music forms as "parranda".

1. Circulation of recorded sound in Colombia since the 1930s: radio broadcasting, film exhibition, and jukeboxes

During the period studied, as works cited below evidence, Colombian and Latin American radio went into their third decade of existence. The ownership pattern in the country became increasingly complex, with interlaced capital involved in buying out several small players to conform the leading national radio commercial networks RCN and CARACOL. Domestic recording industry in contrast, as I will evidence later, started a gradual process of unfolding in 1949 and only by mid 1950s did it achieve economic significance, stable conditions and a trend of continued growth that lasted at least until the turn to the 1980s, as happened with industry at large in Colombia (Poveda Ramos, 2005). Since the 1930s recorded music circulated through the recently established radio stations in Colombia, as well as through several others formed in that decade in Latin America, which had continental coverage and were commonly listened to in the country (Rendón Marín, 2009, pp67-68). Among them: XEW in México City, started in 1930 with RCA Victor capital and promoted as "La Voz de América Latina desde México" [The Voice of Latin America from México], Radio El Mundo in Buenos Aires initiated in 1935, and also Columbia Broadcasting System in New York, which transmitted music catered for Latin American and Caribbean audiences (Araujo, 1999, p44; Knights, 2003, p132; González, 2000, p35).

Historians of radio in Colombia date back broadcasting pioneer ventures to 1929, and these included both the State owned HJN in Bogotá, as well as a few private owned small stations also in the country's capital and in Barranquilla. Both State owned and private radio broadcasting grew stronger during the 1930s and 1940s (Téllez, 1974; Pareja; 1984; Villa Esguerra, 1994; Duque Isaza, 1996; Silva, 2005a).[2] The first was backed by the education polices of a succession of Liberal Party governments that took off with the possession of Enrique Olaya Herrera as president of Colombia in 1930. Those policies, carried out by the Ministry of Education, used the national coverage AM radio station Radio Difusora Nacional de Colombia, based in Bogotá, as a central tool among others. It contributed to their determined purpose of educating and spreading the *best* of culture, in the sense of Mathew Arnold, to population in regions beyond the capital of the country. Nevertheless, by the end of the 1940s the project declined as a political priority, since Mariano Ospina Perez took office in 1946, starting a succession of Conservative Party governments for which education was a matter in which Catholic Church was the guiding institution for devising related State policies (Silva, 2005a).[3]

At the same time, private radio broadcasting was boosted by its interlacing with big capital of industrials since its early days in Medellín, for whom the commercial potential of the media was of strategic interest.[4] Two leading radio stations emerged in the city in such conditions, La Voz de Antioquia, partially owned by Coltejer, and La Voz de Medellín, partially owned by Fabricato, both leading Colombian textile companies. After WWII, through a strategy of buying out small stations around the country, both radio stations conformed into two mighty national commercial networks in 1948. La Voz de Antioquia became Cadena Radial de Colombia, S.A. (CARACOL), which had the exclusive right for transmitting one of the main sport media yearly events, *La Vuelta a Colombia*, and ran the iconic station Radio Reloj since 1951, which combined news, social services, exact time announcements, and also played records and produced popularity charts. In a similar fashion, in that same year La Voz de Medellín in association with Emisora Nueva Granada in Bogotá, became Radio Cadena Nacional, S.A. (RCN) with head quarters in Medellín. In this process, the latter city established as an early leader in commercial radio, which was the case during the 1950s.

By 1942, the Central Andean region formed by Antioquia, Risaralda, Caldas and Quindío, was a national leader with twenty eight radio stations as a whole: 12 in Medellín, 5 in

[2] Other historiographies of radio in Colombia are: Castellanos (2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2003) and Castrillón Gallego (2009, 2011).

[3] This Conservative Party hegemony, was at the centre of by-partisan political violence of late 1940s and 1950s in Colombia, until General Rojas Pinilla was removed from office in May 1957 by a *coup d'état*. After a short one year period of Junta Militar, a military committee running a political transition, a new period of alliance between Conservative and Liberal parties was started since Alberto Lleras Camargo took office in August 1958, as the first Liberal president in the Frente Nacional scheme, in which parties agreed on sharing Senate in equal parts, and electing presidents of each party for no longer then one period. See: Bushnell (2007, pp287-316).

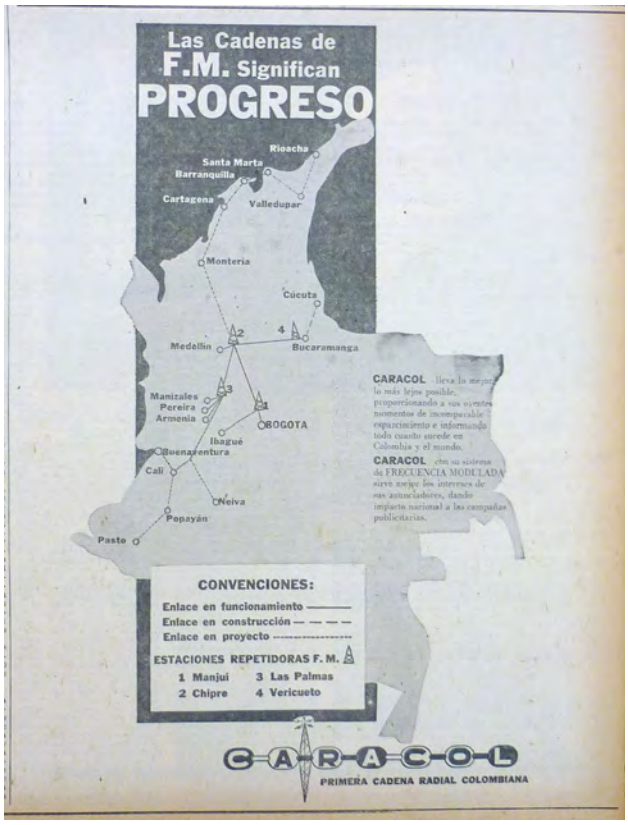
[4] As Alvarez Morales (2003, pp233-5) notes, as interlaced industrial capital from Medellín diversified investments after the 1929 economic crisis, radio broadcasting became one of their new interests and a key tool in their diverse commercial activities.

Pereira, 3 in Manizales, and 4 in Armenia. In second place stood Bogotá in the Eastern Andes, and its area of influence Cundinamarca and Boyacá, concentrating twenty three radio stations. A third place was that of the Atlantic Coast region with nineteen: 10 radio frequencies in Barranquilla (Atlántico), 5 in Cartagena (Bolivar)—three of them operated by broadcasting and recording industry pioneer Antonio Fuentes—plus 2 in Santa Marta (Magdalena), and one in Ciénaga (Magdalena). Finally, in the Eastern Andean region of Santander, way north from Bogotá, there was one more in the municipality of Ocaña (Bermúdez, 2006, p90; Bermúdez, 2008, p237, 240).[5]

Figure 4.1 - Cycling tour "Vuelta a Colombia", sponsored by radio-broadcaster CARACOL (1956).

Source: *La República*, Bogotá, October 2, 1956, p14.

Figure 4.2 - Map with progress of CARACOL's FM national network (1959).



Source: *La República*, Bogotá, , April 11, 1959, p3.

By the end of the 1940s radio set coverage had extensively increased, which certainly boosted the ascent and power of radio broadcasting industry (Silva, 2005, p85). During mid 1950s, the press celebrated the operation of national networks RCN and CARACOL, and offered an appraisal of the radio stations in each city, concluding that a total of ninety commercial radio stations were operative in the country by the end of 1954.[6] In 1955, famed Colombian writer Manuel Zapata Olivella chronicled the fifth edition of *La Vuelta a Colombia*, in a piece that included a map of the national cycling competition's route. The latter, evidences the coverage of the Caracol radiobroadcasting network during the time

[5] The cited Bermúdez (2006, 2008) works, also report one radio station in Magangué (Bolivar) and another in Montería (Córdoba), south from the cities on the Atlantic Coast, but within their geographic region (northern Colombia plains).
[6] *La República*, Bogotá, November 19, 1954, p12.

(along with the geography of automobile road infrastructure).[7] [See Figure 4.1] For that matter, CARACOL advertised in 1959 how it had developed its network into FM, covering the country from the Andean southern end to the northern Atlantic Coast [See Figure 4.2].

Since the 1930s, the influence of international commercial radio from US and Latin America and the Caribbean, implied a strong input of popular music from the Spanish speaking region, along with the likes of Spanish *Pasodobles,* and US originated genres as Charleston, One-step, and Fox-trot, which led to the formation of local bands in Medellín known as "jazzes" (Rendón Marín, 2009, p68). In parallel, the nascent Colombian commercial radio of the decade, while using music records for their broadcasts, made live music a fundamental element of their programming since the early days, when orchestras, duos, trios as well as chamber ensembles provided their needs. During the 1930s, live performance in radio stations was a promising field of work for Colombian musicians, even though the programming of international stars that visited the country increased during the 1940s, reducing the time slots available for domestic interpreters (Ibid, pp71-76).

By 1940, according to commercial radio insider Téllez (1974, p60), broadcasting had reached a saturation of radio stations, therefore competition was high and advertisers scarce. A strategic response to this was strengthening the creation of live contest shows, as well as shows based on telephone calls by audiences, following models from US commercial radio, which were received with massive appeal. As the author notes, the use of music as part of broadcasting programming intensified in this process as well, both by a plethora of small stations whose tight budget limited them to buying and playing records. Along with playing records, by late 1940s competition between radio stations had very much to do with their live music shows. The author himself produced the noontime shows "Serenata del Medio día", which commonly hosted duos as bambuco and Andean music stars Espinosa and Bedoya, Obdulio and Julián, and the trio Los Tolimenses along with other Andean folkloric music groups. Also, La Voz de Antioquia station in Medellín had arranger and composer Luis Uribe Bueno among its staff, as musical director, since the radio station normally hosted big musical shows with prestigious orchestras of the time. Among them that of Lucho Bermúdez and Matilde Díaz, recognized by their sophisticated take on *porro* tropical dance music from the Atlantic Coast.

Furthermore, flourishing radiobroadcasting in Colombia involved the regular visit of foreign musicians since the 1930s which came to perform live in different stations. Among earliest visitors were Cuban son and bolero star Miguel Matamoros, the proliferous Puerto Rican composer Rafael Hernández, and tango icon Carlos Gardel.[8] The radio programming strategy grew progressively since then and by the 1950s the list of

[7] Zapata Olivella, "Los Hombres... y los Días [V Vuelta a Colombia]", *Cromos*, Bogotá, May 30, 1955, p12-13. The author reviews the Colombian professional cycling tour as it started in 1951, with data on distances between municipalities, and percentages of up-the-hill, down-the-hill, and those predominantly flat and with little inclination.

[8] The singer died in a fatal airplane accident in Medellín in 1935, after visiting the country for several performances including live radio broadcasts (Bermúdez, 2014, p279).

international stars that performed in radio broadcasting studios in Colombia became strikingly copious (Bermúdez, 2006, p90). It came to include: Daniel Santos, Benny Moré, Celia Cruz, Isolina Carrillo, Xavier Cugat, Bola de Nieve, Miguelito Valdés, Tito Rodríguez, Bienvenido Granda, Bobby Capó, Los Panchos, Andy Russell, Alfredo Sadel, Carlos Julio Ramírez, Carlos Argentino Torres, Leo Marini, Los Trovadores de Cuyo, Juan Arvizú and Alberto Podestá, as well as Mexican ranchera singers and movie stars as Maria Félix and Pedro Infante (Ibid; McKee Irwin, 2012, p33). Some visiting artists, considering the large extent of their popularity in the country, moved house to Medellín: among others, such was the case with Ecuadorians Julio Jaramillo and Olimpo Cárdenas during the 1950s, iconic stars of Ecuadorian pasillo, Waltz, bolero "rockolero", or "música de despecho" (Bermúdez, 2006, p90).[9]

Along with radio, sound cinema and jukeboxes were of notable importance for the circulation of recorded music in Colombia since the 1930s. While the production sphere of film remained incipient during the 20th century in Colombia, the business of film exhibition was thoroughly developed since late 1920s with strong players as Cine Colombia, linked to industrial capital in Medellín, which is still in operation in present days (Martínez Pardo, 1978, p207).[10] As McKee Irwin (2012) explains, by mid1950s Colombia had become the second Latin American market for Mexican film industry, after Venezuela, a position maintained during the 1960s and later (Ibid, p33). As the author puts it, since the 1940s these films implied transnational cultural affinities and were perceived by Colombian audiences not simply as foreign but as "Hispano-American" (Ibid, p28, 33). As he argues, film became the favourite mass entertainment in the country, with 3.1 million tickets paid in Bogotá in 1944 (Ibid, p33). Along with US films, people showed preference for Mexican films, their singer stars and their music, in which bolero, rancheras and corridos were dominant (Martínez Pardo, 1978, p233). It is then worth noting that most of the musicians of popularity during the 1930s and 1940s in Colombia and Latin America, later played important roles in the country's recording industries (Bermúdez, 2006, p110).[11]

According to musicologist Hegberto Bermúdez, since the 1930s jukeboxes had an important role in the circulation of foreign music in Colombia, as their popularity extended from the main cities to smaller urban conformations in "rural" areas. Their "recorded song repertoires" included mostly Mexican *corridos* and *rancheras*, Argentinean

[9] See Appendices 4.1 to 4.3 for data on radio programming in the Antioquia region (1956 to 1958).

[10] On the history of film industries in Colombia see: Martínez Pardo (1978), Salcedo Silva (1981), Suárez Melo (1988), Álvarez (1989, 2001), Suárez (2012), Lenti, (2013), Ministerio de Cultura - Colombia (2013), Puerta Domínguez (2013). For the recent situation of domestic production see: "Un negocio de película" 2013), and "Cine colombiano con poca pantalla" (2013). It is relevant to notice that while film exhibition business, based in distributing foreign films, dates back to the early decades of the 20th century, domestic filmmaking has remained very modestly commercial locally since the until today. This is still the case today, even after a recent wave of new talented film directors and producers backed by a Ministry of Culture financing scheme. Exhibition though grew continuously since the 1930s and reached massive proportions by early 1970s.

[11] See Appendices 4.4 to 4.8 for data on different forms of show business in the Antioquia region, including film exhibition (1949, 1957, 1968, 1970).

tangos as well as Cuban music (Bermúdez, 2008, p180). González Escobar (2015, p34) and Burgos Herrera (2002, p201), point out the first jukeboxes arrived in Medellín in 1938 and were key in popularizing music as waltz, fox-trot and pasillo among young audiences. As they explain, jukeboxes were a central element in the establishment of social gatherings dedicated to dancing to the sound of records in public places as El Jordán.

Archival primary sources also underline the importance of jukeboxes for the circulation of foreign recorded music by the end of the 1940s in Colombia. Furthermore, they stress their importance for nascent recording companies in 1950s Medellín, and significantly, the noted relevance of the Colombian market for a booming international business of coin operating machines, in which the US were leading exporters. Cultural journalism in Medellín pointed out that both radio broadcasting and jukeboxes, locally known as "traganíqueles" [nickel-swallowers], had been responsible for popularizing the recordings of Mexican bolero stars as Juan Arvizu and Pedro Vargas, tango composers as Luis Martini and Claudio Romani, or the New York formed romantic trio Los Panchos.[12] Along with reports from record shops, observing the music that played in jukeboxes was deemed as standard practice for *El Diario* newspaper journalists, in the process of producing charts of "commercial" records.[13] Furthermore, the emergent domestic recording industry sector was referred to as "amigos de los traganíqueles" [friends of jukeboxes], when reporting about a crucial meeting of record company executives, including Antonio Botero from Sonolux in Medellín, Alfredo Díez from Zeida (Codiscos) of the same city, and Ciro Vega distributor of Caracol from Medellín and Atlantic from Barranquilla.[14]

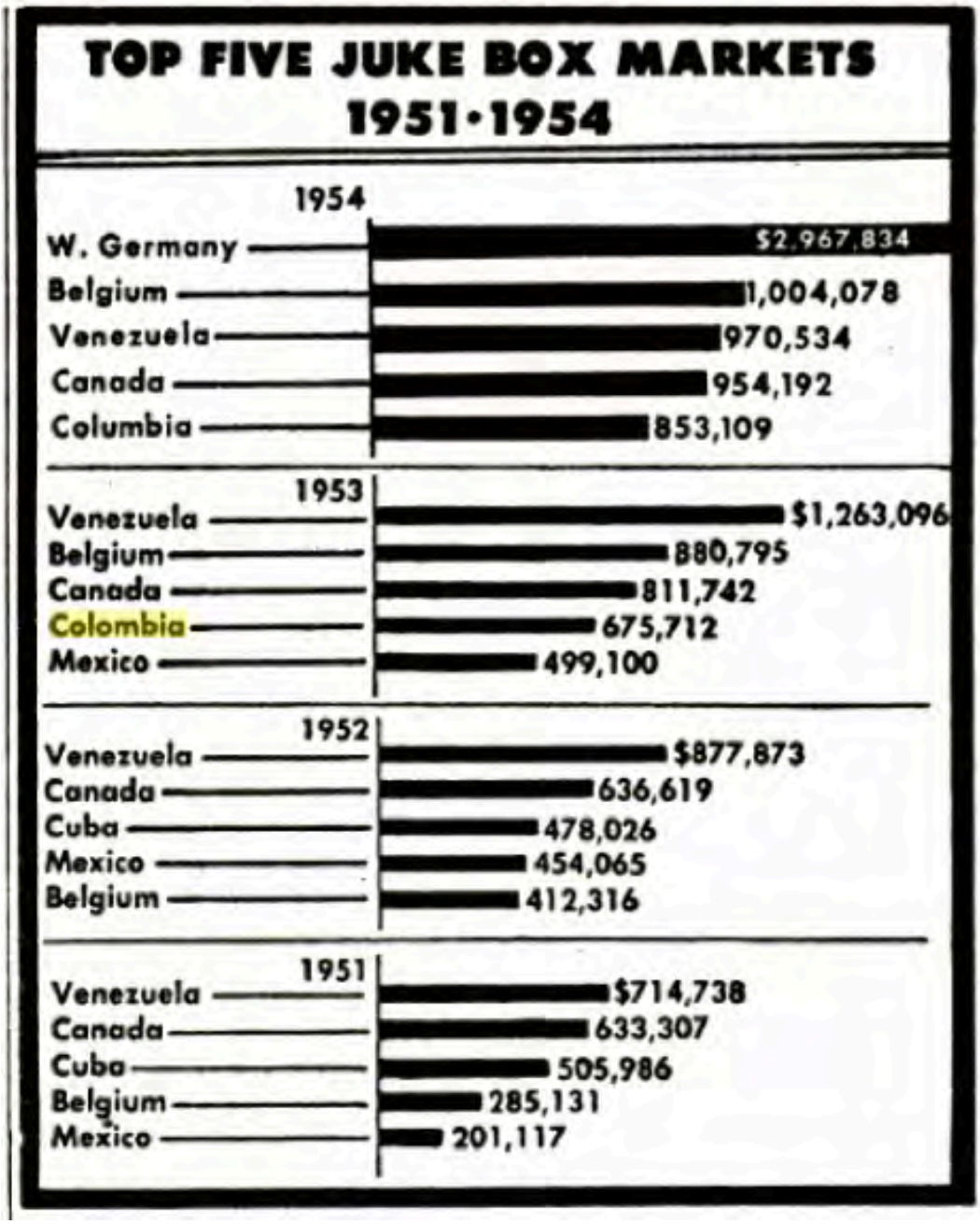
Based on calculations by Sayco (the country's collecting society of author's performance rights revenue), in 1954 the press reported there were around 30 thousand jukeboxes operating in commercial venues in Colombia. Therefore, Sayco announced their intention of moving forward with their legally established task of collecting payments for the use of copyrighted works, whose performances were fixated in the records played in those machines by cantineros, and by café or bar owners for their customers.[15] That same year, *Billboard Magazine* reported profusely on the booming business of US exports, highlighting the growing significance of the Latin American market. Their analysis of sales statistics, concluded that in 1953: "[t]he five top importing countries... were Venezuela, Canada, Belgium, Colombia and Mexico."[16] Ranked as the fourth biggest importer of jukeboxes in 1953, Colombia was reviewed as an important and strategic "big market", and some interesting details were reported for its case:

[12] "Vamos a apoyar a las grabadoras!", *El Diario*, Medellín, October 19, 1949, p2.
[13] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 27, 1950, p2,4.
[14] *El Diario*, Medellín, February 14, 1951, p2,4. Note: Caracol is a record label, with no evident connection to the radio-network of the same name.
[15] "Posible demanda a Sayco de un grupo de compositores nacionales independientes", *El Diario*, Medellín, May 4, 1955, p2.
[16] "1953 Export Record: $6,000,000 in Jukes", *Billboard*, March 6, 1954, p52.

Export to Colombia shot up from $75,757 in 1952 to $610,921 for the 11-month 1953 period - placing the country in the No. 4 spot - as result of a partial lifting of the import ban on jukes imposed by Colombia in 1949. Prompted by an acute dollar shortage, the ban specified that all jukes entering the country be disassembled and that all shipments be licensed. Under the new ruling, assembled equipment may now be imported, but a license for each machine is still required.

Colombia represents a tremendous potential U.S. juke box market. That country was the largest single importer—accounting for almost 30 per cent of the entire market—in 1948, the last year before the ban went into effect. Almost 1,000 machines, valued at $500,000 were shipped that year. In 1949, the first year of the ban, Colombia fell to tenth place, buying only 146 jukes valued at $42,310.[17]

Figure 4.3 - Top five jukebox markets (1951-1954).



Source: *Billboard*, March 26, 1955, p50.

[17] Ibid.

In synthesis, from the cited works by historians and musicologists, and also considering the archival evidence presented, it can be stated that radio broadcasting in Colombia and from other countries in Latin America, exhibition of mostly Mexican, Argentinian and US movies, and jukeboxes were fundamental media for the diffusion of recorded music since the 1930s in Colombia, decades before a domestic recording industry sector was established in Medellín, Bogotá and other cities of Andean Colombia. These certainly contributed to broadening musical tastes in audiences reached by radio waves, that attended regularly to film theatres in municipalities with such facilities, and that visited places as cafés, bars, cantinas or others where jukeboxes were available for public use. In other words, commercial radio broadcasting, film exhibition, and jukebox operation preceded the development of a strong sector of recording industries in Colombia during the 1950s, and had been central in shaping the musical taste of the audiences which the new companies were to reach.

While the role of radio broadcasting stations as providers of recording technology for entrepreneurs during what I will describe as a *proto domestic recording industry* is explored in Chapter 6, the relations between the new recording companies of the 1950s in Medellín and Bogotá with an established and powerful sector of radio networks and stations requires deeper research. Both Arias Calle (2011) and Rendón Marín (2009, 2012) have advanced in such direction, yet there are matters I point out in the last section of this chapter that raise new questions for future research, about the extent to which radio networks were a viable media for the diffusion of the recordings produced by the new companies with local artists, about the kinds of music that were more suitable for the media, and about whether jukeboxes represented a better alternative for the recording companies interests. Their relation with film exhibition industries also needs deeper study, in the light of the proliferation of the practice by domestic record companies of licensing catalogues of foreign labels from different countries and diverse musical styles [see Chapters 6 and 7].

But most notably, the role of jukebox operation in Colombia and its relation with record companies, remains drastically unexplored. In spite of the evidence presented, which highlights their importance and suggests their strategic significance, the history of jukeboxes—or "traganíquele", "pianos", or "rocolas", as they are commonly called in different parts of the country—is still waiting for dedicated and in depth future research.[18] There is plenty of research about the history of radio and film in Colombia, but no dedicated study of jukeboxes. Different sorts of questions about them are waiting for academic research based answers: Who were the main players in jukebox and coin operated machine business in different parts of the country? Where they more widely disseminated in certain regions? Did an organized sector of jukebox operators conform? What were the main tensions in their relations with other players? What was their

[18] See Appendices 4.9 to 4.17 for more data on jukebox and coin machine exports from US to Colombia (1939-1970), on State revenue from taxes to jukebox operation in several municipalities in the Antioquia region (1968-1970), and also data on alcohol and tobacco consumption (1941-1980) whose diachronic growth suggests the proliferation of places for their consumption (as cantinas, bars and the likes).

relation with owners of public establishments as cantinas, bars and cafés? How did they relate with record companies? Did the latter get involved with the jukebox business and in what ways (importing, assembly, distribution and sales, exploitation)?

2. Understanding late 1940s to 1960s eclectic popular music repertoires as *music genre systems*

In this section, based on secondary sources, I will argue that in Colombia, at least since the 19th century, international repertoire coexisted side-by-side with repertoire of local origin, therefore eclecticism and diversity of music genre is in fact a central characteristic of popular music during the period that concerns this research. During the mid20th century explosion of music and urban mass culture catalysed by new mass media mentioned earlier in this chapter, "[t]he public revealed a predilection for the Argentine tango, Mexican rancheras, the Cuban-Mexican bolero, and Afro-Caribbean dance music" (Safford and Palacios, 2002, p343).

As noted in Chapter 2, during the last decades the study of popular music in Colombia has advanced significantly, and this has considerably expanded knowledge on matters related to repertoire and the formal character of music, as well as those related with meaning, cultural identity and music sociology.[19] A glance at the available academic studies of popular music reveals that plurality of aesthetic expressions were an essential trait of the era studied in this thesis. This matter was not a novelty of mid20th century though, but one that preceded it: according to Bermúdez (2009, p101), diversity and the combination of foreign and vernacular music had been characteristic of Colombian repertoires in the past. Musicians in Colombian main cities of the 19th century commonly mixed "international" repertoire with "national" music. The nucleus of international popular music during the first decade of the 20th century, included dance pieces, adaptations of classical pieces, arrangements of songs, and passages of opera, operetta and zarzuela standards. To this argument, Rendón Marín (2009, p68) adds that by the 1920s musicians in Medellín, formed bands denominated "los jazzes" which played in bars, brothels and clubs, out of the influence of recordings of US popular music as Fox Trot, One-Step, Charleston.

Secondary sources on 20th century popular music in Colombia are broad in kind and theoretical approaches, but have touched lightly on the topic of recording industry in its broad complexity, leaving the void in knowledge to which this thesis contributes. Nevertheless, they have illuminated many aspects about music of different kinds, and

[19] Refer to the numerous authors with works on different genre in the bibliography. Among them: ethnomusicologist Carolina Santamaría-Delgado from 2006 to 2014 on bambuco, tango, and bolero; musicologist Rendón Marín from 2009 to 2012 on string instrument ensembles that played bambuco, pasillo, waltz and international classical pieces; music sociologist Blanco Arboleda from 2005 to 2014 on cumbia in Colombia and its Mexican diaspora; music semiology scholar Oscar Hernández Salgar from 2005 to 2014 on *national*, *Andean* music and other symbolic musical formations; those of pioneer musicologist Egberto Bérmudez from 1985 to 2016 on different genres; the extensive work of anthropologist Peter Wade from 2002 to 2011 on *música tropical* from the Atlantic Coast and others related to Afro-Colombian identity; and ethnomusicologist Lise Waxer from 2000 to 2002 on salsa in Cali.

allow sketching a general picture of the eclecticism and diversity of music genre that characterised the era of unfolding of Colombian recording industry from late 1940s to early 1960s. Instead of providing the reader with a list of styles or genealogies, I will dare to present such diversity in a systematic and comprehensible way for the sake of explanation, yet, without attempting a rigid scheme, nor an exhaustive display of examples of artists and details by any means.[20]

In this task, I will use the term *music genre system* in the sense of musicologist Krims (2007, p16), "meaning simply the constellation of all possible musical genres, taken as a system of relational signification". This notion was developed through his work in social and cultural analysis of music in cities and urban contexts.[21] Such *relational signification* interlaces different styles, genres, or sub-genres which considered as a set, are differentiable from other groups of genres, even if the different kinds of music that conform them have differing levels of affinity or distance between them. It is precisely in relation to other groups of genres that the systematic character of each group is made evident. The music genre systems I will trace also have cohesiveness in the senses of music *cultures*, *worlds,* and systems cited in Chapter 1 (Negus, 1999; Frith, 1996; Neale; 1980). That is to say, they involve relations on the level of signification as much as social relations between players of different kinds, levels, and sizes, that operated at different points in the production-circulation-consumption axis.[22]

Warnings given, as a general picture of popular music in Colombia from late 1940s to early 1960s, based mostly on the work of musicologists and ethnomusicologists, one can sketch a set of three coherent hegemonic music genre systems, all conformed by music styles rooted in the 19th century, developed during the 20th century, and exploited by

[20] See Appendices 4.19 to 4.22 for a set of charts that evidence and analyze such music genre diversity in the catalogues of some record companies of the period of study which tagged the genre of songs released: Medellín's Sonolux (1955), Bogotá's Sello Vergara (circa 1954), and Barranquilla's Tropical (1964).

[21] On a more theoretical language, *genre system* is defined by Krims (2007, p91), following the ideas of Bourdieu, as a "field of production and consumption in which relations among genres are defined, maintained, and often transformed. Those relations, in turn, enable the constructions of identity which are more properly the objects of much work in cultural studies". Furthermore: "The relationship of changed perceptions of 'The Urban' to popular music, however, probably finds most comprehensive figuration not in any individual genre but rather in a popular-music *genre system*... meaning simply the constellation of all possible musical genres, taken as a system of relational signification. Thus, for example, the genre known as 'drum and bass' is identified, and effects its social functions, not as a self defined group of sounds and practices, but rather in relation to jungle, techno, industrial, trance, and so on (and of course, more distantly, in relation to power ballads, hard-core, and rockabilly)" (Ibid, p16).

[22] In general terms, Krim's notion of *music genre system* is harmonious with Negus's (1999, p29-30) "genre cultures", Frith's (1996, p88) "genre worlds", both associated to social relations conformed in the interplay between the many different players involved in music production, circulation and consumption, and with Neale's (1980, p19) conception of music genre systems: "systems of orientation, expectations and consumption" that conform in the relations between "industry, text and subject". All these are social understandings of music genre that underline *interaction* between different sorts of people and institutions, that take place in the broad social spectrum of production, circulation and consumption of music. In their perspective, it is in that social interaction that they originate, constitute and change, in a continuous dynamics of both tradition and transformation. These ideas, are opposed to conceptions of music genres as discrete and concrete entities that are formally definable and stabilized, and that result from the invention of specific individuals, and are thought to exist in a sphere considered autonomous from others of human life, as economy, politics, society and culture understood as a way of life.

mass media and recording industry during the time of focus: i) Andean popular and folkloric music genres; ii) *tropical* music, or *costeño* music, with a myriad of interrelated dance music genres from the Atlantic Coast of marked Afro-descendant identity; and iii) Latin American and Caribbean popular music genres. Once these three centurial pillars are traced, one should bring into the picture a constellation of musical forms that destabilizes the coherency of the three hegemonic music systems I will briefly sketch, which renders a significant complexity to my rather schematic exercise. I understand it as a disruptive constellation conformed by recognized (yet ambiguous) categories rooted in the social and cultural changes of the 1930s, and that consolidated during later decades through domestic recording industry, as: "música de carrilera", "música de parranda", "música de despecho", and "chucu-chucu".

2.1 Andean popular and folkloric music genre system

Central to this system are *bambuco*, *pasillo* and *waltz* which constituted a 19th century idea of national music irradiating from the Andean regions, commonly known as "música colombiana".[23] Among "heraldic" or "emblematic" songs in this network, Bermúdez (2008, p186) remarks "Soy Colombiano", a *bambuco* written by Rafael Godoy (circa 1960).[24] Rendón Marín (2009) studies "estudiantinas", which are string ensembles of Spanish origin composed of around ten musicians, and based on the triad of "bandola", "tiple" and guitar (Ibid, p17), that since the 19th century were popular in Colombia and recognized for interpreting "bambucos, torbellinos, guabinas, sanjuaneros, merengues" as well as "rumbas... cañas, cañabravas, y rajaleñas" (Ibid). The author traces the emergence of estudiantinas formed by Colombian musicians since late 19th century, and their process during the 20th century, in which they went from an initial interest by commercial recording industry, to becoming a musical practice dependant on patronage.[25]

An important point to be made about music within this system, is that by the 1950s, its 19th century hegemonic character as the sole national music had already been challenged. Since the 1940s, this situation generated what Bermúdez (2008, pp242-243) described as a "conservative reaction in the 'national' repertoire, based on the continuity" or "the revival... of the purportedly 'authentic' sound of duets of the earlier period", as Dueto de Antaño, formed in 1941, Espinosa and Bedoya, both from Medellín, and Garzón and Collazos, from Ibagué, already popular by 1945. While all these guitar and vocal male duos played an important role when recording industry unfolded in the next decades, as

[23] For scholarship on bambuco and related styles of Andean music see: Cobo Plata (2010, 2011), Rendón Marín (2009, 2012), Gradante (2007a, 2007b), Mazo (2007), Miñana Blasco (1997), Ochoa Gauthier (1997), Restrepo Duque (1986).

[24] As he explains heraldic or emblematic refers to "songs that exalted regional values or geographic localities" which by the 1950s had displaced traditional patterns of regional culture (Bermúdez, 2008, p186).

[25] As Rendón Marín (2009) shows, most major manufacturing companies and banks sponsored these kind of groups: Tejicóndor in the 1950s, Fabricato and Coltejer during the 1960s, Sintéticos, S.A. in the 1970s (whose group recorded with Sonolux the LP Sintéticos Disco No. I, Empresas Pública de Medellín since 1960s, Banco Cafetero in the 1970s, and Fábrica de Licores de Antioquia (Ibid, pp198-213).

Wade (2000) has comprehensively evidenced: by the 1970s a main change in the meaning of "Colombian" music had taken place, as it denoted tropical music from the Atlantic Coast as well.

2.2 *Música tropical costeña* genre system[26]

As Wade (2000) also extensively argues, in the long run the Andean *bambuco* tradition ceased to be the central referent of Colombian identity, as several Atlantic genres of afro-indigenous origin but of marked Afro-Caribbean character started to be recorded and were later profusely exploited by domestic recording industry increasingly during the 1950s and decidedly since the 1960s. Following this author's terms, it can be argued that a *música tropical costeña* genre system conformed during the 20th century in direct relation with Colombian recording industry, in which *Cumbia*, *Porro* and *Vallenato* constituted the overarching mass mediated genres. Wade (2000) also associates these music styles with important changes in cultural perceptions of blackness, and with changes related to morality, sexuality and the body within Andean audiences that embraced the proliferation of such dance music genres. Musicologist Bermúdez (2008, p186) highlights "Colombia Tierra Querida", a *cumbia* song composed by Lucho Bermúdez (circa 1958), as well as the *porro* "San Fernando", as iconic of the orchestra dance music that consolidated during the 1930 and 1940s in the Atlantic Coast and through its national and international circulation. Other star composers and orchestra directors of música tropical had consolidated by mid20th century, mostly by working as directors and musicians of in-house orchestras in radio stations: Pacho Galán (Wade, 2000, pp83-84), José Barros (Ibid, pp121-122), along with Tuluá born Edmundo Arias, who later became a start composer and arranger with the 1950s Medellín music industries (Ibid, pp157-158).

Other iconic artists that recorded styles of *música tropical costeña* and established professionally during the 1950s and 1960s, are accordion player and singer Andrés Landero. He represents an old-school sound of *cumbia* music based on a vernacular style of playing the accordion, whose popularity in México surpassed his success in Colombia (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, pp136-146). The music was developed further and transformed by equally iconic bands as Pedro Laza y sus Pelayeros (Ibid, pp130-133) and Los Corraleros del Majagual also from the Atlantic Coast region (Ibid, pp224-230). The earliest recordings of music related to what came to be known as "vallenato" date back to mid-1940s, with stars as Discos Fuentes' Guillermo Buitrago and his guitar and percussion trio, even though the music was tagged with different names at the time,

[26] The terms "costeño", or "costeña" (its feminine counterpart), are commonly used in Colombia to refer to the population and culture of a vast region to the North of Colombia, also known as "La Costa". The region, on the one hand, is framed by the Atlantic Coast: which borders the Caribbean sea resembling a line traced diagonally from a North-Eastern end in La Guajira region (also the northern end of Colombia's frontier with Venezuela), to a South-Western end in the Urabá Gulf region (where the coast line meets the frontier with Panamá). On the other hand, it is framed by the northern tips of the Western and Central ramifications of the Colombian Andean mountains, north of which a vast region of plains is structured by the valleys of the Sinú, Cauca and Magdalena rivers.

which might mix up porro, cumbia, or other local styles (Bermúdez, 2004, pp26-27, 37-39). Since then and during the 1950s and 1960s, formal characteristics of vallenato established associated to accordion stars as Alejo Durán and Calixto Ochoa (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, pp136-146). In spite of changes in instrumentation since the 1940s, and of micro-regional variations within the Atlantic Coast—paseo, merengue, son, puya, chandé—vallenato achieved considerable homogeneity as music based on a group composed by a lead singer, a protagonist accordion player, and a duet of percussionists playing "guacharaca" and "caja" (Bermúdez, 2004, pp26-27, 37-39).

Additionally, it is worth noting that the music styles and artists that fit within this *music genre system* have achieved broad international diffusion. As the work of music sociologist Blanco (2005, 2007) and that of several other scholars compiled by Fernández l'Hoeste and Vila (2013) has profusely explored: Colombian *cumbia* was appropriated with significant importance in Mexico, a phenomenon that has had parallels in Perú with *chicha amazónica* music, and in Argentina with *cumbia villera*. Furthermore, it is through music that fits within this constellation that many new Colombian artists have participated in the recent years return of interest in music that in the 1990s was labelled "world music". Bands as Bomba Stereo, Onda Trópica, and Meridian Brothers have circulated through small independent labels as Soundway Records in London, portraying modernized electronic takes on *música tropical*. At the same time, vintage Colombian tropical music has also been released by them and by other labels in Europe as Analog Africa in Frankfurt, Vampisoul in Madrid, Buda Record in Paris, and Barbès Records in Brooklyn, US.[27]

2.3 Latin American and Afro-Caribbean popular music genre system

In the light of the important influx of international music through film, radio and jukeboxes discussed previously, a third system can be sketched with a diverse group of foreign music genres that became increasingly popular in Colombia since the 1930s. As detailed earlier, these involved Mexican *rancheras* and *corridos* and stars as singer/actors Jorge Negrete and Pedro Infante. Also Argentinean *tango* singers as Gardel, a figure that became iconic of Medellín's musical identity (Bermúdez, 2014). Ecuadorian *pasillo* guitarist and singer Julio Jaramillo became a recording star during the period studied as well, along with a broad group of trios and singers within the Latin American cosmopolitan romantic song genre, *bolero*, which along with tango was an important part of the zeitgeist in Medellín since the 1930s and 1940s, and a significant element of cosmopolitanism in urban culture of the time (Santamaría-Delgado, 2006, 2008, 2014). In parallel, different styles of Afro Caribbean music were not only popular in the Atlantic Coast main cities as Cartagena and Barranquilla. Also, from an early stage, such music became an important part of urban mass culture in Cali in southern central Andes, as working-class audiences in the city "embraced Cuban and Puerto Rican sounds during the 1940s and 1950s", including Cuban bolero, and the novelties of mambo and cha-cha-cha

[27] See: List of References at the beginning of this text for several related labels and releases.

(Waxer, 2002, pp31-32). It's worth noting that, as Waxer (2002) explores in depth, later during the 1970s the city was constituted as one of the world capitals of salsa, and several Colombian salsa musicians became stars through domestic recording industry. Among them, Fruko y sus Tesos, The Latin Brothers, Joe Arroyo y La Verdad, and Grupo Niche are iconic (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, pp206-211, pp198-201; Waxer, 2002, pp165-175).

An important particularity of the 1950s and 1960s recording industries in Colombia, is that recordings of stars established during the 1930s and 1940s in México, Cuba and Puerto Rico—as Agustín Lara, Pedro Varga, Antonio Machín, Toña La Negra, Daniel Santos, and Trio Matamoros—were re-released, through the multiple licencing agreements signed by domestic companies with foreign labels that gave them access to their broad catalogues (a matter detailed in Chapters 6 and 8). The same happened with recordings by stars of the likes of Carlos Gardel or the Afro-Caribbean celebrities La Sonora Matancera. This matter was recognized as an important record company strategy in Colombian recording industry during the time by Hernán Restrepo Duque, who during those decades worked as A&R for Sonolux. In an interview with journalist Cano (1988), Restrepo refers to a "journey to the past" strategy, and argues that around 60% of music released from RCA Victor's licenced catalogue in Sonolux, was from previous decades.[28] Rendón Marín (2009, pp91-92) also comments on the significance of this strategy, as well as Bermúdez (2008, p251). The latter, with a pessimistic tone, argues that such strategies "manipulated the balance between national and foreign music repertoires. Old catalogue recordings... were reissued at the expense of holding new trends already popular internationally, such as rock and roll, shaping a nationalistic and conservative profile that only began to be seriously challenged in the late 1960s" (Ibid).[29]

[28] Not paginated source.

[29] Other relevant industry strategies pointed out by previous works were song booklets or "cancioneros", focused on middle and lower classes, e.g. *El Tangón,* started in 1945 by an independent entrepreneur, a printed media that later became useful for recording companies (Bermúdez, 2007, p72). Also, as noted earlier Medellín industrial capital had been involved in the cities main radio music since the 1930s, and their commercial interests progressed from advertising, to sponsoring live radio shows, singing contests, and other types of broadcasted shows (Bermúdez, 2008, pp240-242). In 1948 DeBedout a merchant firm who had been representing RCA Victor in Medellín for two decades arranged a contest dedicated to "national music" to be sponsored by Fabricato (among the largest textile companies in the city), and under the direction of José María Tena, who also was leader of the "orquesta de la RCA Victor" sponsored by De Bedout. In the era, advertisements for main textile companies in the city identified the main radio stations in which they held shares: Fabricato through La Voz de Medellín, and Coltejer through La Voz de Antioquia (Bermúdez, 2006, p89, citing Restrepo Duque, 1971, p156).

2.4 Disruptive 20th century constellations of popular music: carrilera, parranda, despecho and chucu-chucu

A number of fascinating examples of what Rendón Marín (2009) calls a "process of cultural hybridity" constitute a particular constellation of music styles developed by musicians particularly in the central Andean region, in a process in which radio, jukeboxes and recording industry were essential. These music genres conformed through the articulation of diverse local and regional music from Colombia with international music of equal diversity. In this way, they challenge the three systems sketched earlier, by bringing together elements from other systems.

Bermúdez (2006, p91) annotates that *national* Colombian music was not of the preference of rural audiences by 1940s whose taste had moved away from rural music of colonial origins. These audiences favoured international repertoire, Mexican, Ecuadorian, Argentinean, Cuban and so on (Bermúdez, 2006, p91, citing Restrepo Duque, 1971, pp94-97). Furthermore, based on Restrepo Duque's claims, the musicologist underlines how "the musical taste of the rural population became a critical factor and their preferred repertoires began to be identified as *música guasca* (equivalent to US hillbilly) and *música de carrilera*... In Antioquia and Caldas [regions], radios and jukeboxes at urban bars, rural miscellaneous stores and train stations were important musical venues and the strength of the local radio stations and disc importers and manufacturers kept them well supplied with all sorts of songs during the 1940s and 1950s" (Bermúdez, 2008, p244) [Italics mine]. Rendón Marín (2009), also notes that during the 1950s some releases sold almost completely in rural area towns, or "pueblos", where they found more success than in cities. An example of this is the song "Yo valgo más" which Alfredo Díez from Codiscos noted was an unexpected mid1950s, hit selling 50 thousand units, 80% of which were bought in rural area towns.[30] Originally a tango song composed by Arturo Ruiz del Castillo, by mid 1954 Codisco's recording of "Yo valgo más" was already leading sales and was reviewed as a *carrilera* style song, "una canción carrileruda".[31] By the end of the year it was listed as the number one song in a top ten of the most sold records of 1954.[32]

Bermúdez (2006, 2007) and Restrepo Duque (1989) explore music styles that emerged in the central Andean region, markedly in those areas where coffee production was buoyant from early 20th century until 1956, as Antioquia, Risaralda, Quindío, and Caldas. As noted

[30] "Compañía Colombiana de Discos, Ltda. (CODISCOS) - Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos [Entrevista Alfredo Díez]" (1958), *Economía Colombiana: Revista de la Contraloría General de la República*, Year 5, Vol 16 (47), 1958, p612.
[31] *El Diario*, Medellín, June 2, 1954, p2, 7.
[32] "Resumen artístico del año", *El Diario*, Medellín, December 22, 1954, p2, 7. The rest of the hits listed are: 2) "El Aburrido", ranchera - Lucho Vásquez (Sonolux) (author: Federico Franco); 3) "Mil besos", bolero - Los Embajadores (Sonolux-Peerless) (author: Helena Valdelamar) [Los Embajadores, are from Ecuador]; 4) "Bésame Morenita", bambuco - Carlos Ramirez (author: Alvaro Dalmar); 5) "Soy Hombre de Verdad", tango - Los Relicarios (author: Vega del Río) [Zeida?]; 6) "Ni tú ni yo", vals - Victor Cordero (Ondina); 7) "Prohíbido", bolero - Leo Marini (Sonolux), Los Delfines (Zeida) y tango by Los Caballeros del Tango (Silver); 8) "Primer amor", curruláo - José A. Bedoya (Lyra) (author: Muñoz y Bedoya); 9) "India", guaranía - Pacho Bedoya y Mary Allister (Zeida); 10) "En la palma de la mano", bolero - Leo Marini (Seeco) (author: Rafael de Jerez).

above, audiences and musicians in rural areas preferred international music from the Latin American catalogue, mainly Mexican ranchera, Argentinean tango, and Ecuadorian waltz and pasillo. As Restrepo Duque (1989) explains, it is from the interpretation of such genres by self-taught musicians in these areas that what came to be called, indistinctively, "música de carrilera" [railroad music] or "música guasca" emerged.[33]

Bermúdez (2006 and 2007) closely relates this music of ambiguous character with "música de despecho" and "música parrandera". As he notes, they share a social history and considerable aesthetic affinity, yet, according to their formal characteristics and lyrical texts, and the repertoires from which they derive, they can be discerned as two distinct sets. The first, which could be translated as "music for the broken hearted", is associated to foreign artists circulating and living in Medellín during the 1950s as Julio Jaramillo and Olimpo Cárdenas, and to rural as well as urban "cantina" lower class audiences. Their foundational repertoires are the "canción Latinoamericana" [Latin American song] of high phonographic and radio circulation from 1930s to 1940s, which includes tango-canción, bolero, corridos and rancheras, Ecuadorian pasillo, and Andean and Peruvian Waltz songs (Bermúdez, 2006, pp90-98). The second, known as "música de parranda", simply translatable as "party music", developed from the appropriation of Atlantic Coast tropical dance styles as merengues, paseos, and porros, by musicians in the rural central Andes regions. These musicians adapted such dance music to their own regional traditions, and almost all founding stars (which also contributed to the "despecho" repertoire), were urban immigrants that came from towns in the region: guitar and percussion duets and trios, that moved from troubadours to recording artists when Colombian domestic industry consolidated in the 1950s (Ibid, pp90-91). As I will show latter using primary sources, early stars of Medellín based recording industry associated to what became known as "parranda" or "música de carrilera" are: Antonio Posada y sus Tumaqueños, Los Trovadores de la Vega, Félix Ramírez y su conjunto, Dueto de la Montaña, and Los Trovadores del Recuerdo among others.

Later, during the 1960s another disruption of the hegemonic music genre systems emerged in urban Medellín. Bermúdez (1999) describes new tendencies of late 1960s Colombia in which tropical dance music from the Atlantic coast had been appropriated and reinterpreted by bands of young men in Medellín. Among the most popular of the time are Los Graduados, Los Hispanos, Los Falcon, and Los Teen Agers: who used synths, electric bass and guitars to record their own interpretation of that music. The result of such appropriations is commonly called, not without a slight touch of disdain, "chuchu-

[33] According to Bermúdez (2006, p91) the terms "música guasca" and/or "música de carrilera" carry connotations of drunk rural audiences with bad taste, and are associated with a population that moved back and forth from rural towns to the main cities by train. They are associated to "fondas" in rural areas, and to bars and cantinas with jukeboxes in areas of tolerance surrounding train stations in urban centres of rural areas and the main cities, which preferred the international repertoires mentioned.

chucu" or "música bailable cachaquizada", and can also named using the broad and more ambiguous term "música caliente" [hot music].[34]

As Bermúdez (2006, p96) notes "parranda" music alludes to traditional end of year festivities (shared by many Latin American countries), and as I make evident below, it contributed to the conformation of the category of "música de diciembre" [music of December]. This term, still used today, denotes end of the year dance music hits, in which "música de parranda", "música de carrilera", "chucu-chucu", as well as porro and vallenato come together in the social practice of dancing. In radio stations and house parties in Medellín during end of year celebrations, it is common to listen and to dance to songs by Lucho Bermúdez, Pacho Galán, Guillermo Buitrago, as well as to later hits of "música parrandera" as "La Boquitrompona" by Bernardo Sánchez.

Finally, there is a particular term used in the industry during the time, "música brillante", that is worth commenting on.[35] In references from the 1910s in Bogotá it was associated to waltz, gavotte, minuets and other European ballroom dance styles, in distinction from Andean originated bambucos, torbellinos, and pasillos (Restrepo Duque, 1971, p25). Towards the end of 1950, Medellín's music journalism celebrated recent releases of "música brillante" or "semi-classical" music pressed by Barranquilla's Tropical record company that had reached the Andean city's market. These included the most popular waltzes by Strauss as "The Blue Danube" or "Wein, Weib und Gesang" [Wine, Woman, and Song], or Italian popular melody "Funiculi Funiculá", and Schubert's "Ave Maria" and the early 20th century Irish originated song "Dany Boy", recorded and arranged for organ by Irish musician Don Baker.[36] The term was also used to denote lighter versions and arrangements of classical repertoire thought for popular appeal, pressed from matrixes licensed from foreign companies.[37] Early in 1951, the press announced that the Industria Electro Sonora Nacional (Sonolux), along with its initial label "Lyra", would run the new label "Sonolux", with foreign music referred to as "música internacional y brillante".[38] A year later, a review of the international Odeon label, noted that apart from its "commercial" catalogue, it had made recordings of zarzuelas and operas with orchestras, deemed as "música brillante ligera" [light *brillante* music].[39]

[34] The term "música bailable cachaquizada", derives from "cachaco", a term used in the Atlantic Coast to denote a person from the interior Andean regions of the country, therefore could be read as "dance music adapted to inland audiences".
[35] A literal translation of the term "música brillante" could be: either "shiny music" or "brilliant music".
[36] "Tropical de Barranquilla lanza las primeras etiquetas de música brillante", *El Diario*, Medellín, September 13, 1950, p2, 8.
[37] *El Diario*, Medellín, April 11, 1951, p2.
[38] *El Diario*, Medellín, April 4, 1951, p2,7.
[39] *El Diario*, Medellín, July 9, 1952, p2.

3. Some primary sources data on music for future research: late 1940s and early 1950s

Since the rest of chapters in this thesis will concentrate on the sphere of production of recording and sound technology companies and in non musical matters, I will devote the following pages to present a set of valuable information collected from archival primary sources during this research. With this, I intend to complete the broad picture of popular music with which recording industry dealt during its process of unfolding and consolidation in Medellín. Firstly, judging on my revision of music journalism in Medellín's *El Diario* newspaper, I will point out some of the most notable Colombian recording stars during the early 1950s. While Lucho Bermúdez, Matilde Díaz, and Guillermo Buitrago had established their popularity during the 1940s through live performances, radio broadcasting and as recording artists with Atlantic Coast companies as Discos Fuentes and Tropical, others as Antonio Posada (who recorded with Discos Silver and other early labels from Medellín) and Noel Petro (with Sonolux), emerged to popularity during the 1950s. Secondly, I will present some examples of the earliest hit charts found in journalistic sources, as well as evidence related to record reviews and rankings which might be useful for future research. About these I will point out a few significant features: there is evidence of radical differences between charts of best sold records and those of most requested songs in radio stations; charts of most sold records suggest that emergent new forms of music were highly important for nascent recording companies in Medellín; chart production evidences the importance of jukeboxes and cantinas for the record business during the time; and finally, an Adornian-like understanding of popular music, proper of *cultured* elites during the time, is conspicuous in the reviews of new releases, comments about artists, and charts produced by the press in Medellín. The writing of music journalists in the cited sources portrays a commercial/artistic dialectics when judging the cultural value of record releases, and a marked interest in setting *good* popular music apart from hit records considered of mere "commercial" value and of disappointing artistic worth. The latter, in many cases represents the music favoured by audiences conformed by a growing under-class of migrants coming from rural areas to Medellín.

In December 1949, an end-of-year review by *El Diario* newspaper from Medellín, annotated that in spite of the birth of two new record companies in the city that same year, Silver and Sonolux [see Chapter 6], main hit Colombian records during the year had been released by those operating previously in the Atlantic Coast region. The journalistic piece highlighted Alex Tovar's porro "Pachito Eché" released by Discos Fuentes, as well as the "vallenato" recordings released by Discos Tropical with the artists Bovea y sus Vallenatos and Guillermo Buitrago [1920-1949].[40] The latter was by then an established mass media star of the Atlantic Coast, whose career had been developed since the 1930s as a in-house musician in radio stations in his hometown Ciénaga and in the nearby cities

[40] "La Industria de Grabaciones", *El Diario*, Medellín, December 20, 1949, p2.

Barranquilla and Santa Marta (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, pp104-108).[41] Earlier in the year, the song "La hija de mi comadre" recorded by Guillermo Buitrago, labelled as a porro, had achieved huge popularity to the point of disturbing the priest and the mare of the municipality of Sopetrán (West from Medellín in the Antioquia region). The authority notified two cantinas (recognized as supporters of the Liberal party) about a ban imposed on playing the song which they considered "grotesque", and set a fine of $10 pesos for those cantinas who would not comply.[42]

A few months earlier in 1949, the press had celebrated the international success of a recording of the "porro" song "La Múcura", made by Lucho Bermúdez and Matilde Díaz for Discos Fuentes, who were also established star performers and recording artists in the country by then. Notably, the record company complained about 20 thousand copies of their recording of the song pressed without their consent in the neighbouring country Venezuela; at the same time that a similar case of copyright infringements was reported in Medellín, where "acetates" of "La Múcura", reportedly recorded at La Voz de Antioquia radio station, had been spotted in jukeboxes or "traganíqueles" in cafés and cantinas of the city.[43] Additionally, during December 1950 releases of the porros "Salsipuedes" and "San Fernando" by Bermúdez and Díaz (whose orchestra was by then on a national level tour), were also reported among the best sold records, adding two pieces that became iconic of the genre that, as sketched earlier, sits within the repertoire that conforms a *música tropical costeña* genre system.[44]

The sophisticated versions of "porro" music composed by Lucho Bermúdez and recorded by singer Matilde Díaz and their orchestra, of the likes of "La Múcura" and "Salsipuedes",

[41] According to Peláez and Jaramillo (1996, pp106), Buitrago's first recordings were produced by Discos Fuentes in 1943, and released in 78 rpm format with great success including the songs "Compae Eliodoro" / "Las Mujeres a mi no me quieren". He later performed as the trio Guillermo Buitrago y sus Muchachos, with Julio Bovea in guitar and second voice, and with Ezequiel Rodríguez doing a third voice and playing the guacharaca, a distinctive scrapping percussion instrument of the Atlantic Coast (Ibid, p107).

[42] "Prohibido en Sopetrán tocar porro en cantinas liberales", *El Diario*, Medellín, March 16, 1949, p1. Original quote in Spanish: "Sopetrán, donde el alcalde, Roberto Gaviria H., ha prohibido que se toque el disco 'La hija de mi comadre', porro sumamente popular... por su sentido y los términos en que esta concebido, es grotesco". La prohibición ha afectado a dos cantinas en particular, la de Libardo Montoya y la de Luis Marín llamada 'El Pielroja' "(Ibid). [My translation: "Sopetrán, where the mare, Roberto Gaviria H., has banned the record 'La hija de mi comadre', a highly popular porro... because of its sense and the terms in which it is conceived are grotesque. The prohibition has affected to cantinas in particular, that of Libardo Montoya and that of Luis Marín called 'El Pielroja' "]

[43] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 14, 1949, p2. The song is listed among early releases by Discos Fuentes in 1940s Cartagena and in later decades conflicts regarding its authorship would emerge. As Wade (2000, p96) noted, there are complaints as well that during the early decades of Fuentes, a "flexible attitude was taken with the authorship of songs and that some pieces were not registered under their author's names. 'La Múcura,' for example, was registered under Fuentes's name and recorded by two singers from Trío Nacional, backed by the Trovadores de Barú (Fuentes 0082). It was recorded again in 1949 by a Panamanian singer, Bobby Capó, who got in trouble with Fuentes when he claimed it as his. Pérez Prado... also recorded a version in the 1950s. But it appears that the real author was Crescencio Salcedo, a poor wandering flute player, who also claimed [authorship of] such classics as 'Mi Cafetal' and 'Se va el caimán'". Contrastingly, an official press biography provided by the record company's department of PR, quotes Rosario Fuentes (daughter) narrating her memories of how her father composed the song (Biografía Antonio Fuentes, Company Document, p21).

[44] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 20, 1950, p2.

represent their own take on regional music interpreted by large ensembles of brass instruments and percussion derived from military bands (and to some extent influenced by big band jazz), and sit among iconic examples of the most respected *música tropical* from the Atlantic Coast of mid20th century Colombia (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, p107). In contrast, as Bermúdez (2008, p251) argues, the case of Guillermo Buitrago y sus Muchachos represents an early important challenge to a traditional model and repertoire of *música tropical*, also posed by similar guitar and vocal trios that recorded with the Atlantic Coast companies during the time as: Los Isleños, Los Piratas de Bocachica, Los Trovadores de Barú, Buitraguito (considered an imitator of the former artist),[45] and by Bovea y sus Vallenatos (a trio formed by a former member of Guillermo Buitrago y sus Muchachos).[46]

Guillermo Buitrago, who had been influenced by both regional and Latin American musicians and genres, interpreted music written by Atlantic Coast composers as Rafael Escalona and Emiliano Zuleta, using a modified bolero trio ensemble in which the distinctive maracas percussion that kept the beat was replaced with the vernacular "guacharaca" (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, p107). In other words, Buitrago's style "bridged the gap between the guitar trios playing boleros and the accordion groups playing paseos and sones" (Wade, 2000, p89). Nonetheless, after a career that started as a live musician in radio stations in the 1930s, and that in the 1940s established him as a pioneering recording star, Guillermo Buitrago's death is an event that significantly marks the year 1949. It should not go without mention though, that with the passing of time his music gained vast popularity through catalogue reissues of his recordings by Discos Fuentes, and through versions recorded by innumerable artists (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, p108). Still today, Buitrago's songs form part of the repertoire of Colombian dance music commonly played every year at end-of-year festivities in Medellín during the December season.

[45] Julio César Sanjuán, an admirer of Guillermo Buitrago, also established as a live musician for radio stations in the Atlantic Coast and was known artistically as Buitraguito, due to his continuation Guillermo's style. His first record release "Rosa Valencia" / "Mi desengaño" was also produced by Discos Fuentes in 1949, the same year that his mentor died (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, pp99-101). Buitraguito is reviewed by the press in Bogotá as a Discos Fuentes singer that imitated Guillermo Buitrago's style (*La República*, Bogotá, October 24, 1956, p16.).

[46] Bovea left Buitrago's group in 1948 and formed his own trio Bovea y sus Vallenatos, which released their debut recording "La Mujer Celosa" with Fuentes as well, a song classified as "merengue", an Atlantic Coast sub-genre and not the Dominican genre of the same name (Ibid, pp96-97). On Wednesday August 24, 1949, the press reported that as part of an ongoing national tour that included neighbouring countries, the trio had arrived in Medellín and would start performing next Friday at La Voz de Antioquia radio station, as well as in "all of Cine Colombia's [cinema] theaters". According to the review, after Guillermo Buitrago's death (which had happened recently in April 19, 1949), Bovea y sus Vallenatos had been "automatically" classified in the highest ranks of "great interpreters of *música costeña*", notably through recordings with discos Fuentes, Tropical and Odeón, that included songs originally in Buitrago's repertoire as 'Ron de Vinola', 'Mi Vallenata', 'El Huerfanito', along with others reviewed as "the biggest milestones of the year in electrical recordings" (*El Diario*, Medellín, August 24, 1949, p2). [My translation] [Italics mine]

Figure 4.4 - Guillermo Buitrago (circa mid1940s).

Source: Discos Fuentes' press material.

Figure 4.5 - Buitraguito y su trio while visiting Bogotá to perform in radio and TV (1956).

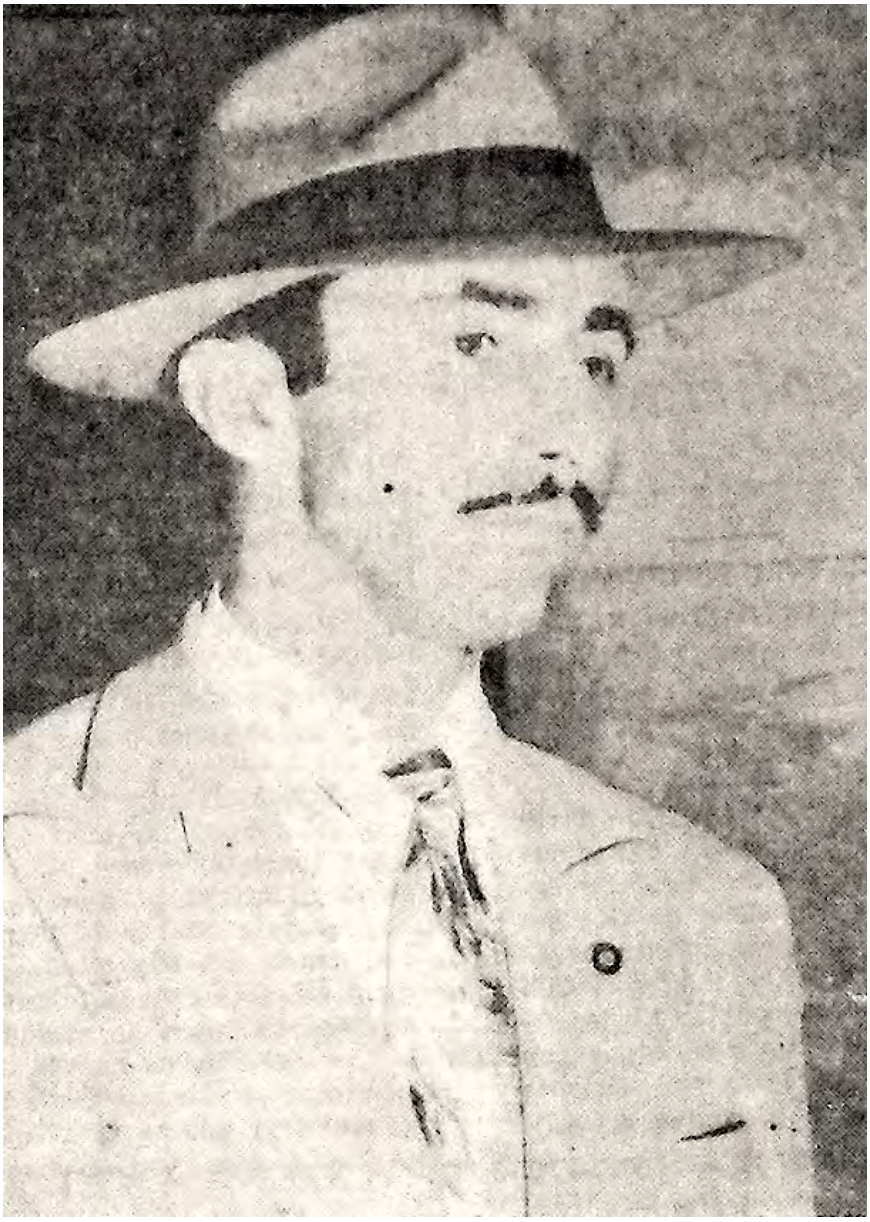
Source: *La República*, Bogotá, October 24, 1956, p16.

Contrasting with the 1949 predominance of hit records by Atlantic Coast artists and record companies suggested by the cited sources, the success of a new record company from Medellín with an artist from the central Andean region, posed another significant challenge to the hegemonic genre systems sketched earlier. The song "El Grillo" [The Cricket] by Antonio Posada y sus Tumaqueños (a guitar and vocal trio in the style of Guillermo Buitrago) released by Discos Silver was reported as the best selling record of 1950, and as the main hit of the end-of-year season, in spite of receiving harsh critiques from cultural journalists.[47] Labelled back then as "parranda",[48] this is an early example of

[47] *El Diario*, Medellín, January 17, 1951, p2,8. B-Side: "Se larga mi hija", labelled as "merengue". Also see: *El Diario*, Medellín, November 15, 1950, p5. Further description of "El Grillo": "Valor artístico, 2. Valor comercial, 5."; "La primera es una pieza de tipo humorístico cantada en el estilo que se ha impuesto para esta clase de música y que no puede ser peor... de letra chabacana y no exenta de cierta gracia, aunque vulgar e intolerable cuando se oye por la primera vez.... Se venderá por toneladas y los traganíqueles no se cansarán de repasarlo" (Ibid). [My translation: "Artistic value, 2. Commercial value, 5."; "The first is a humoristic piece sung in the style that has been adopted for this kind of music and that can not be worse... of tasteless lyrics and not without a certain humour, even though vulgar and intolerable when it is heard for the first time.. It will sell by the tonnes and jukeboxes will not cease to play it]

a constellation of music that disrupts 19th century rooted music genre systems that dominated Colombian popular music soundscape. The characterization of "música parrandera" made by Bermúdez (2006, pp90-98) resonates when listening to its recording whose sound suggests a syncretism between music in the different hegemonic systems discussed: a dance song of rhythmic complexity, interpreted by an ensemble of guitars, shaken idiophone percussion, with an Andean style of guitar playing.[49]

Figure 4.6 - Antonio Posada author of "El Grillo" (circa 1950).



Source: *El Diario*, Medellín, January 17, 1951, p2.

A short interview and review of Antonio Posada's career, depicts a man of rural origins that working as "recitador" [poetry reciter] and musician had moved from his home town Riosucio (Caldas) to the closest city Pereira (Risaralda), and later to Medellín. There, after

[48] Ibid.

[49] El Grillo - Antonio Posada (Nacido en Riosucio, Caldas) Musica Parrandera Paisa de Diciembre. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f_UKfcSTrhk [Accessed 19 January 2019].

approaching Sonolux and being rejected with his song "El Grillo", it got released by Silver and achieved remarkable and unexpected success, which led to signing a two year exclusive contract with the recording company, of which forty compositions and recordings of his own were expected. According to the press, he received $2 thousand pesos in author's royalties for "El Grillo" and a similar amount for other songs.[50] A few years later, the song was remembered as one of the earliest dance songs to become a December season hit, or "disco de diciembre" [December record], a term that by then was of common use in the city's music business. A couple of years after the success of "El Grillo", other songs of similar style were reported as well as the most sold releases competing for the number one title of "disco de diciembre". Among them were "Senderito de Amor", "La Avispa" [The Wasp], and "El Mosco" [The Mosquito]: the last two clearly referential to the early hit song of 1950.[51]

Now, in the following pages I offer a set of charts elaborated from some of the earliest rankings of records that appeared in *El Diario* newspaper in 1953, which hopefully will be useful for future research related to music consumption and circulation. The first two charts list the records released by domestic companies that achieved the highest sales during 1953 in Medellín, allegedly, according to reports provided by record shop owners and company executives. [See Figures 4.7 and 4.8] I also added a genre classification (those in quotation marks were taken from sources referenced, while those without are mine), the country of origin of recording artists, and I use footnotes to provide information particularly about those from Colombia. [52]

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[50] *El Diario*, Medellín, January 17, 1951, p2,8. The song is described as: "una melodía extravagante, con ribetes humorísticos y pesimamente cantada..." (Ibid, p2) [My translation: an extravagant melody, with humoristic tones and dreadfully sung], "se metio en los oidos de todo el mundo, de la gente culta y del pueblo que pulula en las cantinas de arrabal" (Ibidb, 8) [My translation: it penetrated everyone's ears, those of cultured people, and those of the mob that fills cantinas in slums]

[51] *El Diario*, Medellín, November 25, 1953, p2,8.

[52] Colombian recording artists listed in Figure 4.7: **Dueto de Antaño** was formed in 1941 by Camilo García (Amalfi, 1910) and Ramón Carrasquilla (Sopetrán, 1912), both from Andean rural municipalities, successful radio stars during the decade, and involved in the unfolding of Medellín's recording industry since 1949 (*El Diario*, Medellín, February 9, 1949, p2,6; Ibid, December 7, 1949, p2). **Los Trovadores del Recuerdo** was formed in Medellín by Félix Ramírez (guitar and first voice), with brothers Horacio Sánchez (guitar and second voice) and Bernardo Sánchez (tiple and third voice). All had migrated to Medellín from towns in the rural South West region of Antioquia: Ramírez came from the municipality of Támesis, and the Sánchez brothers from Caramanta. The trio worked as street musicians hired for "serenatas" [serenades] before starting their career as recording artists, during which they achieved numerous "éxitos decembrinos" [December hits], mostly with Medellín based record companies Sonolux (Lyra) and Ondina with whom they released "música parrandera paisa", and some pasillos, waltzes, guabinas, and porros (Burgos Herrera, 2006, pp255-257). During early 1960s, Félix Ramírez with Eva Arbeláez conformed as well the duo **Eva and Félix**, which recorded "parranda" styled songs as well as "cantineras y guascas" with the Silver label of Medellín (Burgos Herrera, 2006, pp77-78). **Peñaranda y sus Muchachos** was a group of the likes of Guillermo Buitrago, formed by **José María Peñaranda.** He was born in Barranquilla (1907) where he worked as technician for Emisoras Unidas during early 1940s. He composed the famous song "Se va el Caimán" [also claimed by Crescencio Salcedo as his], which was recorded in the early days of Discos Fuentes, and later during 1950s adding the accordion to a line up of guitars and percussion (Wade, 2000, p90). **Los Canarios**, was a duet formed by Bernardo Nolasco and Bernardo Echavarría, recorded for Zeida and Luzar (Burgos Herrera, 2006, p200). **Los Trovadores de la Vega**, started as an "estudiantina" guitar and string instrument ensemble, by Eduardo Gutiérrez (born 1921), and his brothers Manuel Antonio and Carlos Emilio, all originally from Supía (Caldas). They moved to Medellín in the 1940s, and since the 1950s recorded with Zeida, Lyra, and discos Silver. They recorded Mexican songs tangos, pasillo, and related local

Figure 4.7 - Best sold records pressed in Medellín during 1953.

Rank	Song name	Artist	Label	Genre	Artist origin
1	"Cabeza de Hacha"	Noel Petro	Lyra (Sonolux)	"música caliente"	Colombia (Atlantic Coast)
2	"Adiós mi vida"	Trio Los Imbayas	Sonolux	Bolero	Ecuador
3	"Pénjamo"	Fernando Z. Maldonado y su Orquesta	Ondina	"guaracha"	Mexico
	"Pénjamo"	Dora Maria	Musart (Zeida?)	"canción ranchera"	Mexico
	"Pénjamo"	Martín y Lily	Azteca (Ondina)	"canción ranchera"	Mexico
4	"Chivirico"	Orquesta Ramón Márquez	Musart (Tropical)	Afro-Caribbean	Mexico
5	"Venenosa"	Duetto de Antaño	Zeida	Pasillo?	Colombia (Andean)
6	"Tonterías"	Gilberto Urquiza	Musart (Tropical)	Bolero	Cuba
7	"Tomemos más trago"	Dueto de la Montaña	Silver	Mexican corrido	Mexico
8	"Rojas Pinilla"	Los Trovadores del Recuerdo	Lyra (Sonolux)	Parranda?	Colombia (Andean)
9	"Mi General"	Peñaranda y sus Muchachos	Vergara	*Tropical*	Colombia (Atlantic Coast)
10	"Mujer cantinera"	Los Canarios	Zeida	Ranchera? Corrido?	Colombia (Andean)
11	"Hace siete noches"	Los Trovadores de la Vega	Lyra (Sonolux)	Parranda?	Colombia (Andean)
12	"Brujerías"	Trio San Juan	Verne (Zeida)	Bolero	Puerto Rico-US

Source: "Lo Mejor en Discos", *El Diario*, Medellín, December 16, 1953, p2. Notes: The selection was allegedly produced according to reports by record shops owners and recording company executives. These are all records pressed by domestic companies. Most music genre classifications were difficult (a matter that might relate with the ambiguity and hybridity of new emerging styles as "parranda" or "carrilera"). Most are mine, except those with quotation marks: the genre "música caliente" in Noel Petro's song is used in the cited source, while those for the different releases of the song "Pénjamo" were found in images of the record releases themselves. See: Martín Y Lily - Penjamo - Azteca 5164. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uE2aYnTHWl0 [Accessed 8 January 2019]; Fernando Z. Maldonado Y Su Orquestra - La Interesada (Ondina 28, Matrix no. T-10140). Available from https://www.discogs.com/Fernando-Z-Maldonado-Y-Su-Orquestra-La-Interesada/release/3230734 [Accessed 8 January 2019]; Dora Maria - Penjamo (Musart M833, Matrix no. M1025). Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RLn1c0orrjw [Accessed 8 January 2019].

styles (Burgos Herrera, 2006, p257-258). I was not able to find worthy information about "Dueto de la Montaña", but it is likely that it refers to the Mexican duo also known as Miguel y Aurelio.

Figure 4.8 - Best sold records in 1953 by Sonolux in its two labels.[53]

Label	Song	Recording artist	Genre or style	Artist origin
Lyra	"Cabeza de hacha"/ "Me voy pal salto"	Noel Petro	"música caliente"	Colombia (Atlantic Coast)
	"Apartaté de mi"	Los Trovadores de la Vega	" tango"	Colombia (Andean)
	"Mi teniente general"	Félix Ramírez y su conjunto	" parranda"	Colombia (Andean)
	"Los Ciclistas"	Félix Ramírez y su conjunto	"parranda"	Colombia (Andean)
	[Unspecified tango song]	Noel Ramírez	"tango"	Colombia (Andean)
Sonolux	"Adiós mi vida"	Los Imbayas	"bolero"	Ecuadorian guitar and vocal trio
	"Pena penita" / "Soledad Montero"	Pilarín Tavira	"pasodoble"	Spanish female singer

Source: "Seis meses de grabaciones nacionales", *El Diario*, Medellín, July 15, 1953, p2, 7. Notes: "Apartate de mi" is reported as one among other recent hits by Los Trovadores de la Vega; the song "Los Ciclistas" [the cyclists] celebrates regional cyclists during *La Vuelta a Colombia* national competition that toured different regions, particularly Ramón Hoyos.

Contrasts with the situation of 1949 reviewed earlier are significantly interesting. Firstly, some five years later, the cited *top 12* ranking was dominated by companies from Medellín (particularly Sonolux and Zeida), with only one company from the Atlantic Coast competing, namely Tropical: yet, not with recordings of their own, but with two releases from the Musart label from Mexico. Secondly, among the twelve best sold records in Medellín during 1953 there were no releases at all from established stars as Lucho Bermúdez or Bovea y sus Vallenatos, and only two artists from the Atlantic Coast are listed. Thirdly, while a bit more than half of the best selling records were by foreign artists, and even though Atlantic coast artist Noel Petro was credited with the number one release, the popularity charts also included several new artists from the Andean region—as Los Trovadores del Recuerdo, Los Canarios, Los Trovadores de la Vega, Félix Ramírez y su Conjunto, and Noel Ramírez—with a history marked by migration to Medellín from their rural areas of origin [See footnotes 52 and 53]. Fourthly, it can be argued that Noel Petro, who scored the number one record of 1953 with "Cabeza de Hacha" [Axe head] released with Sonolux's Lyra label, represents one of the earliest cases in which the recording career of a *costeño* musician takes off through a record company from Medellín.[54]

[53] **Félix Ramírez y su Conjunto**, was a parallel group by the founder of the previously reviewed **Los Trovadores del Recuerdo. Noel Ramírez** (1921) from the rural area of the municipality of Circasia (Quindío) started preforming music as part of a circus, and later with his sister Aura did a recording for RCA Victor of the tango song "Rionegro", and of the corrido song "Sepulturero". He played in different trios during the 1940s and lived and performed in Manizales (Caldas), Pereira (Risaralda) and Armenia (Quindío). His best known group was **Trío Grancolombiano**, a regular in La Voz de Medellín, which recorded for Discos Fuentes in the company's early era. Accompanied by different groups, in the next decades he recorded different genre as tango, corrido, ranchera, waltz, pasillo and the "ranchera argentina" song "De Contramano" (Burgos Herrera, 2006, pp299-301).

[54] "Lo Mejor en Discos", *El Diario*, Medellín, December 16, 1953, p2. Note: "Costeño" is s a term used in Colombia to denote a person from the Atlantic Coast.

Figure 4.9 - Noel Petro, early Atlantic Coast star with Sonolux's Lyra label in Medellín.

Source: *El Diario*, Medellín, May 5, 1954, p2.

Petro was born in the municipality of Cereté (Córdoba) located in the southern area of the broad Atlantic Coast region,[55] and around mid-1953 was deemed as "el cantante de moda" [the fashionable singer] in Medellín and reported as a new exclusive artist with Sonolux's Lyra label.[56] Significantly, an article dedicated to a business trip to Barranquilla made by Sonolux's chief executive Antonio Botero and journalist Hernán Restrepo Duque, was published on the 20th of May.[57] As it chronicles, they visited Emilio Fortou's Tropical record factory, as well as record shops and distributors in the city as "El 'ché' Granados,

[55] "Noel Petro: 85 años y nuevos proyectos" (2018), *Radio Nacional de Colombia*. Available from https://www.radionacional.co/noticia/noel-petro/noel-petro-burro-mocho-hombre-sin-cachos [Accessed 7 January 2019].

[56] *El Diario*, Medellín, July 22, 1953, p2.

[57] "Ocho dias entre discos y músicos en Barranquilla", *El Diario,* Medellín, May 20, 1953, p2,7.

labelled "dictador de los discos en la ciudad" [dictator of records in the city] due to his powerful position in the business. Granados reported that in spite of record shops in the Atlantic Coast being adamant about releases from record companies from the interior of the country, the successful sales of Sonolux's "Cabeza de Hacha" by Noel Petro had marked an exception in those territories, where the record market was "exclusively" dominated by "los sones vallenatos".[58] Additionally, established and respected Atlantic Coast composer José Barros—associated until then with Discos Fuentes in Cartagena, the US Victor label, and Mexico's Peerless—announced he would soon compose for record companies in Medellín.[59]

During 1954, Noel Petro was deemed by the press as "a singer of porros... with the character of an idol", and successful record sales both on a national and international level.[60] He was listed among Sonolux's stars of national success, along with Garzón y Collazos, Obdulio y Julian, Lucho Vásquez, José A. Bedoya, and José Luis Escobar.[61] Tagged as a "merengue" song, "Cabeza de hacha" was released in Mexico by the Musart record company through "special concession from Sonolux", and with "extraordinary success".[62] When he debuted live in La Voz de Antioquia radio station in Medellín, with his guitar trio Alma Costeña and a small rhythmic ensemble, the press remarked that Sonolux's star had "sold more than a hundred thousand records in a bit less than a year of artistic life".[63] The popularity of "Cabeza de hacha" and that of Noel Petro had also reached Panamá and Venezuela,[64] and during the next year Petro expanded a national tour by travelling to perform in the second neighbouring country, where his records were said to have particular success.[65] By 1955, a Sonolux LP compilation release promoted Noel Petro, with Julio Erazo and Alex Tovar, as "the most notable voices of costeño song of the present";[66] and by December 1956 he was counted among the best in radio during the year, in the category of "best rhythmic interpreter".[67]

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[58] Ibid, p7. I reckon the use of the term "los sones vallenatos" in this context is best understood as "the sounds of vallenato", and not as a reference to a hybrid of vallenato and Cuban son. For the different connotations of the Spanish word "son", which includes the idea of *a pleasant sound*, see: "Son" in RAE-ASALE, *Diccionario de la lengua española - Edición del Tricentenario*. Available from http://dle.rae.es/?id=YLU1m5v [Accessed 8 January 2019].

[59] Ibid.

[60] *El Diario*, Medellín, April 21, 1954, p2. [My translation]

[61] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 1, 1954, p2.

[62] *El Diario*, Medellín, May 5, 1954, p2. [My translation] Music genre wise, it's worth noting that "Cabeza de Hacha" and other releases by Noel Petro had also been labelled as "música caliente" [hot music] (*El Diario*, Medellín, July 15, 1953, p2, 7) or "aires de tierra caliente" [sounds of hot land] (*El Diario*, Medellín, August 25, 1954, p2). These tags can be understood as generic terms used from the perspective of the interior of the country, to refer to the different forms of music originated in the Atlantic Coast that conform the *tropical* or *costeño music genre system* sketched earlier. His music was also characterized as "melodías de tipo festivo, para bailar las danzas de la costa Atlántica" [festivity melodies, for dancing the dances of the Atlantic Coast] (*El Diario*, Medellín, May 5, 1954, p2).

[63] *El Diario*, Medellín, August 25, 1954, p2. [My translation]

[64] Ibid; *El Diario*, Medellín, July 21, 1954, p2.

[65] *El Diario*, Medellín, June 8, 1955, p2.

[66] *El Diario*, Medellín, May 11, 1955, p2. [My translation]

[67] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 19, 1956, p2. [My translation]

It is relevant to note that Noel Petro's recordings of the time also represent an idiosyncratic take on Colombian tropical music, modelled by the arrangements of Sonolux's in-house composers as Luis Uribe Bueno,[68] and those of Edmundo Arias, who recorded Petro's hit "Cabeza de hacha" with his orchestra (Bermúdez, 2008, p251). According to the musicological analysis of Hegberto Bermúdez, Noel Petro's output represented a new challenge to a "nationalistic and conservative profile" of Colombian music repertoire, particularly since the 1960s when he "accompanied himself with [a] locally assembled electric REQUINTO (treble guitar used in trios) thus creating a new—highly accepted—style" (Ibid), and came to be known by the nickname "el burro mocho".

A second set of two charts found in the following pages, support another interesting and important argument worthy of further research, which concerns the relations of the emerging record companies with established radio stations in Medellín, and with jukebox operators. Reports about highest selling records pressed by domestic companies produced by *El Diario*, sometimes also included rankings produced by the local radio station Radio-Reloj (reportedly transcribed from *Pantalla* magazine by the newspaper staff), which were based on the number of telephone requests made by radio listeners. Judging on the evidence provided in Figures 4.10 and 4.11, the difference between these two ways of assessment of the popularity of music recordings is striking, as there is not a single coincidence between them. The matter was acknowledged profusely by *El Diario* journalists, who noted that sales of local record companies were usually at odds with the statistics of radio popularity.[69] As they explained:

> regularly and with very scarce exceptions, a record that triumphs in radio, has scarce commerce among the big public. Curious things about this country...[70]

> data [from Radio-Reloj radio station does not correspond with [record] factory sales, because jukeboxes and rural settlements are what determine them.[71]

[68] *El Diario*, Medellín, May 5, 1954, p2.

[69] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 9, 1953, p5; *El Diario*, Medellín, January 27, 1954, p2; *El Diario*, Medellín, February 3, 1954, p6.

[70] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 2, 1953, p7. [My translation]. Original quote in Spanish: "por lo regular y con escasísimas excepciones, el disco que triunfa en la radio, tiene comercio escaso entre el grueso público. Cosas curiosas de este país. . . ." (Ibid).

[71] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 9, 1953, p5. [My translation]. Original quote in Spanish: "estos datos no corresponden con la venta de las fábricas, pues son los traganíqueles y las veredas los que dan la pauta a estas" (Ibid). Other explanations suggested the records requested by radio listeners were not available in the Medellín market, or had sold out (*El Diario*, Medellín, January 27 1954, p2; *El Diario*, Medellín, February 10, 1954, p3).

Figure 4.10 - Top record sales vs. Music requests in Radio Reloj radio station (Medellín, 1953).

Most sold records in early December (not ranked)	**Most requested records in Radio Reloj radio station** (Medellín), December, 1953.		
	Song name	Genre	Requests
• "El Corrosco" - Luis Carlos Jaramillo (Zeida)	"Ruega por nosotros"	"huapango sentimental"	1097
• "Nochebuena" - Noel Petro (Sonolux)	"Chivirico"	"mambo"	717
• "La Interesada" - Noel Petro (Sonolux)	"El Jinete"	"ranchera"	705
• "La Carcajada" (Lyra)	"Serenata Huasteca"	n.s.	463
• "Vendo mi mujer" - Nono Narváez (Ondina)	"Amor de Cobre"	n.s.	422
• "El interés" - Nono Narvaez (Ondina)	"Desgracia"	n.s.	208
• "El Aguardientero" - Los Trovadores del Recuerdo (Silver)	"El Corneta"	n.s.	204
• "Solo", tango - Juan Legido (Vergara)	"Un solo corazón"	n.s.	123
• "El Corrosco" - Noel Petro y conjunto de Edmundo Arias (Lyra)	"Candilejas"	n.s.	92
• "De Contramano" (milonga) / "La tísica" (tango) - Noel Ramírez (Sonolux)	"La canción del molino rojo"	n.s.	87

Source: *El Diario*, Medellín, December 2, 1953, p2, 7. Notes: In the chart "n.s." stands for "not specified"; the most sold records list is allegedly based on information provided by record shops, record companies themselves, as well as on what plays on local jukeboxes.

Figure 4.11 - The best music of 1953 according to radio broadcasters in Medellín.[72]

Format	Categories	Musicians (or shows)	Artist origin
Live Shows	"Música brillante"	Concierto dominical Colombiana de Tabaco (L. García) at La Voz de Antioquia	Colombia
	Popular Music	Novedades Pepalfa (Hernando Téllez) at La Voz de Medellín	Colombia (Medellín)
Live performers in radio	"música brillante"	Luis Macía	Colombia (Medellín)
	Male Singer	José Luis Escobar	Colombian tropical orchestra singer
	Female Singer	Matilde Díaz	Colombian tropical orchestra singer
	Rhythmic Performer	Bobby Ruiz	Colombian tropical orchestra singer
	Trio	Los Romanceros	Colombian bolero trio
	"Conjunto"	Marco Rayo y su trio Canvall	Colombia (Cali)
	"Duetto"	Maravilla	Colombia?
	Orchestra	Emisora Fuentes	Colombian tropical orchestra
Best imported records	"Música brillante"	Paul Robertsson (US singer), Emma Puyó (Argentinean soprano).	US and Argentina
	Popular music	Lola Florez (México), Daniel Santos (Puerto Rico), Elsa Miranda (Puerto Rico), and Los Bocheros (Spain).	Latin America and Spain

Source: "Lo Mejor en la Radio", *El Diario*, Medellín, December 16, 1953, p2.

The following pages present a fifth and last record chart from *El Diario*, in order to suggest another important and fascinating topic for future research regarding the way in which cultural journalists of the time understood the *value* of the different kinds of music, artists, and records released by the new local companies. Figure 4.12 presents a special selection by journalist Hernán Restrepo Duque of the six *best* records of 1953, according

[72] **Luis Macía González** (Medellín, 1906 – Bogotá, 2000), was a formally trained tenor singer, and an early Colombian bolero interpreter. See: biography of Luis Macía González in Fuente's press material documents, (no date), and http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-1225074 [Accessed 26 January 2018]. **José Luis Escobar** (Fredonia, Colombia, 1930), was a singer with orchestras as that of Álex Tovar's, known for his interpretation of the bolero "Con toda el alma". See: biography of José Luis Escobar in Fuente's press material documents (no date). The singer Rafael Enrique Ruiz Romero aka **Bobby Ruiz** (Cartagena, 6 July, 1926) was part of orchestras as Orquesta de Lucho Bermúdez and Edmundo Arias. **Marco Rayo**, born 1918 in Cartago (Valle del Cauca), formed the group Marco Rayo y su trío Canvall (circa late 1940s-early1950s), he composed cumbias as well as pasillos, along with his renown composition "Cartagena de Indias" interpreted as porro and other tropical styles since then by many artists including Matilde Díaz and Lucho Bermúdez. See: "Falleció el compositor Marco Rayo (2011). *El Universal Cartagena*. Available from http://www.eluniversal.com.co/cartagena/gente-y-tv/fallecio-el-compositor-marco-rayo-29016 [Accessed 26 January 2018]. "**L. García**" might refer to a Colombian singer of classical training, yet I have no information at hand.

to his explicitly personal non-commercial and "artistic" criteria: which also happens to have no coincidence at all with any of the previous charts displayed above. This kind of aesthetic discernment was a common practice in his style of music journalism, which was overtly concerned with differentiating between records of mere commercial value and those of artistic value: criteria which were generally at odds.

Figure 4.12 - Special selection of best records of 1953, made entirely in Colombia.[73]

Song	Artist	Label	Genre	Artist origin
"Besito Mordelón"	Juan Legido	Sello Vergara	Spanish style	Spain
"Embrujo"	Trio Hermanos Rigual	Zeida	Bolero	Cuba
"Danza de las libélulas"	Marimba Niña de Guatemala	Zeida	*música brillante*	Guatemala?
"De contramano"	Noel Ramirez	Sonolux	"ranchera argentina"	Colombia (Andean)
"Gracias mi amor"	Hermanas Ortiz del Duetto Maravilla	Silver	Mexican *corrido*	-
"Soledad Montero"	Pilarin Tavira	Sonolux	Spanish style	Spain

Source: *El Diario*, Medellín, December 16, 1953, p2. Note: In alphabetical order, not ranked, and following the "personal concept" of journalist Hernán Restrepo Duque.

Overall, the scrutiny of music journalism in *El Diario*, reveals that it was significantly charged with severe aesthetic judgements, which from appraisals and discussions about music recordings, often progressed into moral, social and cultural judgements about certain musicians, certain types of music and their audiences, and about the musical criteria of record companies. During 1950, record reviews in this source were commonly scored with a five points scale that went from "X", for records considered null or completely worthless, to "XXXXX", which was given to records considered "excellent".

[73] **Pilarin Tavira**, was a Spanish female singer. **Juan Legido** was a Spanish singer known as member of Los Churumbeles, which he had left by then (*El Diario*, Medellín, March 4, 1953, p2). **Trio Hermanos Rigual**, Cuban bolero trio started by brothers Carlos, Mario and Pedro Rigual, established later in Mexico. The song "Gracias mi amor" is reviewed as a Mexican corrido in Fuentes' press material document: "Ranchera, México Lindo y Querido" (No date). **Hermanas Padilla** was a duet formed by sisters Margarita and Maria Padilla Mora (both born in Michoacán, México, respectively in the 6th of April 1918, and the 2nd of March 1920), highly successful with the songs "Espejito" and "Gracias mi amor". No information found on **Hermanas Ortiz** del **Duetto Maravilla**. No information found about "Marimba Niña de Guatemala", yet "Danza de las libélulas" is an old compostion by Franz Lehár, European composer of operettas, of which recordings are evidenced in 1930s Latin America: the 78 r.p.m Odeon (2037) record by **Trio Los Nativos**, with [A] "La Danza De Las Libélulas," labelled as "fox-trot", and [B] "Tus Encantos" labelles as "ranchera-mazurka", released in Argentina by Odeon's branch "Industrias Eléctricas Y Musicales Odeón". Trio Los Nativos also recorded extensively for Victor during late 1920s and early 1930s. See: Trío Los Nativos - La Danza De Las Libélulas / Tus Encantos (no date). *Discogs*. Available from https://www.discogs.com/Tr%C3%ADo-Los-Nativos-La-Danza-De-Las-Lib%C3%A9lulas-Tus-Encantos/release/7402774 [Accessed 26 January 2018]; and Trío Los Nativos (Musical group) - Discography of American Historical Recordings (no date). Available from https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/talent/detail/22715/Tro_Los_Nativos_Musical_group [Accessed 26 January 2018].

Moreover, the scoring was made under two different categories: "artistic value", guided by the journalists' personal estimations, and "commercial value", based on sales information provided by record shops and companies, and on what was played in "traganíqueles" [jukeboxes].[74]

Releases by emerging artists on the Silver and Lyra labels from Medellín, when reviewed towards the end of the year, normally received high commercial scorings and contrasting low artistic valuations. Silver's release of the song "Ten Compasión" (classified as a waltz) interpreted by Bambú y Ebano con Orquesta, with "Mujer Perjura" on the flip side (classified as a pasillo) interpreted by Hermanos Ramírez with the Trio Grancolombiano on guitars, was given two points for artistic value, while four for commercial value.[75] "El Grillo" by Antonio Posada y sus Tumaqueños, released by the same label and which became a massive hit of the end of year season (as noted earlier) was scored similarly, with two points for artistic value and five for commercial.[76] A couple of records by the same artist released later on the Lyra label, received the same contrasting scores. Both "Inés Venite Pacá" (classified as a "guaracha") with "Maria Luisa" on the flip side (classified as "paseo"), and "Demacrada" with "Caricatura" on the B side (both classified as tango), were given only one point of artistic value, while the highest score of five points for their commercial appeal.[77] Also on the Lyra label, the release by Duetto Los Nativos with "Bendita madre mia" / "Desde mi tumba", was given three points for artistic value, while five for commercial.[78] Both songs on that release were classified as pasillos, but at the same time described as "songs of 'carrilera' type and therefore with much regard among audiences of negligible musical knowledge".[79]

In the reviews of such songs considered of low artistic value but high commercial potential or success, there are several matters which invite deeper future research. Firstly, it is common that they are songs of different styles or genre, according to the reviews themselves, whose style of interpretation is described as *carrilerudo*, a term used to denote their low musical quality. For example, the song "Trago Amargo", a B side on a Silver release by Nano Molina con el Trio Grancolombiano, was described as a "tango, but of *carrilerudo* style, deficiently vocalized... and... absolutely without any musical merit".[80] There is plenty of information in primary sources as *El Diario* useful for in depth understanding of the formation process of what today is commonly recognized as a music genre—*música de carrilera* or *música guasca*—and the tensions involved during its emergence in the public sphere of 1950s Medellín.

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[74] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 13, 1950, p2,8. Reviews were scored: "XXXXX excelente. XXXX bueno [bad]. XXX regular [mediocre]. XX malo [bad]. X nulo [null]." (Ibid, p8); *El Diario*, Medellín, September 27, 1950, p2,4.
[75] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 13, 1950, p8.
[76] *El Diario*, Medellín, November 15, 1950, p5.
[77] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 13, 1950, p2,8.
[78] *El Diario*, Medellín, October 31, 1950, p5.
[79] Ibid. [My translation] Original quote in Spanish: "canciones tipo 'carrilera' y por lo tanto con mucha acogida en los públicos de ínfimos conocimientos musicales" (Ibid).
[80] *El Diario*, Medellín, October 11, 1950, p6. [My translation]

Secondly, and following from the above, it is fair to state that music journalism of the time evidences a cultural politics in which a cultured elite (represented by the writers), opposed new musical manifestations associated with lower class audiences in the city and in rural areas, during a time in which the city's population was growing due to migrations motivated by work opportunities in the industry sector, and by the political violence affecting rural areas (see Chapter 5). The matter takes the shape of a moral panic in several journalistic pieces. A critique of one of the cited releases by Antonio Posada y sus Tumaqueños with the Lyra label, expressed concerns with the "discredit that can be done to Colombia" by sending such recordings abroad, which was commonly done at the time for the production of stampers (as I evidence in Chapter 6). The critique went on to suggest Lyra should create a new label in order to "camouflage" their low-brow productions, and leave the former for "Colombians that are fond of *selected popular music*".[81] Posada's release was incisively badly judged in the following terms:

> [A recording of] a literary, musical and interpretative bad taste taken to the extreme... Vulgar and badly pronounced lyrics, ordinary accompaniment and absolute ignorance about what singing is... [These traits] are characteristic of these numbers, that shamefully for those of us who believe ours is a *cultured country* ['un país culto'], are now heard day and night in the jukeboxes of slums.[82]

Similar concerns were expressed by Anibal Conde, executive artistic director with Odeon label in Argentina, who upon visiting Medellín was interviewed by Hernán Restrepo Duque, who completely agreed with the foreign visitor's opinions:

> Colombian records are good in technical terms... they are generally well done. It is a shame that their artistic content doesn't correspond to their presentation. I tell you sincerely, and I beg you don't take it as an offense to this country... Colombian record producers... have put their souls only to commercial stuff. They have not searched for *culture*, opening other markets for their productions in that way. Today in Colombia, to the point I have noticed, records are produced for cantinas, for playing day and night in traganíqueles [jukeboxes], but homes, honourable houses, have had to keep grabbing what comes from abroad. That is where the weak spot of Colombian phonography is precisely.[83]

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[81] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 13, 1950, p2,8. [My translation] [Italics mine]

[82] Ibid [My translation] [Italics mine]. Whole cited source in Spanish: "El mayor descrédito que puede hacerse a Colombia en el extranjero, es enviar estas grabaciones [aun las manda Lyra para hacer stampers aparentemente], de un mal gusto literario, musical e interpretativo llevado al extremo, a naciones extrañas. Letras vulgares y mal dichas, acompañamiento ordinario y absoluta ignorancia de lo que es cantar... son características de estos números, que para verguenza de quienes creemos al nuestro un país culto, ya estamos oyendo día y noche en los traganíqueles de arrabal. Definitivamente Lyra es una marca fonográfica de contrastes, y haría un bien a su buen nombre que tantos deudores [sic] tiene entre los colombianos que gustan de la música popular escogida, buscar un nuevo sello con que camuflar estas producciones de tan poca monta." (Ibid, p2, 8).

[83] *El Diario*, Medellín, July 2, 1952, p5. [My translation] [Italics mine]. Original quote in Spanish: "Técnicamente el disco colombiano es bueno... está bien hecho en general. Lastima que su contenido artístico no corresponde a su presentación. Sinceramente le digo, y le ruego no lo tome... como una ofensa a este país... los productores de discos colombianos han tomado con demasiada frialdad esto de hacer discos. Le han puesto el alma a las cosas comercial no más. No han buscado cultura, y al buscarla abrir otros mercados a sus producciones. En Colombia hoy, hasta donde yo lo he notado, se hace el disco de cantina, el que canta noche y día en los traganíqueles, pero los hogares, las casas honorables, han tenido que seguir echando mano de lo que viene de afuera. Ahí está el punto flaco de la fonografía colombiana precisamente" (Ibid).

Considering that this research is devoted to a period commonly conceived as a Golden Age for recording industries in Colombia, such statements about a *weak spot* seem at least controversial. As suggested earlier, they evidence an intense cultural politics was at play during the time, revolving around the tensions between the kind of music released by domestic record companies and that found commercial success, and the music which music journalists and other members of a literate and educated elite considered as *good music*. There is certainly an interesting matter on the sociology of music taste in this period waiting to be studied in depth. In the same vein, judging on the archival material presented so far, the roles of jukeboxes, of low-brow music called "carrileruda" during the 1950s, of places of social encounter as cantinas, and of the audiences for recorded music that frequented those places, appear to be crucial for the development of the new music recording sector. This is strikingly contrasting with the acute scarcity of academic research on *música de carrilera* and other genres which in the analysis presented earlier in this chapter, conform a constellation of music styles that disrupt and cut across a set of main hegemonic music genre systems in Colombian 20th century popular music repertoire.[84] The review of the Silver label recording of the song "Mujer Perjura" in 1950, adds an additional piece of archival evidence to underline the importance of the future topics of research:

> [A] "carrileruda" piece, of ordinary lyrics and common place music, of the likes of those that make campesinos drink trago [booze] all night and which therefore have all the sympathy of cantineros [cantina bar tenders] and of jukebox owners.[85]

I will close this chapter with an excerpt from a 1950 final year "Summary of the national phonographic production", which posed that same year as the one in which a proper phonographic industry was born in Colombia. After the early steps taken in the Atlantic Coast during previous decades by Antonio Fuentes in Cartagena (founder of Discos Fuentes), and Emilio Fortou in Barranquilla (founder of Discos Tropical), the importance of the year 1950 is argued in the light of a very recent proliferation of record companies in cities of the central Andean region of the country, as Lyra, Silver, Zeida, Caracol, Mario, Atlantic, and Sello Vergara. In the light of those achievements, the journalistic piece does significant reflection about the *effects* of the newly born recording industries on the country's "national culture". The cultural politics mentioned above is strikingly present, as well as an Adornian pessimistic reading of the events and musical soundscape of the time, which is characteristic of the cultural journalism led by Hernán Restrepo Duque. Regarding the question posed in the piece concerning *media effects*, one would perhaps be inclined to argue that recording and sound technology industries changed "national

[84] Today, music genre as cumbia from the Atlantic Coast are recognized as national cultural symbols, after a long process in which Andean music known as "música colombiana" was challenged as the sole representative of Colombia. Yet, music genres as "carrilera", "guasca", "parranda", or "chucu-chucu", in spite of their massive appeal, particularly by under-classes, have remained outside of any articulations and constructions of national identity.

[85] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 13, 1950, p8. Original quote in Spanish: "el disco se salva por la "Mujer Perjura", una pieza "carrileruda", de letra ordinaria y música de lugares comunes, de esas que ponen a los campesinos a tomar trago toda la noche y que por lo tanto tienen toda la simpatía de los cantineros y de los propietarios de traganíqueles" (Ibid).

culture" in unexpected ways, in directions that differed from those intended by the elites and private or state cultural institutions of the time, giving voice and visibility to underclasses, some level of *cultural citizenship*, and perhaps some sort of cultural emancipation. One could also argue that hegemonic national culture, which involved a top to bottom process of social relations and power, gave way to new forms of mass culture in Colombia that challenged common conceptions of what represents the nation. Yet, the answer published on the 20th of December in *El Diario* newspaper from Medellín, was radically different:

> How ever: Has this done any good to national culture? Not in the least. We thought so, as did most of the people. Competition with quality was what one expected from the outset, but what we have had is completely the opposite: a real competition for who is it that will release the most vulgar melodies, the most stupid lyrics, and the worst voices. In contrast, audiences have consumed all that with hunger, almost with fury, and have demonstrated.. their ignorance. It wasn't beneficial then, the abundance of recording companies of popular music, it has harmed the good melodic singers of the country. In exchange, a lot of money has been made with low-bro music.
>
> It wasn't convenient, what the abundance of recording companies did was cause harm to popular music, to the good melodic authors of the country. On the other hand, a lot of money has been made with the low [lowbrow]. National economy has saved on foreign currency, a new source of income has been created from which producers, workers, retailers and interpreters have equally benefited. How good would it had been if all these things had been achieved with good artistic material. How interesting if instead of agreeing on giving *artistic citizenship* [carta de ciudadanía artística] to what is despicable, competition would have been based on giving *what is best* for the buyer. We are sure that the public would have responded in the same way. [86]

Finally, the use of the term *carrilerudo* (perhaps readable as *railroad-esque* in English) to refer to certain record releases and the music style of their artists, certainly brings forward and argument about transport infrastructure and commercial distribution networks developed in the next chapter. In most cases, their establishment largely predates the so-called Golden Age of Colombian recording industry. Rail road infrastructure had been developed since late 19th century in the country and the Antioquia region, and by the 1950s a network of roads also connected the Andean areas of the country with the Atlantic coast, as did a small group of commercial airlines as Avianca. Below, I present a map of railroad infrastructure in 1954 Colombia, in order to

[86] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 20, 1950, p2, 7. [My translation] [Italics mine]. Original quote in Spanish: "Ahora bien: ¿Ha convenido eso a la cultura nacional? En absoluto. Así lo creímos nosotros, así lo creyó la mayor parte de la gente. Se pensó en una competencia de calidad, y lo que ha habido es precisamente lo contrario: un verdadero desafío para ver quién es el que va a prensar las melodías más vulgares, las letras más estúpidas, las peores voces. En cambio, el público ha consumido todo eso con hambre, con furia casi y ha demostrado, ha gritado a los cuatro vientos, su incultura y su mal gusto.

No convino pues, perjudicó más bien, la abundancia de grabadoras a la música popular, a los buenos autores melódicos del país. En cambio se ha ganado mucho dinero con lo bajo. La economía nacional ha economizado divisas, se he creado una nueva fuente de ingresos de la que han bebido por parejo productores, obreros, expendedores e intérpretes. Qué bueno que todo ello se hubiera llevado a efecto con buen material artístico. Qué interesante que en vez de ponerse de acuerdo para dar carta de ciudadanía artística a todo lo detestable, se hubiera conseguido competir a base de dar lo mejor cada vez al comprador. Estamos seguros que el público hubiera correspondido en igual forma" (Ibid, 2).

invite further thought on these matters and their connection with music and recording and sound technology industries.

Figure 4.13 - Map of train network in Colombia by 1954.

Source: *Industria Colombiana*, Año I, No. 9, September 9, 1954, p16.

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From the evidence and arguments presented along the pages of this chapter, it seems pertinent to draw some conclusions. Firstly, following the first section it can be stated that an explosion in circulation of recorded music was experienced in Colombia during the 1930s and 1940s. This explosion was catalysed by the rise of commercial radio in Latin America and particularly in Colombia during the 1930s, by the parallel unfolding of players in domestic film exhibitions industries with big economic power and strategies of national expansion, by the proliferation of jukeboxes in the main cities and urban centres in rural areas, and certainly by the sales of imported records and "radiolas" and "vitrolas" (vernacular names given to radio-phonographs and gramophones respectively) which were suitable for homes as well as for places of social encounter.

A central feature of this Colombian 1930s to 1940s explosion in circulation of recorded music is that—in the absence of a proper domestic sector of recording companies—an overarching proportion of records circulating were produced by transnational big companies that had expanded into the Latin American market since the first decades of the 20th century. Most recordings were made in US, México, Cuba, Chile and Argentina, with repertoires catering the musical taste of a mostly Spanish speaking region, in which companies as RCA Victor wanted to sell their gramophones as well (Wade, 2000 p52, 263).[87]

The first records released with music interpreted by Colombian artists were produced within that process of expansion of international big players as, and also date back to the early 20th century. Unfortunately, in the absence of record sales data for the period, it is not possible to tell how these competed in a market saturated by foreign music of various kinds. Notably, new players in the business of commercial music recordings in Colombia are also characteristic of the 1930s and 1940s era (as I describe in the next chapter), even though operating through a mode of production highly dependant on foreign companies, and determined by the time consuming character and the economic costs of pressing records abroad and shipping them to Colombia. It is reasonable to expect that such conditions would hardly affect the rate and volume of production achievable by a limited number of entrepreneurs in different cities, which conformed what I will describe as a *proto domestic recording industry*: using recording technology available in radio stations, in many cases to cut master lacquers with artists that had achieved popularity through live radio performance.

Gronow (1983, p63) provided an estimate of record sales in Colombia during the 1920s and early 1930s, showing how as an effect of the global economic crisis that followed

[87] See Appendices 5.6 to 5.15 for data on the origin of imported records in different years from 1949 to 1974. It evidences the dominance of imports from US during the 1950s, with those of Chile and Mexico occupying far second places. Additionally, the entrance of Germany to this group of countries with a second place in volume of imports to Colombia is evidenced in 1956 (and grows sharply to 43% in 1974): US 84% and Chile 10% in 1949; US 75%, Mexico 12.3% and Chile 7.2% in 1953; US 84%, Germany 7% and Mexico 6% in 1956; US 50%, Germany 43% and Brazil 7% in 1974.

1929's stock market collapse, they experienced a drop from 1.2 million units in 1928 to 100 thousand in 1934. Nevertheless, detailed research on record sales in the country during the 1930s and 1940s period is yet to be made, in order to understand changes in proportion between sales of foreign and domestic recordings.[88] Due to the particularities of record production in Colombia during those decades explained in the following chapters, one would expect a mild gradual change during the 1930s and 1940s under conditions of limited (yet growing) volume of production; and a significant change after the imposition of record imports in 1949 and the related explosion of domestic record factories during the 1950s explored in detail in the coming chapters.

Finally, another significant feature of the Colombian explosion in circulation of recorded music of the 1930s and 1940s is the music repertoire's marked diversity. As argued earlier, the different forms of music involved can be mapped as a group of three main and broad *music genre systems* (Krims, 2007, p16, 91). A wide variety of forms of Andean popular and folkloric music, of Música tropical costeña, and Latin American and Afro-Caribbean popular music increased their circulation since then, at the same time that their audiences grew in size and expanded geographically. By the 1950s, catalogues of several nascent main recording factories included music related to these three music systems in different proportions,[89] at the same time that—as evidenced in previous pages—a boom of new recording artists, many of them influenced by music within those genres systems, sparked disruptive constellations of syncretic music genres, as "parranda" and "música de carrilera", that challenged their hegemony and generated moral panics among a *cultured* elite in Medellín represented by music journalists.

[88] See Appendix 7.1 for a chart with the figures in Gronow (1983), for the period 1921-1934.
[89] See Appendix 4.19 to 4.22.

Chapter 5. Features of an advanced stage of industrialization during Colombian mid 20th century and its pivotal political economy tensions: two distinct economic moments

This chapter situates the 1949 to 1963 unfolding of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia studied in this thesis, within a particularly advanced stage of the country's industrialization, noting that the latter process had roots in late 19th century and that by mid20th century it had catalysed robust changes in Colombian society. As Safford and Palacios (2002, p342) explain, Colombia experienced a “partial capitalist modernization” whose accelerated pace since the 1940s unfolded during the second half of the 20th century. In their own words, the country changed from a "Republic of Coffee" between 1903 and 1946 (Ibid, pp266-298), to a "Nation of Cities" after WWII (Ibid, p297-345). This happened in parallel with a general boom in the world's economy that characterized the post WWII period until the 1970s, during which industrialization was particularly boosted in different Latin American countries (Hobsbawm, 2005; Guardiola-Rivera, 2010), and specifically in Colombia, where by then its developed stage kept a tendency of growth until late 1970s, accompanied by intense urbanization and population growth (Kalmanovitz, 1994; Ocampo, 1996; Poveda Ramos, 2005).

The first section of the chapter does a brief overview of the industrialization process since late 19th century, and then concentrates on three specific points that characterize the mid1950s era. Firstly, it reviews key features of its advanced stage, including: the conformation of a powerful economic group in Medellín represented by their own association of industrials ANDI; its strong political influence in a push for protectionist State policies tailored to their specific needs; a trend of continued growth during which Medellín, a city that had been the largest manufacturing industry centre in previous decades, was surpassed by Bogotá; and a qualitative expansion from the traditional production of textiles, tobacco, soda drinks and others, to new commodities of various kinds, among them the recording and sound technology industries studied here. Secondly, it points out that industrialization in Colombia during this time meant a change from a rural based economy highly dependant on the international business of coffee, to a semi-industrial economy that encompassed the geographic movement of a growing population that concentrated in urban centres. And thirdly, the initial section of this chapter points out that mid1950s advanced stage of industrialization in Colombia involved previously developed transport infrastructure—particularly railways, but also automobile roads and national airlines—which were an ideal start-off situation for new companies of late 1940s and 1950s. I provide some examples of nascent companies that counted with vast networks of distribution from an early stage, as well as extensive quantitative data related to imports of different commodities—from records and phonographs, to disassembled speakers and electric tubes—which allowed producing maps which suggest the main centres from which these were distributed to the rest of the country.

The second section of this chapter, firstly argues that fundamental tensions at the level of economic policy—between those interested on free trade and those on the advance of industry protectionist and import substitution policies—were at the base of the dynamics during the period studied. Their historical movement and events of mid1950s in which the coffee business collapsed dramatically, allows sketching two distinct moments that are highly relevant for the analyses of later chapters: from 1949 to 1956 industry protectionist measures were implemented for a few years, yet repealed later; and from 1956 to 1963 State control of imports became more severe, largely as an effect of the crash in coffee exports, creating a climate of sustained stability for the interests of recording and sound hardware manufacturers established in the country.

Finally, a third section presents an appraisal of the economic size of record and sound technology business in Colombia during the era studied, built through an exercise that brought together official quantitative data on imports of different kinds of related commodities. While this is a partial measurement from the angle of imports, it allows comparing the two distinct moments mentioned above and analysing changes, which evidence a counterintuitive growth in the context of intensified import restrictions.

For the sakes of aiding the navigation through the different points and arguments of the following pages which make constant references to different cities and regions of the country, in the next page I provide a map of the country that readers will certainly find useful.

Figure 5.1 - Map of Colombia with main regions and cities in Colombian 20th century industrialization.

Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/colombia.jpg

1. Colombian industrialization in the 1950s: an advanced stage, geographic movements of a growing population, and strong pre-existent national distribution networks

In the light of works on Colombian 20th century economic history, the period from 1949 to 1963 in which this research concentrates, and during which an explosion in domestic production of music recordings took place [see Chapter 6], is in fact a late stage during a long-term process of industrialization in the country, whose roots have been traced back to the late 19th century (Kalmanovitz, 1994; Álvarez Morales, 2002; Poveda Ramos, 1988).[1] Its development during the first decades of the 20th century was led by companies in three main regions of the country: those in the Atlantic Coast cities Cartagena and Barranquilla; those in Bogotá, the country's capital and home of the national of government in the eastern Andean region; and those in Medellín, capital of the central Andean region of Antioquia (Kalmanovitz, 1985, pp231-292). By 1929, Medellín and its surrounding areas concentrated the highest number of factories and production levels in the country, and was portrayed as the "industrial city of Colombia" (Poveda Ramos, 1988, pp300-301).

After a crisis in the international trade of coffee between 1919 and 1922, domestic manufacturing experienced an early phase of growth, particularly by the activities of a long-standing complex network of business relations in Antioquia, which had previously conformed iconic companies in Colombian history as: Coltejer (textiles), Postobón (soda drinks), Compañía Nacional de Tabacos (tobacco), Fábrica Nacional de Galletas y Confites - Noel (biscuits and sweets), and the chocolate company Compañía Nacional de Chocolates (Alvarez, 2002, pp225-239). Years later, the effects of post-1929 world economic depression on international trade, were met by import substitution policies in Colombia and by a consequent response by domestic private capital during the 1930s and 1940s, resulting in the continuation of the sector's trend of growth. Manufacturing industry's structural significance in overall economy experienced a notable boost, which was already noticeable by 1945 when the industrial sector represented 16,5% of GDP (Kalmanovitz, 2010, pp205-7).

Through an overall glance at the Colombian process of industrialization, I would like to stress three general points that characterize this research's period of study. Firstly, as noted above, we deal with an advanced stage during which a powerful sector of industrials from Medellín were part of one of the strongest economic groups in Colombian

[1] Updated works approaching 20th century Colombian economic history and the process of industrialization are provided by Kalmanovitz (2010) and Robinson and Urrutia (2007). Along with these the most cited and respected earlier works are: Kalmanovitz (1994), Ocampo ed. (1997), and Poveda Ramos (2005, 1988, 1984). The latter was a member of ANDI industry association, so he can be considered an *insider* historian, representing domestic industrial capitalists version of history. Other key works from social historians in the process of industrialization in Colombia are: Álvarez (2002), a rich and insightful genesis of business groups and industrial power from Medellín since the 19th century; and Valencia Restrepo (1996) also offers an account of history of industry specifically in Medellín. Other social and cultural historians considered in the argument of this chapter are Arias Trujillo (2011), along with the works of an authority in critical social history in Colombia: Palacios (2006) and Safford & Palacios (2002).

history—later known as the "sindicato Antioqueño"—which had conformed through a long run process of crossed investments, partnerships, and involvement in the stock market (Alvarez, 2002, p237). Industrial capital from Medellín was part of a complex net of businessmen, associations, and companies interconnected through the ownership of two banks and an insurance company (Alvarez, 2002, pp237-238). [2] This meant permanent communication between businessmen, the creation of shared projects in a trend of investment diversification and expansion from a regional to a national market, and overall, a unity of aims and criteria through which risks and benefits were shared (Alvarez, 2002, p233).

This feature was expressed in 1944 with the formation of the Asociación Colombiana de Industriales (ANDI) [Colombian Association of Industrials], which since then has fostered their economic interests serving as lobbying body with high political influence (Alvarez, 2002, p237-238). During the 1950s, ANDI was a main player in negotiating the fine details of import bans and regulations instated by the National State (Sáenz Rovner, 2002, p105), managed through a complex bureaucratic system that included the definition of different tariff groups, import licences, lists of goods of prohibited importation, as well as a system of barter in moments of intense foreign currency scarcity (Villar and Esguerra in Robinson and Urrutia, 2007, pp91–123). In particular, during the time ANDI advocated for State policies that increased protection for industrial products one the one hand, and favoured importation of raw materials for the manufacturing sector on the other (Sáenz Rovner, 2002, p105).[3]

Since the 1950s and until late 1970s, Colombian manufacturing industry kept an overall tendency of growth: in 1950 industrial production composed 17.8% of PIB, and by 1960 it remained at 18%, achieving the highest level of the century in 1979 with 23.3% (Poveda Ramos, 2005, pp544-546). Yet, in spite of the economic and political muscle of Medellín's economic group, by mid 1950s Medellín and the Antioquia region no longer held the leadership (Ibid). According to official data considering the number of factories, work force, and economic size, by 1956 Bogotá and the Cundinamarca region held the first place, Medellín and Antioquia a second. The industrial sector in the Atlantic Coast led by Cartagena and Barranquilla had decreased their size, falling to a fourth place after losing the third position to Cali, that emerged as a new main player.[4] A fifth place in size of manufacturing industry was shared by several smaller cities as Manizales, Pereira, and Buga in central Andes, and Sogamoso, Bucaramanga, and Cúcuta in eastern Andes (Poveda Ramos, 1988, p349, citing data from *Censo Industrial de 1956*).

[2] Banco Comercial Antioqueño was formed in 1942, and two years later Banco Industrial Colombiano and the insurance company Compañía Suramericana de Seguros (Alvarez, 2002, pp237-238).
[3] Their power in terms of delineating economic policy is approached with advocacy in the work of historian Poveda Ramos (1984), but intensely criticized by Sáenz Rovner (2002). See Appendix 5.01 for a sample of ANDI's advertising campaign during 1950, pushing for protectionist policies in a peculiar populist fashion.
[4] Cali a city in the central Andean region of Valle del Cauca, by then linked to the pacific port of Buenaventura through railroad infrastructure, and in this way connected to the international commerce route constituted by the Canal de Panamá (Kalmanovitz, 1985, pp364–369).

Another fundamental trait of this advanced stage of Colombian industrialization, is an increasing qualitative expansion that took off after the end of WWII. From a sector traditionally composed and dominated by textile, soda drinks, tobacco, and chocolate manufacturers among others, and mostly conformed by domestic capital, it expanded into new kinds of industry as chemicals, metal-mechanics, and others. Significantly, in several important cases, this qualitative expansion or diversification in the kinds of commodities produced, was catalysed by "advanced technical knowledge that Colombia received in the form of direct foreign investment and capital importing between 1947 and 1956" (Kalmanovitz, 1985, p366).[5]

The unfolding of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia since late 1940s explored in detail in the following chapters, certainly forms part of this post WWII qualitative expansion of industrialization in the country. While there is no official data available regarding their share in national production during the period studied, Chapter 6 explores evidence that suggests domestic recording companies achieved a moment of boom by 1956 which brought them to the attention of State and private sector journals devoted to Colombia economy and industrialization in particular.[6] Secondary sources though, back up the argument that capital investment that fostered leading recording companies established in Medellín since 1949 and during the 1950s, was interlaced with the complex network of players that conformed Medellín's strong economic group represented by ANDI.

As a result of ANDI's push for protectionist policies during late 1940s, Poveda Ramos (1988, p346) remarks, among others, the establishment of phonographic records companies in Medellín as Sonolux. Started in September the 2nd of 1949 by Antonio Botero Peláez and Rafael Acosta Salinas (Restrepo Gil, 2012, p68), and by 1957 with Félix de Bedout e hijos being among its main shareholders (Restrepo Gil, 2012, p74).The latter was a family firm constituted in 1914, that owned the biggest typography in Medellín during that decade, and whose activities and investments increased and diversified immensely since then. Their businesses expanded to drugstores and distribution-retail of a diversity of imported goods since the 1920s, a business in which among other international businesses, they held a recognized role as agents for US companies Victor Talking Machine and the later RCA Victor merger. At the same time, since 1925 de Bedout e hijos were share holders in pioneer manufacturing companies as Fábrica Nacional de Galletas y Confites - Noel, and had their own Jorge Luis de Bedout sitting on its board of directors by 1927. Furthermore, during mid 1940s the firm formed part of the group of investors that conformed financial and insurance companies as Banco Industrial Colombiano and Compañía Suramericana de Seguros, and notably, part of the founders of the association of industrials ANDI in 1944 (Alvarez, 2002, pp230–244).

[5] A common example is the motor vehicle tyre company Icollantas, formed in Cali in 1942, through a joint venture between the national government's Instituto de Fomento Industrial (IFI), the US company B.F. Goodrich, and a group of Colombian investors. By 1945 though, Icollantas was bought out by B.F. Goodrich (Kalmanovitz, 1985, pp363, 372).

[6] Nevertheless, it worth noting that recording companies are hardly mentioned in histories of Colombian industrialization, and never listed among players with the biggest share in national production.

Similar are the cases of representative new record manufacturing companies of the 1950s as Discos Silver and Zeida (Codiscos). Brothers Jesús and José Ramírez Johns, in association with Alfredo Díez Montoya, started Discos Silver in 1949 (Restrepo Gil, 2012, p67). Their firm, which had been involved in distribution-retail of different sorts of commodities including gramophones and records, had Jesús Ramírez Johns sitting as CEO of Fábrica de Galletas y Confites - Noel in the 1940s, and later also figured among the founders of ANDI (Poveda Ramos, 1984, p15). Alfredo Díez, "son-in-law of the Ramírez Johns brothers" who had previously been "a record shop owner", left the Discos Silver partnership and founded his own Zeida record companies "after having imported a couple of presses from the United States in 1949", which in 1954 would become "a limited company under the name Codiscos (Compañía Colombiana de Discos)" (Wade, 2000, p150).

Another significant case is that of Discos Fuentes Discos in Cartagena, a company that sprung out of the activities of Emisora Fuentes radio station in mid 1930s, and whose capital was linked to the pharmaceutical family business Laboratorios Fuentes de Cartagena, visible in 1950s journalistic primary sources from Medellín and Bogotá through their advertisements of the cough and cold medicine traded as Jarabe Fuentes.[7] Antonio Fuentes, one of the sons of the founders of the pharmaceutical manufacturing company was in charge of the advertising department, and started Emisora de los Laboratorios Fuentes in 1932 in the company's premises as a commercial outlet for their products (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, p26, 37). By 1934 Antonio obtained a commercial radio broadcasting licence and then started operating as Emisora Fuentes, concentrating in its musical content (Ibid, p37). A few years later, the Discos Fuentes was started within the premises of the radio station, and produced recordings that were pressed abroad, while the first pressings produced in Colombia as a record factory were made in 1945. The Fuentes record company expanded activities to Medellín in 1954 were it established recording and record pressing facilities (Ibid, pp41-42). The move, was "facilitated by [its founder] Antonio Fuentes's having an Antioqueño businessman as a father-in-law" (Wade, 2000, p151), since he married Margarita Estrada from Medellín in 1934 (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, p26), who played important roles in the unfolding of the record company in Medellín, as did other members of her family (Ibid, pp40-46). The sir name is suggestive of a family and capital connection with Pedro Estrada González, founder and shareholder of Cine Colombia in 1927, and later also founder with high number of shares in Banco Industrial Colombiano and Compañía Suramericana de Seguros (Alvarez, 2002, p233, 245). Nevertheless, the interlacing of Disco Fuentes with Medellín's big capital through the Estrada family still requires detailed research on the particular matter.

As the following chapters evidence, the nascent record companies in Medellín had different forms of business relations with foreign companies, including a plethora of licensing agreements, outsourcing of production of stampers for some years, and were long term customers of recording and phonographic technology particularly from the US.

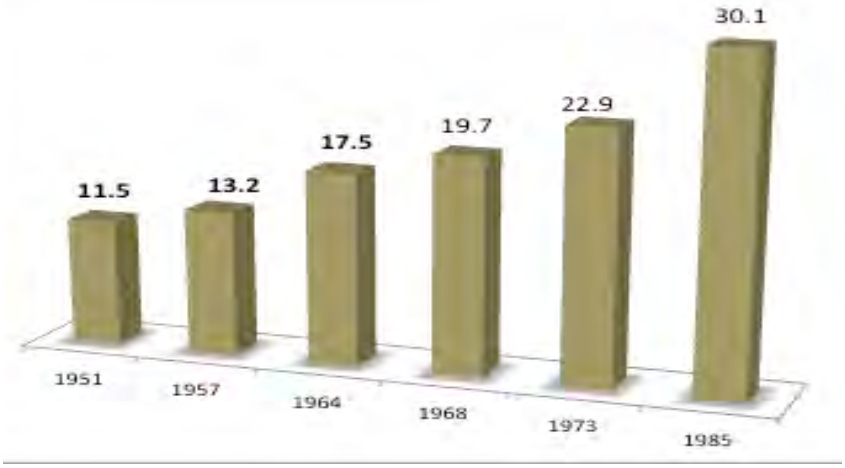
[7] *La República*, Bogotá, September 28, 1955, p12. See Appendix 5.02 for a sample of Laboratorios Fuentes newspaper adverts.

Nevertheless, there is no evidence of direct foreign investment in the companies in Cartagena, Barranquilla or Medellín. In contrast, as later chapters evidence, the technology transnational conglomerate Philips, with factories based in Bogotá, dominated sound hardware assembly since mid 1950s and during the 1960s started recording activities, and was followed in 1965 by a branch of Columbia Records established in the same city as Discos CBS S.A.

A second general point about at the Colombian process of industrialization during this research's period of study, relates to associated features of this sort of change economic mode of production involves. Colombian economy changed from an early 20th century rural based model associated to a very large extent with coffee exports, to a semi-industrial model, accompanied by the usual conditions of high population growth and concentration in the urban centres where industry works are available (Kalmanovitz, 1994; Poveda Ramos, 2005). Given the advanced stage achieved by manufacturing industry by the 1940s, the transit from a rural to a urban population is the fundamental change of the 2nd half of the Colombian 20th century, in a trend particularly accelerated after that decade, and reached a distribution of 74% of people in urban centres in 1993, both in main cities and in urban centres of each region or "cabeceras municipales" (Palacios, 1994, not pag.). Since the 1940s, internal migrations were the main factor of urban growth: both a severe bi-partisan political violence of the late 1940s and 1950s of main expression in Andean rural areas and the significant progression of the industrial sector, generated strong incentives for rural-to-city movements of population. In this way, people concentrated in the cities with most manufacturing activity: Medellín in the central Andean region; Bogotá in the eastern Andes; Cali towards the south of central Andean region; and Cartagena and Barranquilla in the Atlantic Coast and the northern end of the country (Safford and Palacios, 2002; Poveda Ramos, 2005).

In particular, regional State level official statistics register a substantial increase in overall population in the country during the 1950s and 1960s, continued in later decades, as evidenced in the following figure.

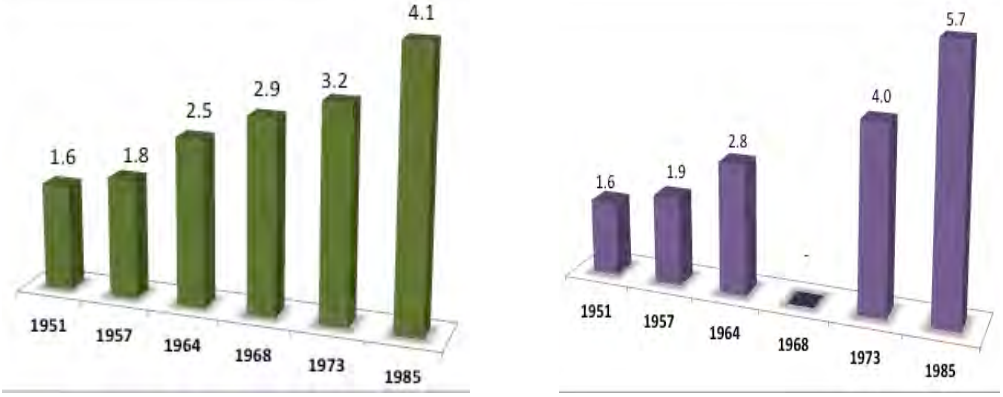
Figure 5.2 - Colombian population 1951 to 1985 millions of people.



Source: *Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia* 1956-57, 1968, 1980, 2004.

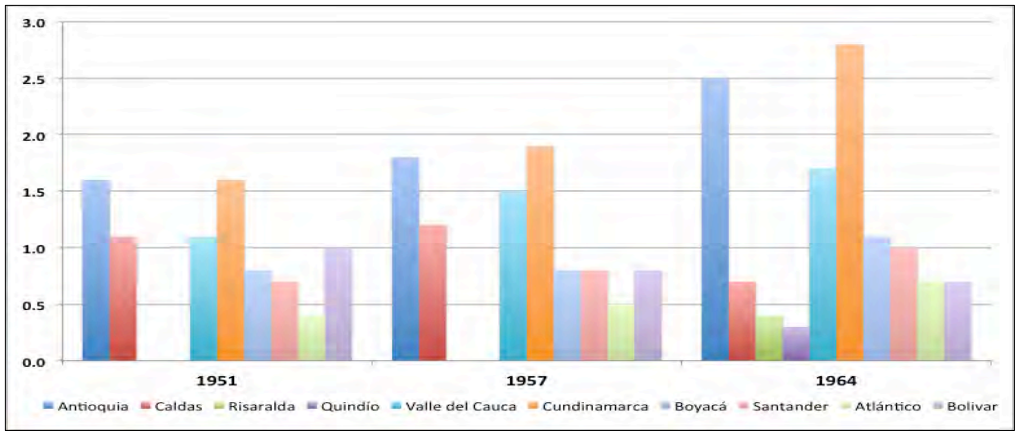
Colombian population grew from 11.5 million people in 1951 to 17.5 in 1964, adding 52% of its size in the earlier year.[8] At the same time, population in the Antioquia region of which Medellín is capital, grew from 1.6 to 2.5 million, and remained around 14% of the total of Colombia (a proportion kept during the next two decades); while population in Cundinamarca including Bogotá, grew from the same size of 1.6 million in 1951 to 2.8 million in 1964, increasing its share in Colombian total population from 14% to 16% (a trend of growth continued during the next two decades). These two regions hosted the highest number of people, followed by: Valle de Cauca of which Cali is capital, with a population that grew from 1.1 to 1.7 million from 1951 to 1964 (remaining with a country share of bit less the 10%); and Bolivar and Atlántico together (including the cities Cartagena and Barranquilla), whose population remained around 1.4 million during those years (decreasing is share in Colombian total from 12% to 8%). During this process of population growth, the country changed from having a bit more than 60% of people living in rural areas in 1951 to 48% in 1964; and in the Antioquia region the change was from 60% to 46% in rural areas: in other words, 52% of Colombian population lived in urban centres by 1964 (and 59% in 1973, 65% in 1985).

Figure 5.3- Antioquia vs. Cundinamarca population 1951 to 1985 (millions of people).



Source: *Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia* 1956-57 to 2004.

Figure 5.4 - Population in main departments of Colombia (1951, 1957, 1964 - millions of people).

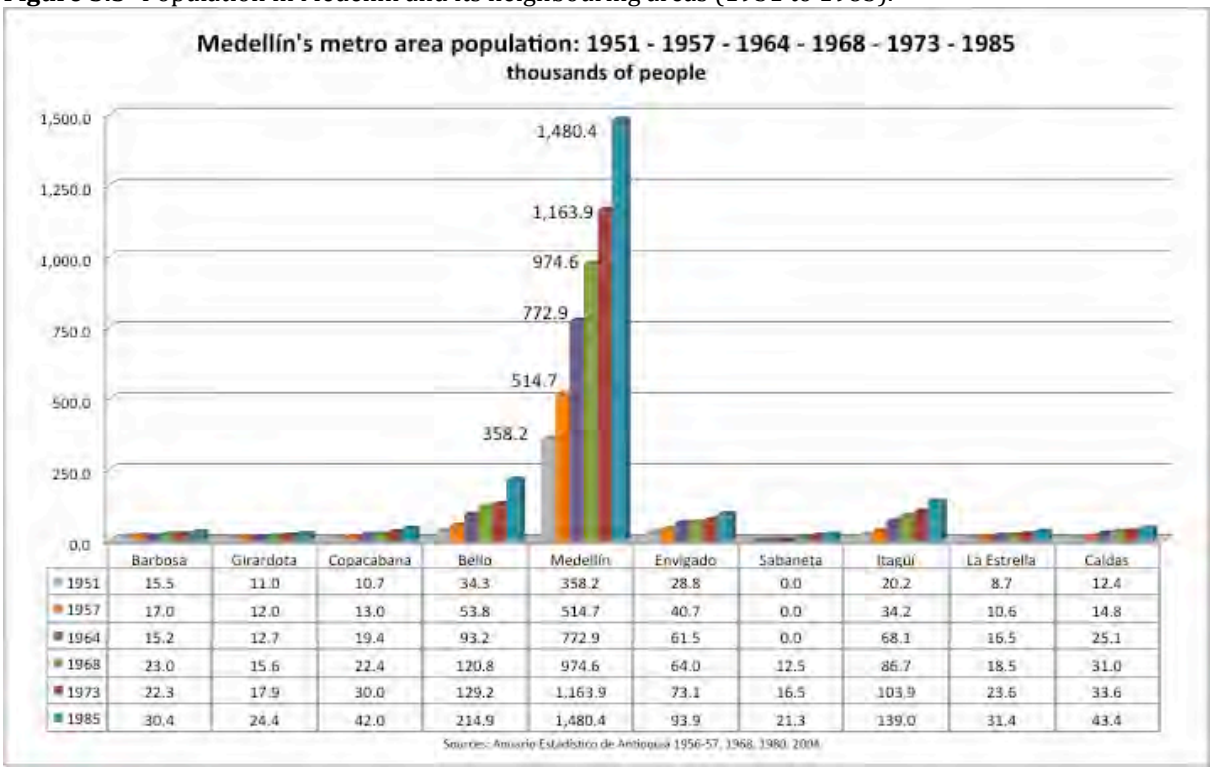


Source: *Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia* 1956-57, 1968.

[8] See Appendices 5.03 to 5.2 for the data cited in this section, which was collected from different volumes of *Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia* (1956-57, 1968, 1980, 2004), and also used to produce the charts presented in Figures 5.3 to 5.5.

There are some features worth noting here regarding aggregated statistics for an extended area that by the 1960s came to be known as "Area Metropolitana" [Metropoltin Area], including Medellín and other neighbouring municipalities that shared the Aburrá valley, and which were connected by trains and had dynamic relations [See Figure 5.5]. Population in Medellín and its neighbouring areas doubled from 500 thousand people in 1951 to bit more than 1 million in 1964 (reaching 1.6 in 1973). The territory had importantly higher rates of population growth compared to the overall Antioquia department, and even to the country as a whole. Additionally, it is notable that if measured as one single geographic unit, by 1951 the Medellín and its Aburrá valley area was already one with a striking majority of 80% of people living in urban settings (which increased to beyond 90% during the 1970s and afterwards). Furthermore, according to these data, in Medellín and its neighbouring municipalities people concentrated in the urban areas more intensely than in the rest of departments or the country. [9]

Figure 5.5- Population in Medellín and its neighbouring areas (1951 to 1985).



	Barbosa	Girardota	Copacabana	Bello	Medellín	Envigado	Sabaneta	Itagüí	La Estrella	Caldas
1951	15.5	11.0	10.7	34.3	358.2	28.8	0.0	20.2	8.7	12.4
1957	17.0	12.0	13.0	53.8	514.7	40.7	0.0	34.2	10.6	14.8
1964	15.2	12.7	19.4	93.2	772.9	61.5	0.0	68.1	16.5	25.1
1968	23.0	15.6	22.4	120.8	974.6	64.0	12.5	86.7	18.5	31.0
1973	22.3	17.9	30.0	129.2	1,163.9	73.1	16.5	103.9	23.6	33.6
1985	30.4	24.4	42.0	214.9	1,480.4	93.9	21.3	139.0	31.4	43.4

Source: *Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia*, 1956 to 2004.

[9] See Appendices 5.0 to 5.2, and *Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia* 1956-57, 1968, 1980, 2004.

A third general point about at the advanced stage in Colombian process of industrialization during this research's period of study, is that it implied pre-existent national distribution networks aided by modernized transport systems, including: a national railway network, a developed road infrastructure, and a broad coverage of airplane transport. From this point one can deploy the argument that commercial distribution networks were an important foundation from which domestic recording and sound technology industries developed in the country since late 1940s. For that matter, Medellín had airplane services since 1920 and was connected by train to the Magdalena River since 1921, a historical main communication artery between the Caribbean and the interior regions towards the south of the country (Poveda Ramos, 1988, pp300-301).

Networks of foot communication are an archaeological matter in Colombia that dates back millennia, and in many cases were appropriated and served as blue prints for their maintenance and development from Colonial times until the 19th century Republic era (Botero Páez, 2005, 2008, 2013; Botero Páez and Vélez Escobar, 2009). Since the 19th century transport infrastructure in the country started an important process of modernization and change. As Poveda Ramos (2005, p372) explains, a network of trains whose construction was started on late 19th century, was well advanced during the 1950s and by early 1960s trains had already connected the southern end of Andean Colombia with the Atlantic Coast in the northern opposed end [See Figure 5.6] During this decade railway technology and infrastructure provided the main transport media in the country, under the State ownership monopoly of Ferrocarriles Nacionales de Colombia. As the author underlines, trains carried almost all of the coffee produced in the country and the bigger share of import and export commodities, and during the 1960s the reached a moment of broad interconnection on the network, when it was possible to travel without transfers from Buenaventura in Pacific Coast, or from Neiva in the southern upper valley of the Magdalena river, all the way to the Atlantic Coast (Ibid, p369).

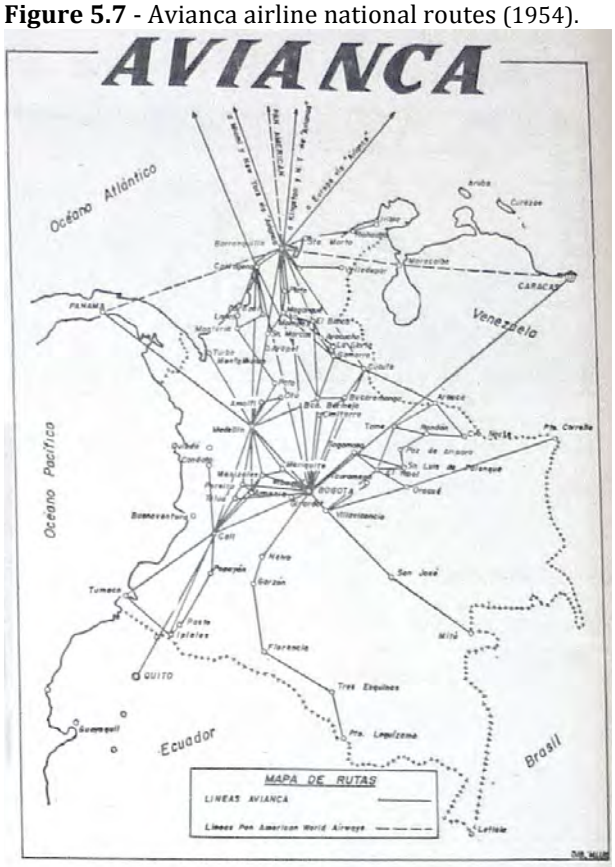
Palacios (2006, p57) notes that 19th and early 20th century steam boat transportation companies based in Cartagena, Barranquilla and Santa Marta were the main transport media connecting these cities with the inner Andean regions through the Magdalena river. But by the 1940s the increasing negative consequences of the river's suitability for navigation were already felt, and "[t]he decline of the Magdalena River as a major transportation artery was steep and irreversible" (Ibid, p123). Drought and excessive sedimentation of the rivers by late 1940s, motivated the construction of railways that ran parallel to the river, but by mid20th century the fluvial channel of commerce was already in crisis (Poveda, 2005, p368). Among other factors, such decline of the Magdalena river as a suitable commerce route, considerably affected the Atlantic Coast region's participation in the further 1950s development of Colombian industry: "In 1910 the three main ports of the Caribbean coast, which used the Magdalena as their main route inland, handled 83 percent of imports and 79 percent of exports… but by 1945 these figures dropped by 57 percent and 51 percent respectively. During the same period the Pacific port of Buenaventura increased its share from 7 percent of imports and 6 percent of exports to 32 percent and 47 percent respectively" (Palacios, 2006, p123).

At the same time, an infrastructure of roads for automobiles and air travel was importantly developed during the 20th century, and both were also substantially considerably significantly advanced by mid 1950s [See Figures 5.7 and 4.1 in previous chapter]. In contrast, the Magdalena river—a historical main and central fluvial artery that connected the Colombian territory from south to north, from the Andean to Atlantic Coast regions—started a process of decay already noticeable during the 1940s, due to excessive sedimentation, while railways started a rapid process of decay since the 1970s which led to their *end*.[10]

Figure 5.6- Colombian train-network (1954).

Source: *Industria Colombiana,* Bogotá, Año I, No. 9, September, 1954, p16.

Figure 5.7 - Avianca airline national routes (1954).



Source: *La República*, Bogotá, December 6, 1954, p9.

The above information on transport infrastructure, draw a picture from which one can argue that domestic recording and sound technology industries developed in the country since late 1940s had an important advantage for establishing vast networks of regional and national distribution. To further illustrate this argument, in the following pages I will present some primary sources evidence about distribution networks of some key companies explored in further chapters, as well as the national destination of a series of related commodities according to official import figures.

[10] Poveda Ramos (2005, p373) notes that since 1972, when the train route from Medellín to Cali and its Valle del Cauca region was closed and abandoned to deteriorate, Colombian railway transport started a dramatic decline towards its end. Such deterioration extended to the whole of national infrastructure, at the same time that airplane and automobile transport increased. In his view four factors were determinant there: a slow transition from steam to diesel machines; unresolved conflicts with syndicates regarding working conditions; and the pressure of foreign industries related to automobiles and petrol.

An important example is that of record company Industria Electro Sonora Nacional Ltda. SONOLUX in Medellín, whose national and international distribution partnership with Philips de Colombia, S.A., a company by then fairly advanced and strong in such matters, was announced by the press in 1949, the same year they started activities in the record business.[11] By 1950, Sonolux already counted with national distribution through "agencias Philips" [Philips agencies], regional distribution in Antioquia by Almacén de Discos Lyra (an operation ran by Otoniel Cardona and Jesús M. Molina), along with a long list of "sub-agents" or record shops in Medellín, as well as in other municipalities in the Antioquia region as Yarumal, Sonsón and Sopetrán.[12] A few year later, Philips de Colombia, S.A. claimed to have a distribution network of 207 "agencies" all around the country in 1956 through an advert which allowed the elaboration of the map presented below [See Figure 5.8].[13]

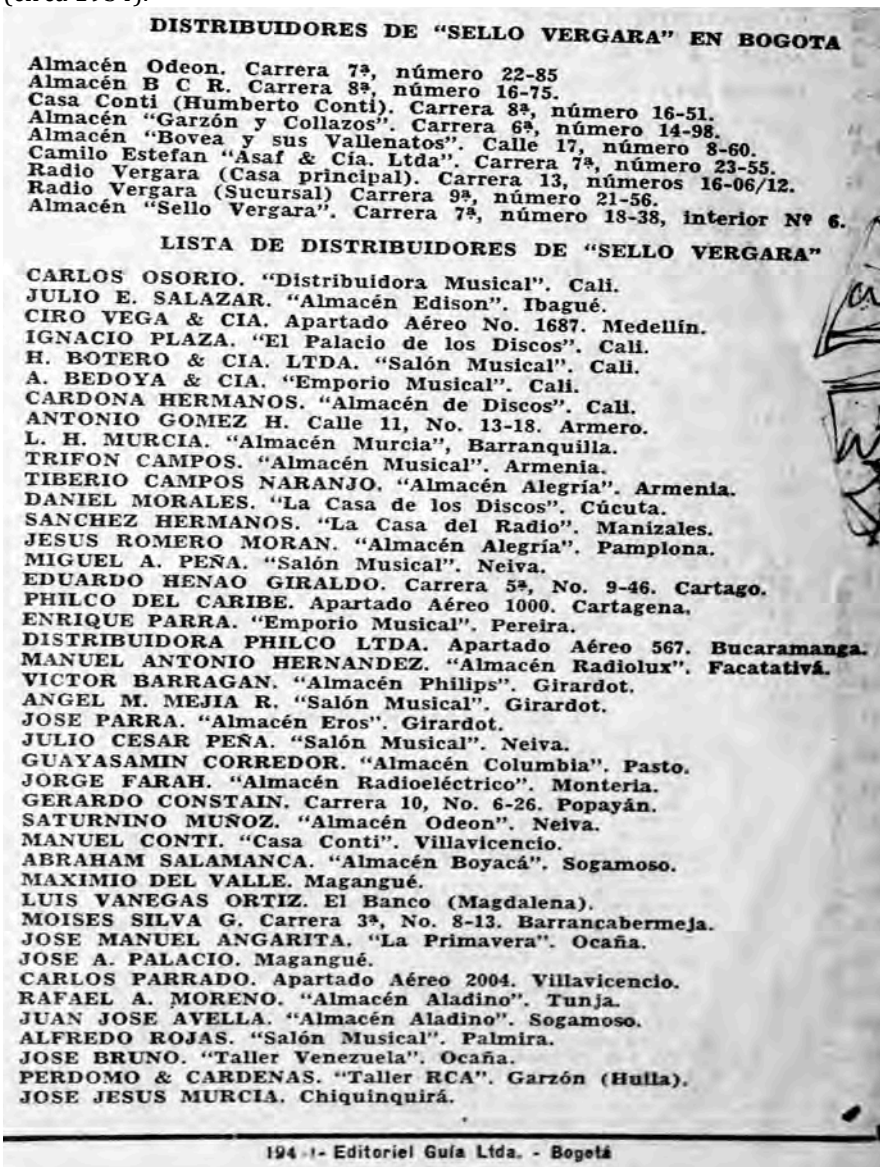
Figure 5.8- Philips de Colombia, S.A. national distribution network (1956).

Data source: *La República*, Bogotá, January 9, 1956, p7. See Appendix 5.4 for list in original source.

[11] "La Industria de Grabaciones", *El Diario*, Medellín, December 20, 1949, p2.
[12] *El Diario*, Medellín, April 19, 1950, p2.
[13] *La República*, Bogotá, January 9, 1956, p7.

Also, circa 1956 Sello Vergara from Bogotá had 9 distributors in that city, plus other 42 in different regions of the country: 5 in the regions of influence to the north of Bogotá; 5 in the northern part of the Eastern Andes region; 10 in the upper Magdalena valley region; 5 in the central Andean region (including one in Medellín); 7 in the upper valle del Cauca region; 2 in the southern end of the Andean region; 1 in Villavicencio, capital of the eastern plains of the country; and 6 in the upper Magdalena river and Atlantic Coast region [See Figure 5.9]. Similarly, by 1954 the Atlantic record company in Barranquilla, or "Organizaciones Plásticas Eléctricas, 'Atlantic' Ltda. Barranquilla", listed its national distributors in its own catalogue for their three labels Atlantic, Popular and Pampa: including 9 in Bogotá, plus 42 around the country.[14]

Figure 5.9 - National distribution network of Sello Vergara from Bogotá (circa 1954).



DISTRIBUIDORES DE "SELLO VERGARA" EN BOGOTA

Almacén Odeon. Carrera 7ª, número 22-85
Almacén B C R. Carrera 8ª, número 16-75.
Casa Conti (Humberto Conti). Carrera 8ª, número 16-51.
Almacén "Garzón y Collazos". Carrera 6ª, número 14-98.
Almacén "Bovea y sus Vallenatos". Calle 17, número 8-60.
Camilo Estefan "Asaf & Cía. Ltda". Carrera 7ª, número 23-55.
Radio Vergara (Casa principal). Carrera 13, números 16-06/12.
Radio Vergara (Sucursal) Carrera 9ª, número 21-56.
Almacén "Sello Vergara". Carrera 7ª, número 18-38, interior Nº 6.

LISTA DE DISTRIBUIDORES DE "SELLO VERGARA"

CARLOS OSORIO. "Distribuidora Musical". Cali.
JULIO E. SALAZAR. "Almacén Edison". Ibagué.
CIRO VEGA & CIA. Apartado Aéreo No. 1687. Medellín.
IGNACIO PLAZA. "El Palacio de los Discos". Cali.
H. BOTERO & CIA. LTDA. "Salón Musical". Cali.
A. BEDOYA & CIA. "Emporio Musical". Cali.
CARDONA HERMANOS. "Almacén de Discos". Cali.
ANTONIO GOMEZ H. Calle 11, No. 13-18. Armero.
L. H. MURCIA. "Almacén Murcia", Barranquilla.
TRIFON CAMPOS. "Almacén Musical". Armenia.
TIBERIO CAMPOS NARANJO. "Almacén Alegría". Armenia.
DANIEL MORALES. "La Casa de los Discos". Cúcuta.
SANCHEZ HERMANOS. "La Casa del Radio". Manizales.
JESUS ROMERO MORAN. "Almacén Alegría". Pamplona.
MIGUEL A. PEÑA. "Salón Musical". Neiva.
EDUARDO HENAO GIRALDO. Carrera 5ª, No. 9-46. Cartago.
PHILCO DEL CARIBE. Apartado Aéreo 1000. Cartagena.
ENRIQUE PARRA. "Emporio Musical". Pereira.
DISTRIBUIDORA PHILCO LTDA. Apartado Aéreo 567. Bucaramanga.
MANUEL ANTONIO HERNANDEZ. "Almacén Radiolux". Facatativá.
VICTOR BARRAGAN. "Almacén Philips". Girardot.
ANGEL M. MEJIA R. "Salón Musical". Girardot.
JOSE PARRA. "Almacén Eros". Girardot.
JULIO CESAR PEÑA. "Salón Musical". Neiva.
GUAYASAMIN CORREDOR. "Almacén Columbia". Pasto.
JORGE FARAH. "Almacén Radioeléctrico". Monteria.
GERARDO CONSTAIN. Carrera 10, No. 6-26. Popayán.
SATURNINO MUÑOZ. "Almacén Odeon". Neiva.
MANUEL CONTI. "Casa Conti". Villavicencio.
ABRAHAM SALAMANCA. "Almacén Boyacá". Sogamoso.
MAXIMIO DEL VALLE. Magangué.
LUIS VANEGAS ORTIZ. El Banco (Magdalena).
MOISES SILVA G. Carrera 3ª, No. 8-13. Barrancabermeja.
JOSE MANUEL ANGARITA. "La Primavera". Ocaña.
JOSE A. PALACIO. Magangué.
CARLOS PARRADO. Apartado Aéreo 2004. Villavicencio.
RAFAEL A. MORENO. "Almacén Aladino". Tunja.
JUAN JOSE AVELLA. "Almacén Aladino". Sogamoso.
ALFREDO ROJAS. "Salón Musical". Palmira.
JOSE BRUNO. "Taller Venezuela". Ocaña.
PERDOMO & CARDENAS. "Taller RCA". Garzón (Huila).
JOSE JESUS MURCIA. Chiquinquirá.

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Source: *Industrias Fonográficas de Radio Vergara. Catálogo General de Discos Sello Vergara* (circa 1954).

[14] See Appendix 5.5.

In order to further expand a picture of the geography of recording and sound technology distribution in Colombia during the 1950s and 1960s—using official figures of imports during the time which luckily I found disaggregated by the regions to which the cargo was destined—I put myself to the task of elaborating a series of maps presented in the following pages.[15] These maps (which include a couple of pie graphs as well), show the proportions of total imports in key years for different kinds of related sound commodities, including: records, needles and cartridges, record players, radios, jukeboxes, disassembled sound speakers, and tubes for radios. While they can not be read as a geography of consumption, they surely hint at that of Colombian business of internal distribution and the dominant main centres. [See Figures 5.10 to 5.17]

In a brief overview, the reader will notice that the phenomenon they represent is mostly restricted to the Atlantic Coast regions to the north of the country, and the Andean regions to the south. Then, a detailed analysis aided as well by further data offered in the appendices section, reveals a dynamics of geographic change overtime in the regions to which commodities are destined according to official data by customs authorities. The pattern evidenced by record imports in 1949—in which Antioquia was the main destination with 32% of import values, followed by Valle del Cauca with 22%, Cundinamarca with 9.6% and Atlantic Coast (Atlántico and Bolivar departments) with 16%—changes considerably during the following years. And the same happens to that of imports of record players for home use and their needles and cartridges during the first years of the 1950s, which was similar to the pattern of records in the sense that these few regions dominated with proportions that were not radically different. As the 1950s unfolded and during later decades, Cundinamarca (including Bogotá) achieved by far a dominant role as the highest share of these commodities are registered to this destination.[16] While Antioquia and the Atlantic Coast regions of Atlántico and Bolivar had important shares in the destination of imports of all these goods from 1949 to 1951, their participation fell to very low levels after mid 1950s.[17] Notably, Valle del Cauca was a first and second destination for different goods from 1940 to early 1950s, yet this position was

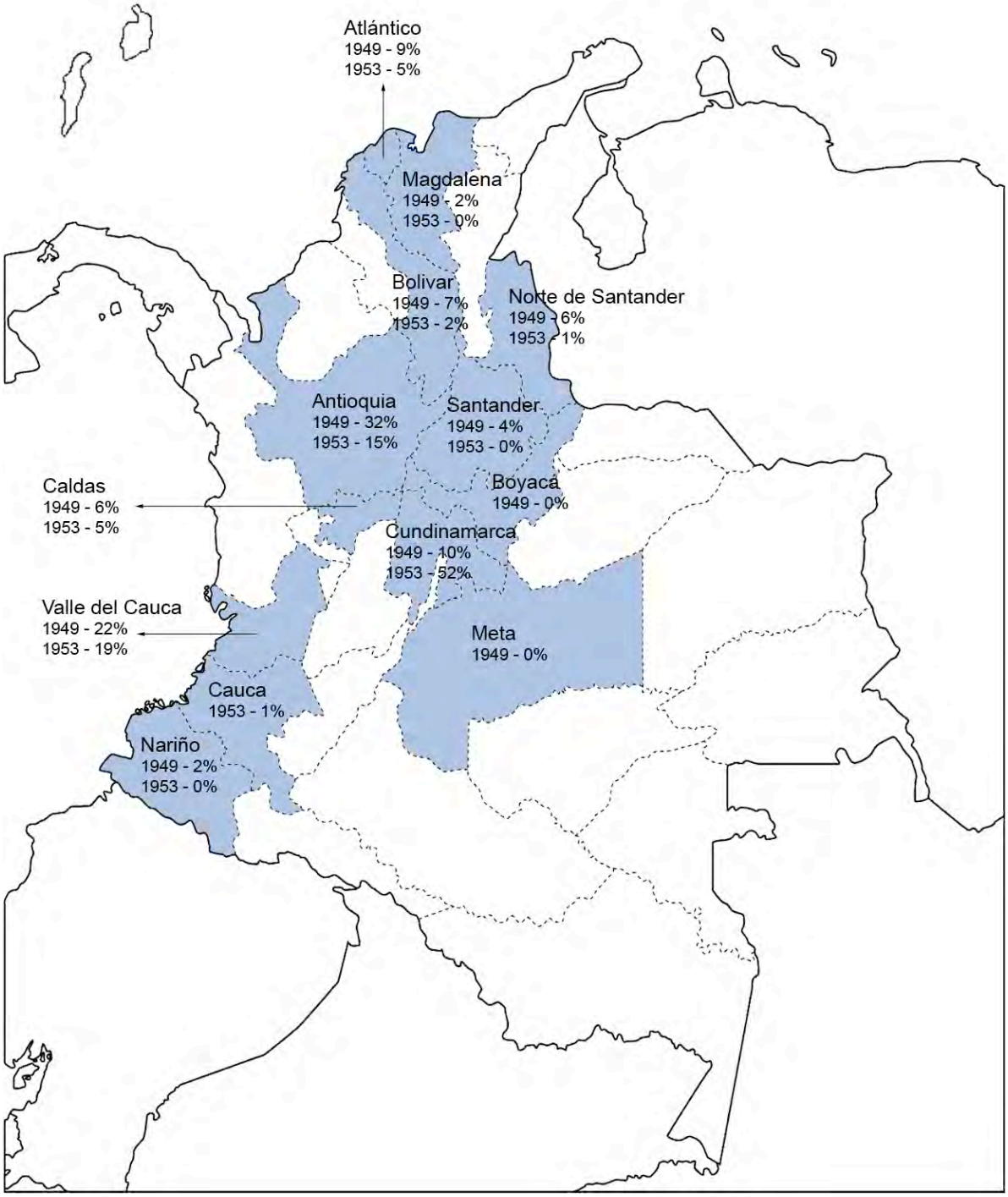
[15] Figures were collected systematically from different numbers between 1949 and 1980 of *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia,* published by the National level State. The maps present the destination of the different commodities, and the percentage of import value destined to each region.

[16] For statistics on origin and internal destination of imported: records see Appendices 5.7 to 5.15; needles and cartridges see Appendices 5.25 to 5.30; and "tocadiscos" (record players) see Appendices 5.31 to 5.38. Note: 53% of record imports in 1953 were destined to Cundinamarca, and 74% in 1956, all the way to almost a 100% in 1974 (83% destined to Bogotá and 16.9% to the rest of Cundinamarca). Similarly, while 32% of needles and cartridges imports were destined to Valle del Cauca in 1951, this region's share decreases by a half in 1962 when 62% of needles and cartridges were destined to Cundinamarca (and 80% in 1971 to Bogotá). The same is evidenced with imports of home use record players: in 1950, 36% were destined to Cundinamarca, followed closely by Atlántico and Bolivar together with 33%, yet in 1974 a 73% if these imported commodities are destined to Bogotá. Notably, in 1963 a share of 88% of imports of this kind of record players is destined to the Colombian island of San Andrés (and only 3% to Cundinamarca), a place declared a duty free port in the 1950s.

[17] See previous foot-note for Appendices with related statistic data. Note: Antioquia was the official destination of 31% of records in 1949, 16% of record players in 1950, and 15% of needles and cartridges in 1951; and Atlántico and Bolivar of 16% of records in 1949, 33% of record players in 1950, and 16% of needles and cartridges in 1951.

not maintained in the following years (except as a destination for needles and cartridges).[18]

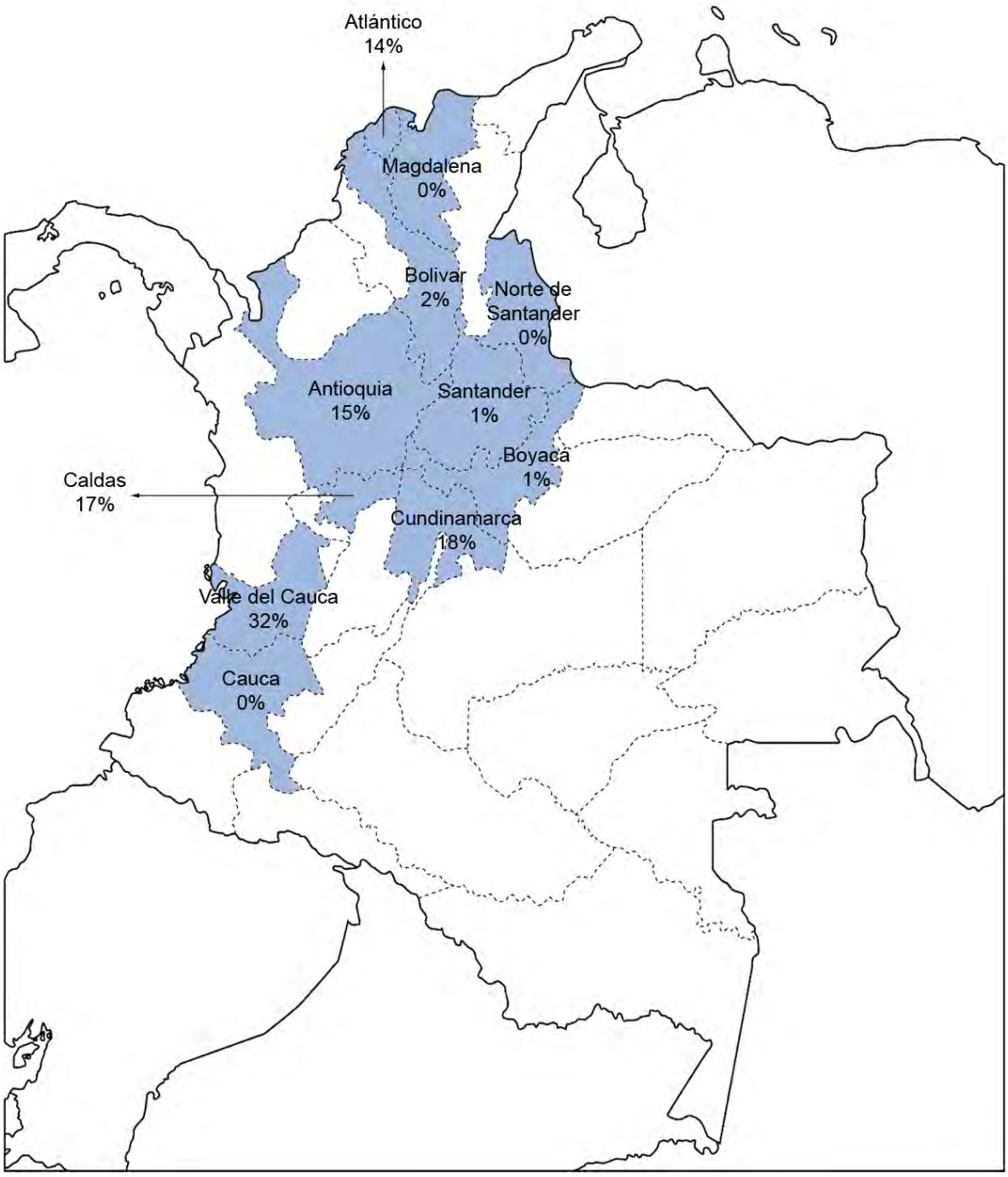
Figure 5.10 - Internal destination of record imports (1949, 1953) - Percentage of import value.



Data source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia.* Note: total imports of $357 thousand pesos in 1949, and $1.9 million in 1953.

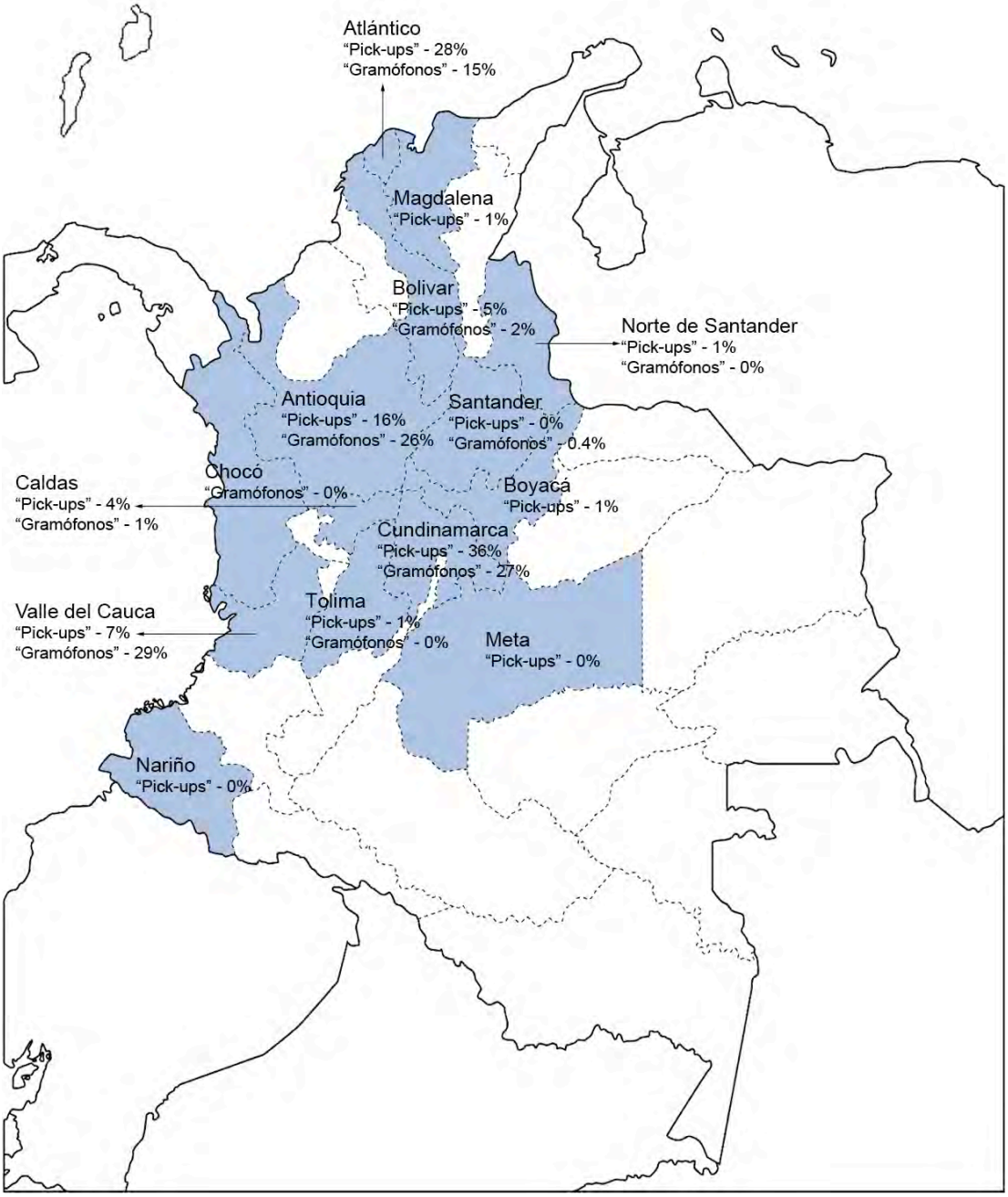
[18] For statistics on origin and internal destination of imported "gramófonos" (gramophones) see Appendices 5.49 to 5.50; for records see Appendices 5.7 to 5.15; for needles and cartridges see Appendices 5.26 to 5.30. Note: Valle del Cauca was destined 22% of record imports in 1949, 29% of "gramófonos" in 1954, and 32% of needles and cartridges in 1951 (17% in 1962, 12% in 1971).

Figure 5.11 - Internal destination of needles and cartridges (1951) - Percentage of import value.



Data source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia.* Note: needles and cartridges total imports of $197 thousand pesos in 1951.

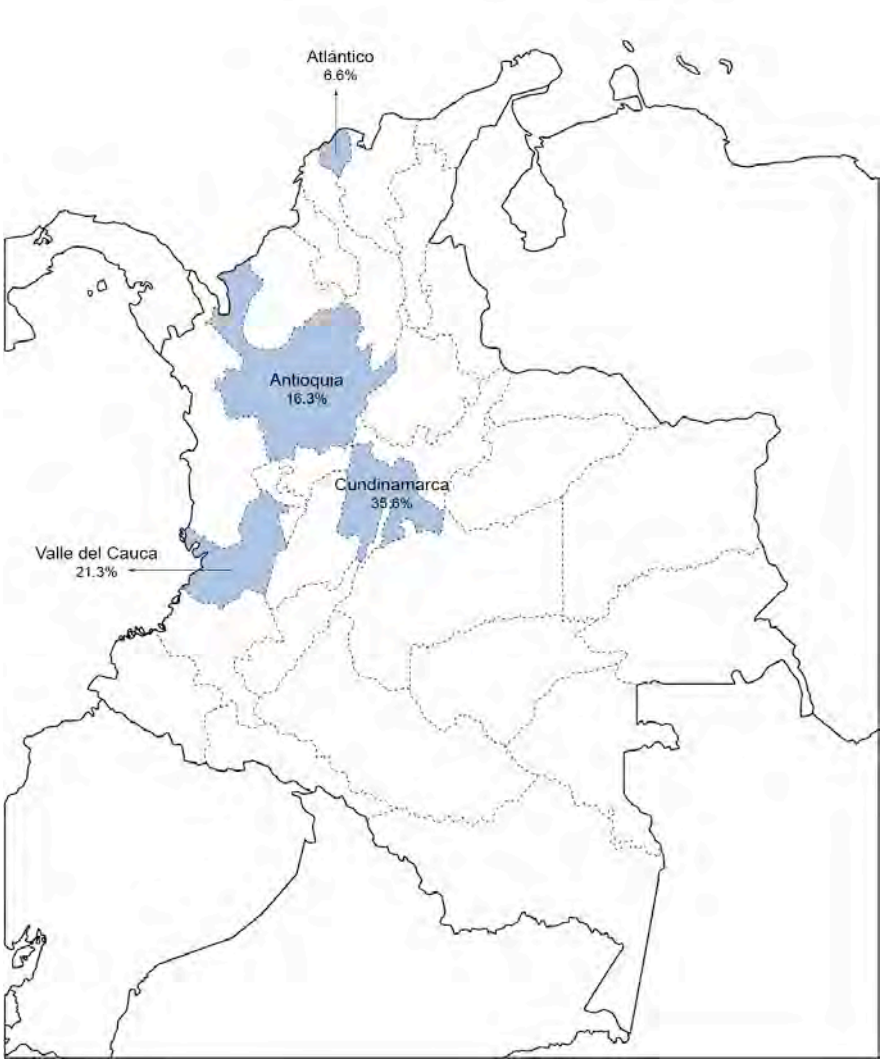
Figure 5.12 - Internal destination of "pick-ups" for radios (1950), and "grámofonos" (1954) - Percentage of import value.



Data source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia.* Note: "pick-ups" total imports of $906 thousand pesos in 1950, and "gramófonos" total imports of $1.1 million in 1954.

An analysis of the regions of destination of jukeboxes within Colombia reveals the same kind of pattern of the commodities dealt with above: Cundinamarca was the leading destination during early 1950s, followed with lesser but important shares by Valle del Cauca and Antioquia; but by 1963, 87% of jukebox imports are destined to Cundinamarca, and the remaining 13% to San Andrés islands. The pattern of jukebox imports does reveal a couple of idiosyncratic features: in 1955 Caldas appeared as a new player among the destinations with higher shares (even though there is no data for posterior decades); and in 1974 the pattern is completely changed, with Risaralda as the destination for 57% of imported jukeboxes and Antioquia for 41% (together sharing a bit less than the totality).[19]

Figure 5.13 - Internal destination of "traganíqueles" (1953, 1954, 1955) - Percentage of import value.

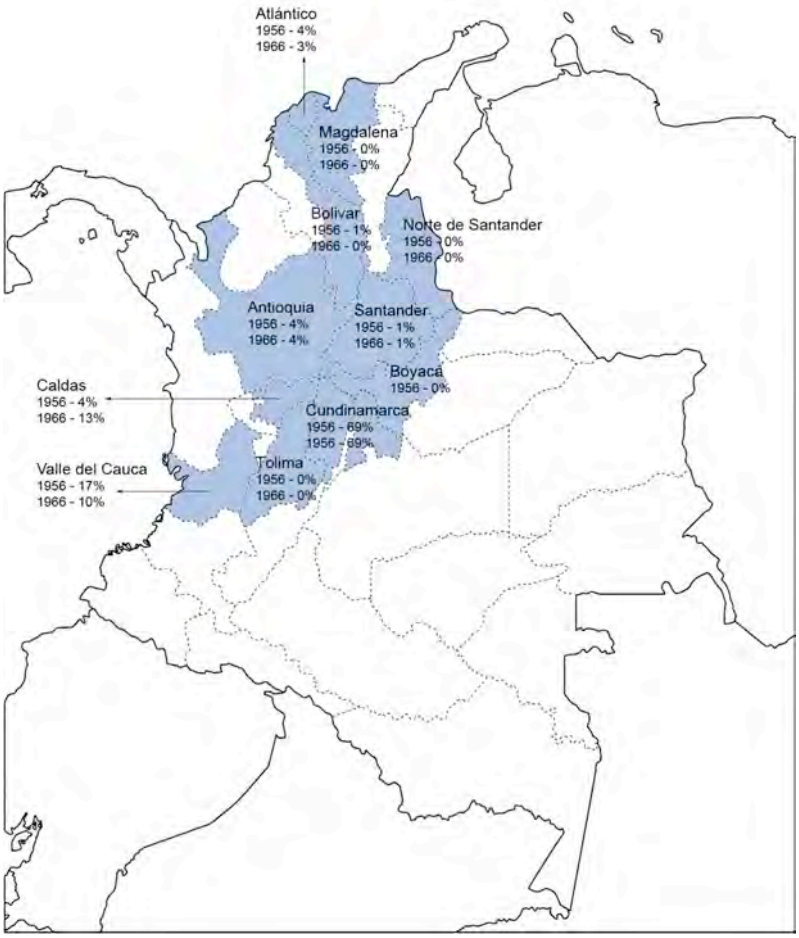


Data source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia.* Note: "traganíqueles' total exports of $ 647 thousand pesos in 1953, $1.4 million in 1954, $471 thousand in 1955, and $438 thousand in 1963.

[19] For statistics on origin and internal destination of imported "traganíqueles" (jukeboxes) see Appendices 5.39 to 5.48. Note: In 1953, 43% of jukebox imports were destined to Cundinamarca, 25% to Valle del Cauca, 18% to Antioquia, and only 6% to Atlántico and Bolivar together; but in 1963, 87% were destined to Cundinamarca (plus 13% to San Andrés). Between 1953 and 1955 Cundinamarca's share decreased a bit; at the same time that Caldas rose from 8% to 32% (the latter department also registered 17% of needles and cartridges in 1951, and 11% in 1962). The year 1974 evidences a noteworthy change tough: Risaralda with 57.4% of jukebox imports destination and Antioquia 41.1%, together account for almost the totality.

Interestingly, and significantly in the light of later chapters, imports of commodities that can be deemed as parts and pieces, of the likes of electric tubes for radios and disassembled speakers for different sorts of sound hardware, evidence a different pattern. While most imports of speakers and tubes are destined to Cundinamarca in 1954 as well as in 1964, during the 1970s a decrease in the region's share is evidenced at the same time that Valle del Cauca registers competitive levels, followed by Risaralda, and to a lesser extent by Antioquia.[20]

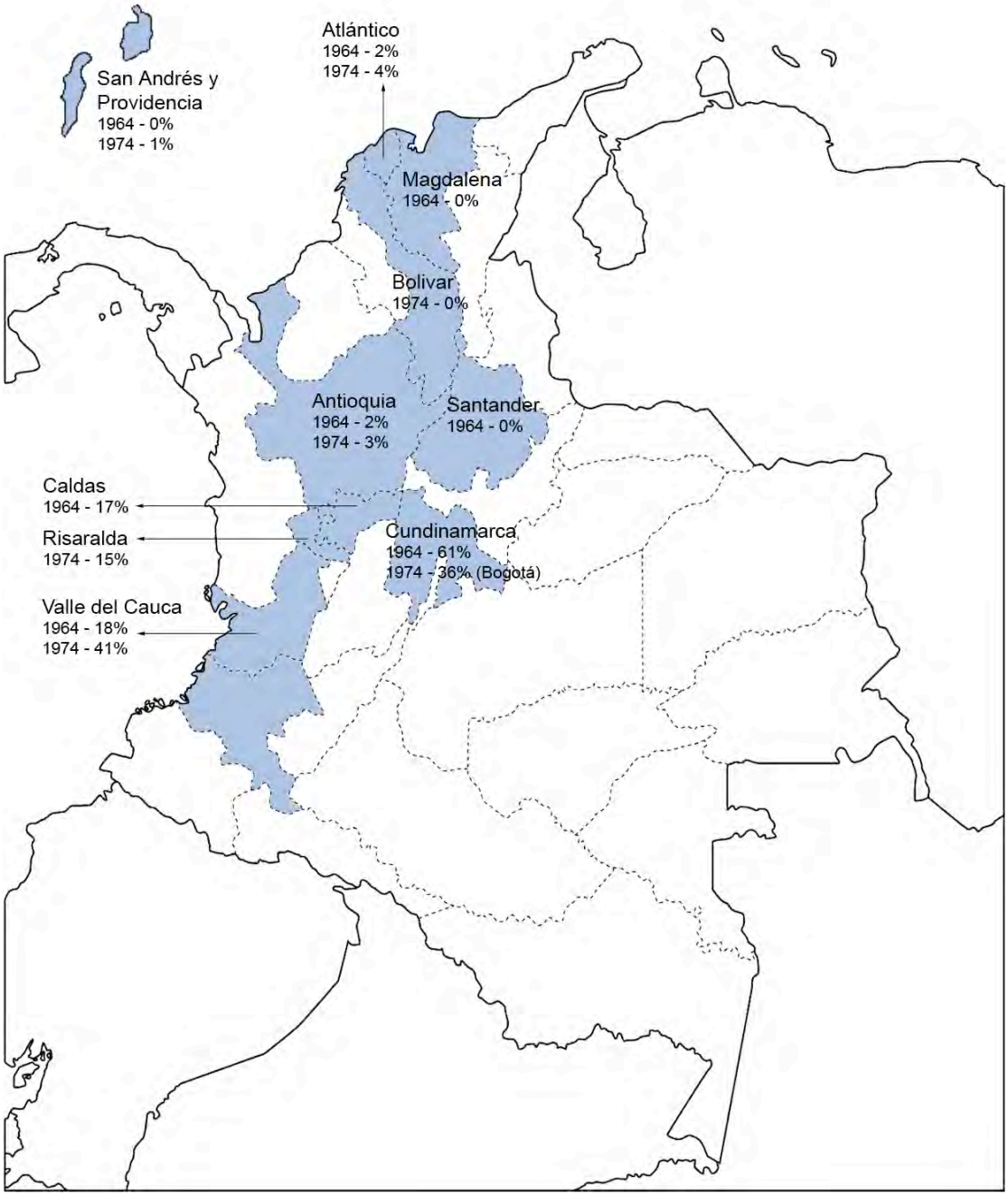
Figure 5.14 - Internal destination of electric tubes for radios (1956 and 1966) - Percentage of import value.



Data source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia.* Note: total electric tubes for radio imports of $3.3 million pesos in 1956, and $15.5 million pesos in 1966.

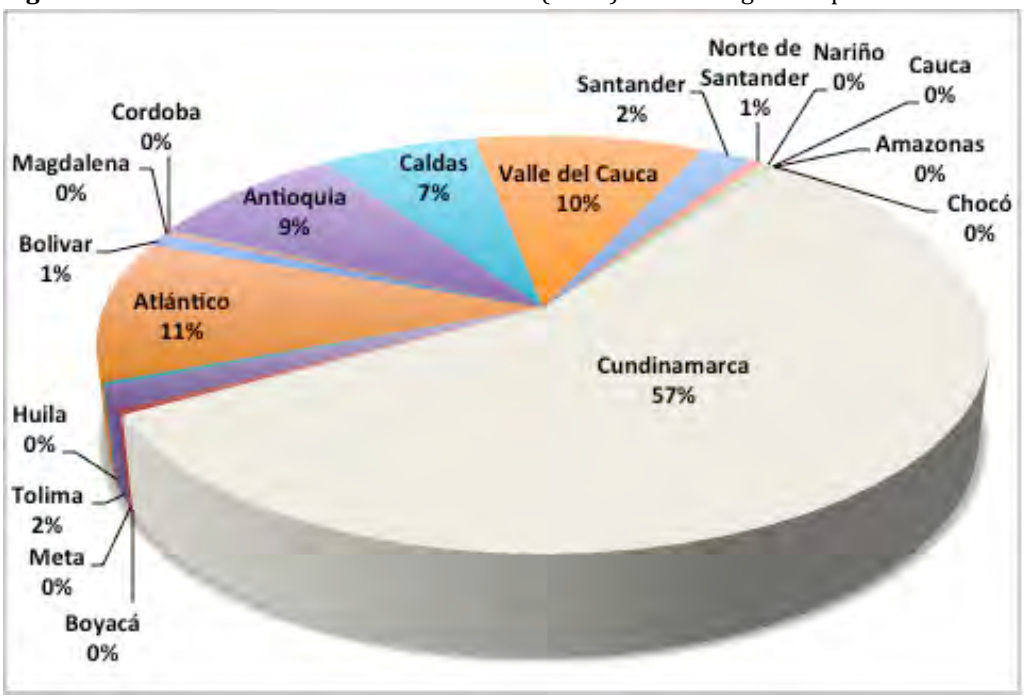
[20] For statistics on origin and internal destination of imported speakers see Appendices 7.3 to 7.9, and for electric and electronic parts, tubes for radios and transistors see Appendices 7.10 to 7.21. While in 1956 Cundinamarca was the official destination of 50% of imported "speakers, microphones and the likes", and of 61% of disassembled speakers in 1964, by 1974 only 36% of these speakers are destined to Bogotá. Valle del Cauca, second in 1956 with 28% of imported "speakers, microphones and the likes" decreases to 18% of imported disassembled speakers in 1964, but recoups to 41% of the latter category in 1974. Additionally, Caldas was fifth place in 1956 with only 3% of imported "speakers, microphones and the likes", but in 1964 was disputing second place with Valle del Cauca with 17% of imported disassembled speakers; also while there no 1974 data for Caldas, the neighbouring Risaralda registers 15% in that same year. Antioquia 7% in 1956, is situated below Atlántico and Bolivar's 10% in 1956, and shares of both regions fall to 4% or less in 1964 and 1974. Behaviour of internal destination of imports of electric tubes for radios is similar: Cundinamarca registers 69% in both 1956 and 1966, yet its share decreases to 42% in 1979. Caldas achieves a second position in 1966 with 13%, and while there is no data for 1979, neighbouring region Risaralda, enters as a new player in 1979 with 29%. Valle del Cauca's share drops slightly from 17% in 1956, 10% in 1966, and 14% in 1979. Atlántico and Bolivar's share is 4% or less in all three dates, while Antioquia that registered 4% in both 1956 and 1966, increases to 14% in 1979.

Figure 5.15 - Internal destination of disassembled sound speakers (1964 and 1974) - Percentage of import value.



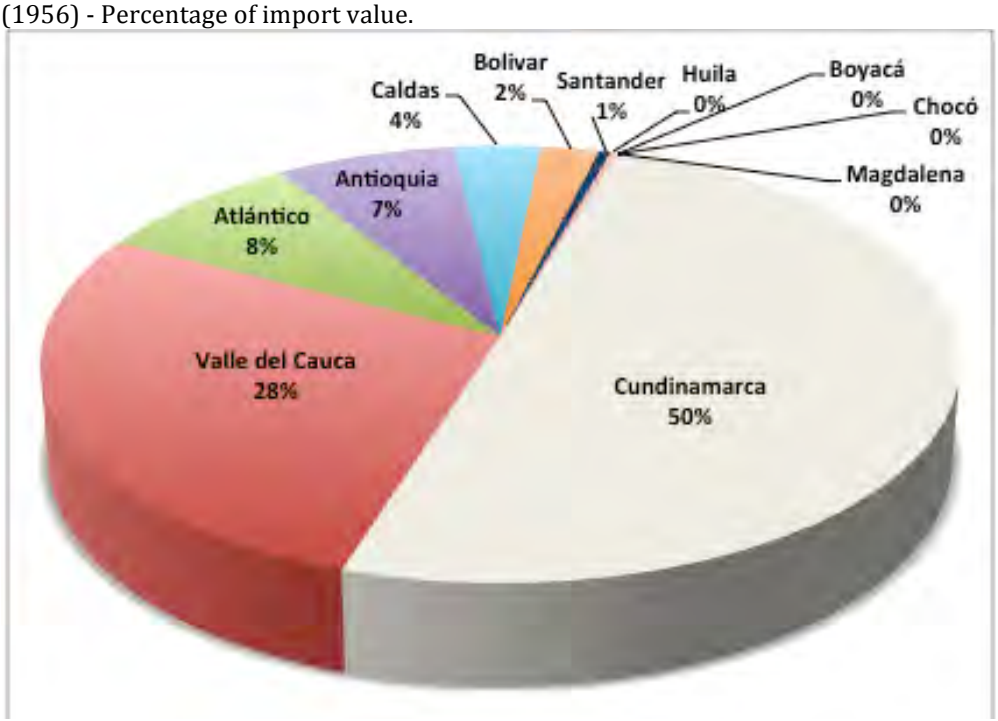
Data source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia.* Note: total disassembled sound speakers imports of $3.7 million pesos in 1964, and $8.4 million pesos in 1974.

Figure 5.16 - Internal destination of radio sets (1954) - Percentage of import value.



Source: ACE 1954. Note: total radio import value of $7.7 million pesos in 1954. Note: for statistics on origin and internal destination of imported radio sets see Appendices 5.55 to 5.62.

Figure 5.17 - Internal destination of imported speakers, microphones and the likes (1956) - Percentage of import value.



Source: ACE 1956. Note: speakers, microphones and the likes total imports of $2.3 million pesos in 1956. Note: for statistics on origin and internal destination of imported speakers, microphones and the likes see Appendices 7.10 to 71.

2. Two distinct economic moments—1949 to 1956, and 1956 to 1963—and fundamental tensions of free-trade vs. industry protectionism, importing restrictions, and contingencies

The period in which this research explores the consolidation of recording industry in Colombia is significantly contextualized within the tensions generated by opposed interests of powerful economic groups in the country. As Sáenz Rovner (2002, p18) explains, on one side stood "big industrials, conservative from a political and social point of view, determined on a policy of staunch protectionism", and on the other "an axis of coffee businessmen and export-import traders, close to the Liberal party and to free-trade policies." Safford and Palacios (2002, p297) note how these tensions were expressed in the sphere of economic policy by a changing and undefined "hybrid economic policy with elements of protectionism and free-trade" that characterised the era between 1945 and the 1970s.[21] Adding to the same argument, Sáenz Rovner (1990) and Palacios (2006) underline how these contradictions intensely permeated bi-partisan politics, and were at the base of a period that is remembered as *La Violencia*, a bloody phase of severe political violence between leaders and followers of the Conservative and the Liberal parties, which concentrated in the Andean region.[22]

These social tensions allow differentiating two distinct moments within the late 1940s to early 1960s time span of focus of this research, associated to the international commerce situation and to State control of imports, that are highly relevant for the analyses in later chapters. As Kalmanovitz (1985, p383) points out, customs-duty reforms of 1950 implemented high tariffs for finished goods and lower ones for raw materials. A few years after, commerce of coffee reached a historical 1954 peak. Yet, it dropped dramatically after 1956 in the context of a substantial fall of international price of coffee, associated to the entry of new competitors in the business as Brazil, which had significant incidence on the fall of General Rojas Pinilla from presidential power (Ibid, pp408-411). Afterwards, as Villar and Esguerra (2007, p103) explain, the country entered an era of "great restrictions" on imports, that was in good part motivated by a worrisome foreign currency scarcity, which required a complex system of tariffs of different levels and prohibited lists, which were a constant matter of debate during the time, as can be promptly evidenced in the pages of *La República* newspaper from Bogotá during the 1950s.

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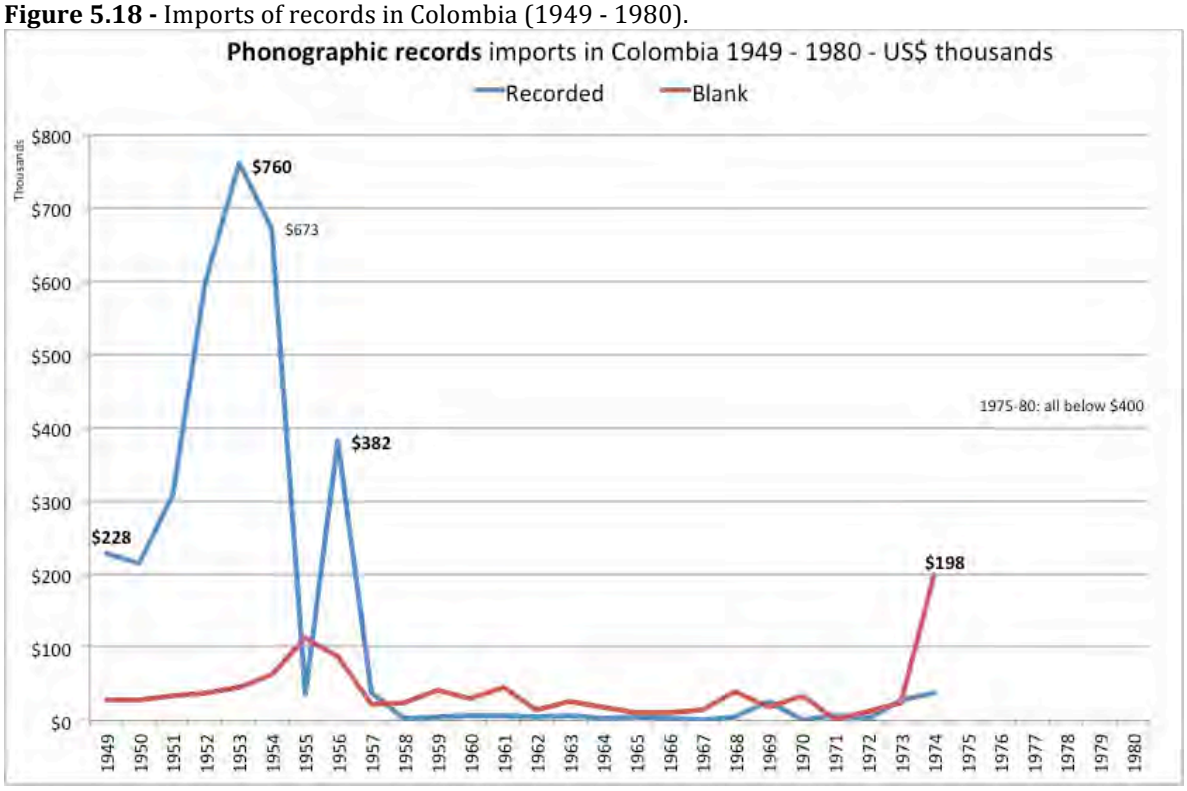
[21] In their own words: "Free trade, advocated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, was favored within Colombia, particularly by coffee growers and exporters. But Colombia, while attempting in these years to diversify its exports, also pursued a policy of inward development, that is one of protected development of industry inspired by the Economic Commission of Latin America." (Safford and Palacios, 2002, p297).

[22] It particularly intensified in the late 1940s when Conservatives gained back presidential power (ending the *Liberal Republic* political period of the 1930s and 1940s), and encompassed the governments of Mariano Ospina Perez, extreme rightist Laureano Gomez and the Conservative military dictatorship of General Rojas Pinilla. *La Violencia* phase extended until the mid 1960s, after it found political resolution with the *Frente Nacional* (an agreement consolidated in 1957 between leading Conservative and Liberal parties on taking turns in the presidential seat, among other elements).

Therefore, the crisis of coffee business of mid 1950s can be understood as breaking point during the specific 1949 to 1963 period studied here. This breaking point allows differentiating two distinct moments during these years, considering the effects of the changing economic and political situation on commerce and industry at large in Colombia, which later chapters explore specifically in the sphere of production of recording and sound technology business in the country. Considering the above remarks by economic, social and political historians of the Colombian 20th century, we deal with an example of a breaking point in what is known as Kondratiev's long waves of boom and bust in economy, and particularly with the *intercycle* in a Braudelian economic *conjuncture*.[23] All these works—Kalmanovitz, 1985; Sáenz Rovner, 2002; Safford and Palacios, 2002; Palacios, 2006; and Villar and Esguerra, 2007—also allow a characterisation of the two moments, which will in fact structure the analysis developed in posterior chapters. The reader will find that these two moments are readable in the graphic shown in Figure 5.14, which shows official data on imports of records since 1949.[24]

Figure 5.18 - Imports of records in Colombia (1949 - 1980).



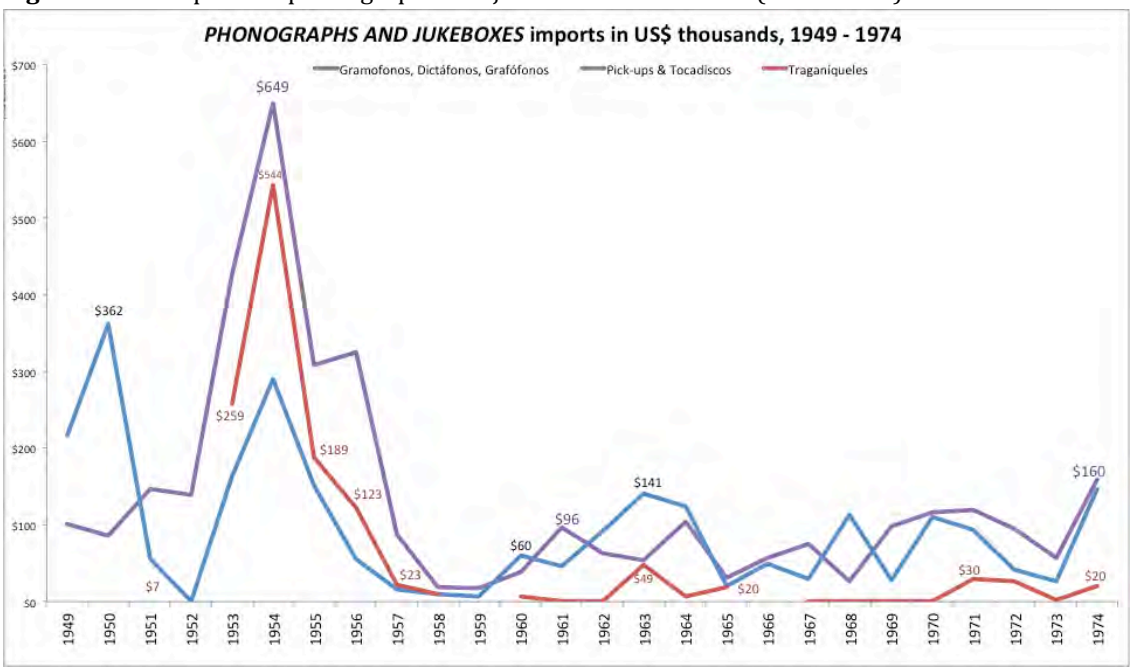
Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia*, 1949-1974.

A **first moment** can be traced from 1949 to 1956. While the initial spark in an explosion of recording companies that will be examined later, was set by a record import prohibition instated in 1949 under Conservative president Mariano Ospina, these ideal protectionist conditions for domestic recording companies didn't make it through the government of Laureano Gomez, who took office in August 1950. Some months later, in April 1951, it was announced that record producers intended to address the government on the matter, and plea for it to "impede imports of foreign records with the aim of

[23] See: Hobsbawm (2005, p312), Bud, (2009, p254), and Cheng (2012, p114).
[24] For statistics on origin and internal destination of imported: records see ces 5.7 to 5.15.

protecting national industry".[25] A few months later they formally expressed concerns about a decreasing "enthusiasm" in record buyers, and about lack of support by the government. In spite of their complaints, the government authorised free importation of records, at the same time that it obstructed that of jukeboxes and record players, a measure that according to them, hampered their possibilities of expanding markets.[26] This certainly created adverse conditions for a new sector of domestic record producers, while favoured those in the business of importing and distributing foreign records locally.

Figure 5.19 - Imports of phonographs and jukeboxes in Colombia (1949-1974).



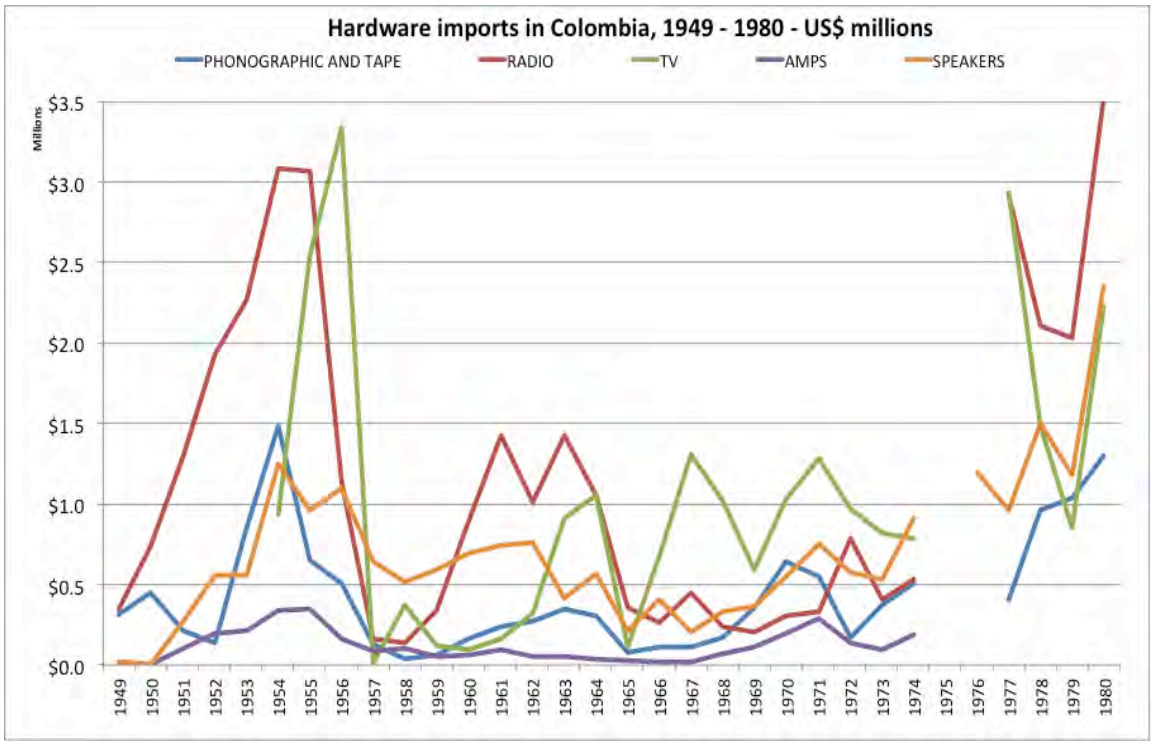
Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior*, *República de Colombia*, 1949-1974.

Import deregulation advanced even further with the advent of Rojas Pinilla military conservative/populist dictatorship in June 1953. As Saenz Rovner (2000, pp151-2) explains, relations between ANDI (association and lobby arm of industrials) and Pinilla´s government were fundamentally tense. The latter questioned protectionism, insinuated the potential nationalization of companies, planned tax increases for industry, as well as reforms in policies regarding working conditions feared by industrials. While maintaining control through tariffs, and claiming that companies with a "reason for existing" would be protected, the governmental list of import prohibitions was supressed on February 13th of 1954. This in great part resulted from the political pressure of FENALCO (Colombian association of traders) and of FEDECAFÉ (Colombian association of coffee producers and traders), as it served their interests. But was also derived from the interests of military president Pinilla, known for a distinctive interest in developing media technology which required different sorts of imported goods, and equally remembered for his excesses with imports of other kinds. This situation is quantitatively reflected in a set of graphs provided below: specifically by as a short peak of imports that roughly went from 1954 to 1956, and after which these fell radically. [See Figures 5.19 to 5.21]. After a dramatic fall

[25] *El Diario*, Medellín, April 11, 1951, p2. [My translation]
[26] "La Guerra de los discos", *El Diario*, Medellín, June 6, 1951, p7.

in the international price of coffee in 1956, Rojas Pinilla changed his policy discourse by claiming "the need to industrialize the country", and to reinstate strict import restrictions (Saenz Rovner, 2000, pp160-161). By the end of that year, the government announced a new list of prohibited imports in which both phonographs and records, "grafófonos, discos", plus their raw materials were included.[27]

Figure 5.20 - Imports of sound technology hardware in Colombia (1949-1980).



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior*, *República de Colombia*, 1949-1974.

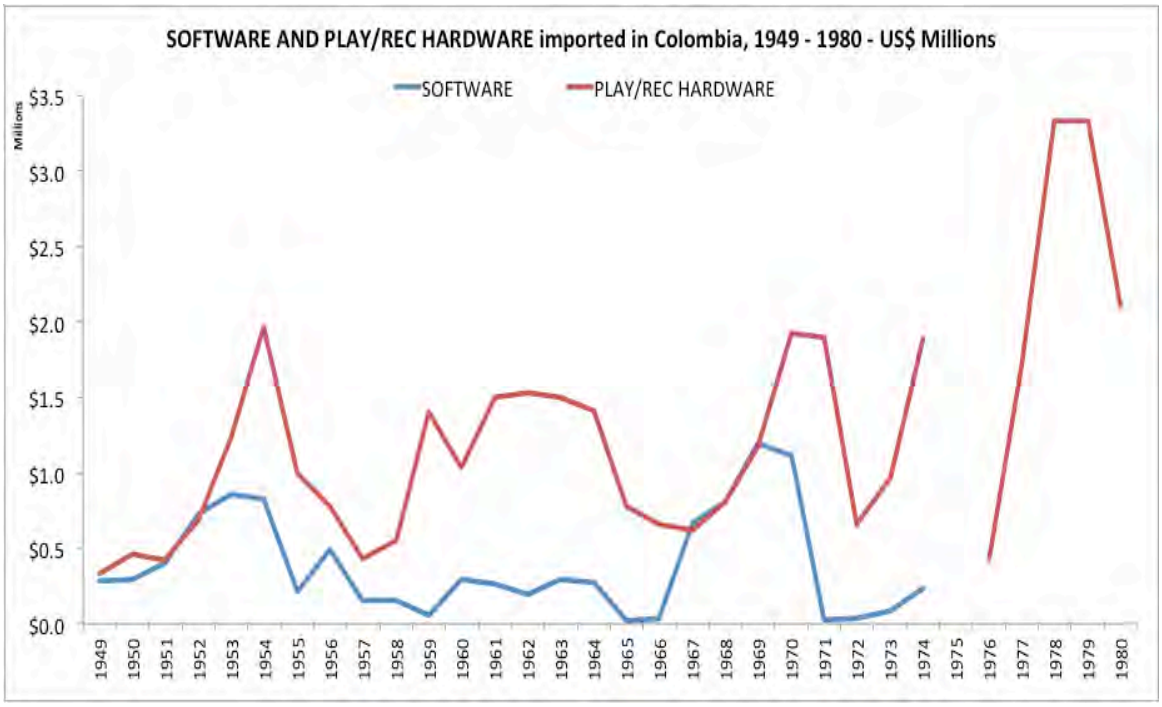
Following from the above reviewed events, a **second moment** can be traced from 1956 to 1963. It is marked by the international commerce and political events referred previously, with related conditions of tight import restrictions, low exports, and foreign currency scarcity. Since then, as a will explore in later chapters, domestic recording companies and a new sector of sound hardware domestic "assembly", benefitted from import substitution and industry development policies, that were in part the result of a contingency, and of the political influence of the strong industrial sector represented by ANDI. The mid 1950s breaking point that marks this second moment, also implies changes in the relations between the different sorts of players involved in recording and sound technology industries during the time. Later chapters will present some examples and will analyse those changes, along with others taking place under a new economic policy situation.

With these two political economic moments in mind, Chapter 6 will concentrate mostly on analysing the first moment sketched, i.e. the period between 1949 and 1956, along with

[27] "Lista de prohibida importación", *La República,* Bogotá, November 4, 1956, p1, 12, 14. Note: Raw materials are not specified.

the decades that preceded it. Specifically, it will analyse in detail the changes in mode of production of domestic players involved in the record business: from an early *proto domestic recording industry* phase during the 1930s and 1940s, to the first half of the 1950s national explosion of record companies, during which a gradual increase in technological capacity took place. Afterwards, Chapters 7 and 8 will concentrate mostly on the analysis of events and processes related to the second moment delineated, i.e. the period from 1956 to 1963, in particular the different sorts of changes in the structure of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia, and the changes in the relations between different kinds of players involved.

Figure 5.21 - US$ value of phonographic and sound technology imports in Colombia (1949-80).



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia*, 1949-1974. [28]

[28] Note: "software" includes recorded or blank phonographic records and matrixes, and all magneto phonic kinds.; "hardware includes" all phonographic and tape hardware and their parts and pieces.

3. An attempt at measuring the economic size of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia: via imports data

Finally, for the sake of some quantitative reference, I will present valuable data derived from official import reports of the second half of the 20th century, used in previous pages.[29] It allows constructing a provisional and useful estimate of the economic size of recording and sound technology business in Colombia, and of its variation from 1949 to the late 1970s, from the particular angle of import values. Figures for the years during which import restrictions were markedly lax—particularly from 1953 to 1956—are of special usefulness for the sakes of an appraisal of the economic size under such conditions, given they represent an increased level of international commerce activity. As Figure 5.21 evidences, during those years the value of software imports (including records, matrixes, and other magneto-phonic carriers) was below US$1 million, while imports of all phonographic and tape hardware and their parts and pieces were of the order of US$2 million, i.e. more than double the economic size of the first kind.

Now, the chart offered in Figure 5.22 was constructed meticulously and through long hours of thorough work, expecting to achieve a comparative picture of the economic size of imports related to both recording industries—or the *software side* of audio industries—and to sound technology industries—or the *hardware side* of audio industries.[30] The task involved aggregating different categories in various numbers of the Colombian national official imports report *Anuario de Comercio Exterior* [International Commerce Yearly], which as the years passed constantly changed names, disappeared or were disaggregated into various related new categories. Yet, I was able to produce a satisfactory appraisal of the economic size of imports related to those industries, which allows comparing both between their two mentioned *software and hardware sides*, and between three different periods: 1949 to 1956; 1957 to 1967; and also 1968 to 1974, thus expanding a bit the picture beyond the time span of this research. Doing this from the angle of imports is relevant, due to these comparative possibilities, and particularly in the light of later chapters, which evidence the prominent roles of players involved in the distribution and retail of foreign records and hardware in the nascent domestic recording and sound technology industries, and their interlacing with different other players.

Considering the mentioned drastic increase in the control of imports since mid1950s, a policy also characteristic of the 1960s in Colombia, a fascinating finding of this quantitative exercise is that the overall total of imports related to recording and sound technology industries does not decrease with the passing of time, but precisely the

[29] These figures are of course a matter of debate. Firstly, because the source *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia* is an official report from the country's national level audit office, which might be put under scrutiny. Secondly, because it involves the revision of around 25 different yearly reports, in which commodity categories change, and in which the print is sometimes blurred and very difficult to read.

[30] Millard (2003) uses the term "audio industry" in his "history of recorded sound" in a way that encompasses the two-fold object of study of this research to which I refer in this text as "recording and sound technology industries". I use then the term "audio industries" to denote both recording and sound technology business, adding the plural as a subtle way to underline their characteristic complexity, which is discussed in Chapter 1.

opposite. The total value of these kinds of imports grew staunchly from US$39.8 million for the 1949-1956 period, to US$164.9 million for 1957-1967: in other words, total imports quadrupled.

Figure 5.22 - US$ value of phonographic and sound technology imports in Colombia (1949-1956, 1957-1967, 1968-1974).

1949 - 1956

PHONOGRAPHIC RECORDS	$8,832,436	
MATRIXES AND STAMPERS		
MAGNETIC TAPE AND OTHER SOFTWARE FOR REC	$3,419,208	
SOFTWARE		$12,251,644
PHONOGRAPHIC AND TAPE HARDWARE	$18,765,086	
PARTS AND PIECES FOR PHONO AND TAPE	$8,741,794	
RADIOPHONOGRAPHS	Not disaggregated yet	
PLAY/REC HARDWARE		$27,506,880
TOTAL SOFTWARE + PLAY-REC HARDWARE	$39,758,524	

1957 - 1967

PHONOGRAPHIC RECORDS	$2,254,629	
MATRIXES AND STAMPERS	$766,391	
MAGNETIC TAPE AND OTHER SOFTWARE FOR REC	$53,042,528	
SOFTWARE		$56,063,548
PHONOGRAPHIC AND TAPE HARDWARE	$17,548,756	
PARTS AND PIECES FOR PHONO AND TAPE	$39,271,317	
RADIOPHONOGRAPHS	$52,022,917	
PLAY/REC HARDWARE		$108,842,990
TOTAL SOFTWARE + PLAY-REC HARDWARE	$164,906,538	

1968 - 1974

PHONOGRAPHIC RECORDS	$3,772,264	
MATRIXES AND STAMPERS	$2,125,454	
MAGNETIC TAPE AND OTHER SOFTWARE FOR REC	$98,873,781	
SOFTWARE		$104,771,499
PHONOGRAPHIC AND TAPE HARDWARE	$59,500,950	
PARTS AND PIECES FOR PHONO AND TAPE	$37,565,522	
RADIOPHONOGRAPHS	$97,066,472	
PLAY/REC HARDWARE		$194,132,944
TOTAL SOFTWARE + PLAY-REC HARDWARE	$298,904,443	

Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior*, *República de Colombia*, 1949 -1974.

The imports of play/rec hardware commodities behaved in the same way, growing a bit more than four times from US$26 to US$109 when comparing the same periods. Now, if you look specifically at the "phonographic records" category, the behaviour is not at odds with the policies of import restrictions, since they decreased from US$8.8 million during 1949-1956, to US$2.3 in the next period.[31] Nevertheless, when one looks at the figures in the overall category of "software"—which aggregates phonographic records, with matrixes and stampers used in the production of records, and magnetic tape and other types of software for recording sound—a trend of growth is once more revealed: imports of sound recording software of different kinds increased from US$12.2 million between 1949 and 1956, to US$56 million during the 1957-1967 period.[32]

There is indeed a three year difference in the duration of the two first periods sketched and analysed, yet, the substantial proportions of increase sustain the overall picture of a strong tendency of growth. The matter posed by the analysis of these figures is certainly counterintuitive, and perhaps bewildering. Nevertheless, as later chapters will explore, explanations for such behaviour can be found in domestic companies' unavoidable need for technology and raw materials produced abroad. A parallel explanation, can be the unfolding of a sector of players involved in the *assembly* of sound hardware, particularly after mid 1950s, who used parts and pieces produced in foreign countries (and some produced in Colombia) to domestically assemble them into consumer commodities whose imports had been banned or highly restricted by the State. The category "Parts and Pieces for Phono and Tape" in Figure 5.22, was constructed by aggregating different commodity classifications in State import registers which were specifically noted as such, and related to different forms of sound hardware, either phonographic or magneto-phonic. The data obtained, reveals a dramatic increase from US$8.7 million during 1949-1956, to US$39.3 between 1957 and 1967: i.e., parts and pieces for phonographs and tape based sound hardware quadrupled, following the same pattern exhibited by total imports of sound hardware and software related goods. Also, the data evidences that parts and pieces account for around 23% of total imports during the first two periods, and for 13% during the later.

Finally, based on the figures presented above as an appraisal of the economic size of recording and sound technology industries, it is significant to deploy a simple comparative analyses between the commodities counted as software and those as hardware. [33] The data on Figure 5.23 evidences that the relative sizes of

[31] There is a later increase to US$3.8 million during 1968-1974, which suggests questions about the import restrictions for future research.

[32] And kept growing during the next period.

[33] It is true though, that the angle of imports provides a partial appraisal of the economic size of the entity explored, even though when debating the exercise one should have in mind certain features evidenced in later chapters. Since the 1930s, and during the late 1940s to mid1950s period, players in domestic recording business operated in two main ways. On the one hand, by sending master recordings abroad for the different processes needed to produce actual that were shipped back to Colombia and registered as imports. On the other hand, by sending master recordings for the production of stampers (moulds used to press record domestically), that later were also shipped to Colombia from abroad, and registered as imports. Additionally, before mid1950s when the domestic mass operation of sound hardware assembly by

software/hardware imports remain almost the same during the three periods: overall they reveal a steady proportion, in which the *software side* accounts for one third of the valued of imports, while the *hardware side* accounts for two thirds; in other words, hardware is double the economic size of software.

Figure 5.23 - Relative economic size of software vs. hardware imports, 1949-1977 (US$).

	Total S + H	Sofware side	%	Hardware side	%
1949-1956	$ 39.76	$ 12.25	31%	$ 27.51	69%
1957-1967	$ 164.91	$ 56.06	34%	$ 108.84	66%
1968-1974	$ 298.90	$ 104.77	35%	$ 194.13	65%
Totals	**$ 503.57**	**$ 173.08**	**34%**	**$ 330.48**	**66%**

Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior*, *República de Colombia*, 1949 -1974.

Philips de Colombia took off, the domestic market was fed, to a limited extent perhaps, by a small number of machines assembled in radio repair shops and places of the likes, and also by a strong sector of importers and distributors of electro domestics which included sound hardware and records in their trade. Consider then, that during the 1949 to 1956 moment a considerable share of records circulating in Colombia were imported (including those by domestic labels and those by foreign), and that most sound hardware was as well. Furthermore, keep in mind the dependence on foreign phonographic technology through which Colombia recording and sound technologies unfolded during the whole period studied, and the myriad licensing agreements with foreign labels that also involved shipping master stampers or tapes that were as well registered as imports. In other words, domestic production and imports were continuously interlaced during the whole period, of course with varying degrees and modalities.

Chapter 6. The establishment of Medellín as the capital of Colombia's phonographic industries: changes in mode of production from the 1930s and 1940s, to the 1950s

In this chapter I argue that during the 1950s a systemic change in the mode of production of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia consolidated. In this task, based mostly on secondary sources, I will firstly delineate a previous situation during the 1930s and 1940s in which importer-distributors of records and sound hardware or domestic "agents" of multinational companies, were central players among others that conformed what I called a *proto domestic recording business*, which depended highly on paid for phonographic processes provided by foreign companies. Secondly, I will move on to characterize the mode of production that gradually consolidated since late 1940s and during the 1950s in which "fábricas de discos" or record factories, as they were commonly called during the time, were the central new players. The process of change from the previous situation involves a gradual process of in-country availability of the different technological infrastructure, methods, and materials needed in the different steps for the production of records, including: recording studios for cutting masters, facilities for the production of stampers, pressing plants in which stampers are used to melt plastic material into records, and the domestic availability of the latter raw material. Thirdly, I will evidence that a fundamental trait in the consolidation of the new mode of production, from an early stage, is a plethora of international licensing agreements through which domestic companies pressed and commercialized recordings by a diversity of foreign labels, from Latin America and the Caribbean, US, Europe and the UK.

At different points, I will evidence different kinds tensions involved in the process of change during the 1950s, including: the struggles of record companies for protection against imported records, and at the same time for allowing imports of particular raw materials not available in the country; the competition between the emerging companies, in which those of bigger capital muscle moved faster in increasing their technological capacity. In particular, a fourth section of the chapter will concentrate on the heated differences between two groups of established record companies about the prices for records pressed domestically, in a process that oscillated from the possibilities of establishing an alliance of record companies, to a confrontation that by early 1950s was known as "La Guerra de los Discos" [The war of records]**.** A final section, will argue that in parallel to the establishment of record factories in different parts of the country, a sector of small players in recording business conformed. This involved tensions between different groups of players, as some of the small ventures were described as "independents" that outsourced pressing and distribution services from the main companies, while others were perceived as "pirates" and detrimental to nascent recording industry.

1. From late 19th century record and sound technology importing, to a model of international outsourcing of phonographic technology: 1930s to 1940s *proto domestic recording business*

Firstly, the activities of importers or domestic "agents" for foreign companies from late 19th to the early decades of the 20th century, set the basis for what later, as I argue, conformed an international outsourcing model of music recording. It is worth noting that as early as 1879 the presence of Edison's phonograph has been evidenced in Bogotá, in the central Andean region of Colombia, and few years later in other parts of the Andean region (Bermúdez, 2009, pp120-121). Such was the case in Medellín in 1882 when writer Latorre Mendoza (circa 1930s) recalled posters being set in city corners in 1882, with the words "El Fonógrafo Parlante" [The Talking Phonograph], advertising the exhibition of "the grandiose invention of the sorcerer of Menlow-Park", to which a small group of forty people attended.[1] Later, during early 20th century, the journalist noted there were two main competing shops in Medellín at the time: "Almacén Americano" retailer of "Victor" machines, and a shop owned by "don David Arango" which sold "Columbia" machines. By late 1920s, there is also evidence in Barranquilla about long established "agents for the Victor, Columbia, and Brunswick record companies... and they all sold records and gramophones" (Wade, 2000, p74). The same happened during that decade in Medellín, where the DeBedout e Hijos company ran, among other businesses, the Salón Musical Víctor, which sold different Victor Talking Machine commodities (Arias Calle, 2011, p66).

Arias Calle (2011) remarks how during the two first decades of the 20th century a broad catalogue of Colombian artists and repertoire recorded in foreign phonographic companies was conformed (Ibid, p66). From his description of the process, it can be said that it involved a two-way flow of people and commodities. On the one hand, an out-flow of Colombian musicians was common, as they went on tour abroad and during their travels recorded with main companies—Victor, Columbia, Brunswick and Odeon—either in US, or in México and Argentina where they had established branches. On the other hand, an inflow of "sound equipment and records from the Victor, Columbia, Brunswick an Odeón" brought into the country by traveller and traders. In this way, as he underlines, it was in those labels that the earliest repertoire of music recorded by Colombians was released, and those records had to be imported into the country from main urban centres in US, Mexico and Argentina (Ibid, p66) [My translation]. It is worth noting that while "expeditions" or international recording trips were a common strategy in the global

[1] In: Latorre Mendoza "De la Aldea a la Ciudad Industrial: Cuando llegó el progreso a Medellín", *El Diario*, June 7, 1951. This is an earlier text by Luis Latorre Mendoza (1889 - 1934), a celebrated early magazine journalist and author of several books with chronicles of 19th century Medellín. There is no original date in its 1951 edition in *El Diario*, yet it may have been written between 1929 and 1934 (date of his death), since the text poses questions about a present marked by broadcasting (which started in 1929). It's a short journalistic chronicle mostly based on memories of the author's infancy, even though consistent with archival evidence in Bermúdez (2009). Note that Latorre Mendoza (1951) also mentions the exhibition of a phonograph in 1892, by Panamanian traders Parada Leal y Campos, in a shop owned by the Mesa family, "el salón de los señores Mesa" (Ibid, 5).

expansion of record companies from UK and US, there is not much evidence in previous works about these for the Colombian case.[2]

Secondly, after 1929 when radio broadcasting was first developed in Colombia, some of these local "agents" that formed part of the international recording and sound technology industry distribution networks, are known to have operated beyond their activities as merchants.[3] As different cases show, some were involved in selecting artists to be recorded by their represented companies, as Ezequiel Rosado an agent for the Brunswick company in Barranquilla in 1929 (Wade, 2000, p79).[4] Similarly, initial support to the career of Lucho Bermúdez—iconic Colombian musician and composer of porro music from El Carmen de Bolivar in the Atlantic Coast—was given by José Vicente Mogollón, an RCA Victor agent in Cartagena and Barranquilla in early 1930s (Wade, 2000, p85). Also, as Villa Esguerra (1994, p306) remarks, private broadcasting appeared in Colombia by the end of the 1920s motivated by commercial reasons since "the majority of its promoters were representatives of foreign manufacturers of radios and records."[5] An interesting case is that of Manuel J Gaitán, agent in Bogotá for RCA Victor as well, who advertised the commodities he imported through radio and decided to continue doing so by setting up his own station in 1932 as "La Voz de la Victor" (Ibid, 308). Interestingly, some years later, Emigdeo Velasco a Venezuelan diplomat and RCA Victor and Kodak agent, started another radio station in Barranquilla, under the exact same name in 1936 (Wade, 200, p92).[6] This same entrepreneur, got involved later in forming Barranquilla's Discos Atlantic, which was started between 1949 and 1950 (Wade, 2000, p90).

Secondary sources point out to three main domestic entrepreneurs in recording business since mid 1930s. Recognised as the earliest is Discos Fuentes, a recording company which started operations in 1934 and sprung out of the radio station Emisora Fuente. The latter had been set up two years earlier by brothers Antonio and Rafael Fuentes, as a venture

[2] The "expeditions" of the likes of Fred Gaisberg for the UK based Gramophone Company, since 1902 came to cover different countries in Eastern and Western Europe, Asia and Middle East (Farrell, 1993; Gronow, 1981, 1983), while the "first international recording trip" by William H. Nafey for Victor Talking Machine to México City took place in 1903, and was soon followed by trips to other countries in Latin America (Fischer, 2012, not pag.). Fischer (2012) also evidences that William H. Nafey travelled a second time to México in 1905 for the sakes of doing recordings and later went to Buenos Aires (Argentina) in 1907. Also, two of the Sooy brothers, a family of recording engineers also did some of these early recording trips: Raymond Sooy to Mexico, Cuba, and Argentina between 1908 and 1910, and Harry Sooy to Havana (Cuba) and Mexico City. Among the few well referenced cases about these early recording trips to Colombia is a Victor recording portable machine operating in the Bogotá in 1914, which recorded Wills and Escobar, a popular duo of the city in the time mostly playing bambuco, pasillo and waltz, that later went to represent Colombia at the 1929 exhibition at Seville (Wade, 2000, pp49-50).

[3] See Appendix 6.3 for data on record sales in Colombia from 1921 to 1934.

[4] He met Angel Maria Camacho y Cano, a musician and orchestra director from Cartagena, and through which the musician ended up recording in New York for Brunswick (Wade, 2000, p79).

[5] My translation.

[6] This scheme of baptizing radio stations under a foreign company name continued to be used by many others (*Emisora Philco* appeared in Medellín, and *Emisora General Electric* in Barranquilla), until the government banned this practice on the grounds of fair competition, near the end of the decade (Villa Esguerra, 1994, p308).

that included the *Orquesta Emisora Fuentes* [Fuentes Station Orchestra].[7] Discos Fuentes, according to the company's official history, was started out by Antonio "with a record cutter" and initially recording "acetatos" or laquers that were shipped afterwards to Argentina, and later to US, for the rest of the technological processes necessary for producing records to be completed (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, p39). During the time, Lucho Bermúdez and his orchestra joined Radio Cartagena and also Emisoras Fuentes, with whom the first recordings of his career were made as the station morphed into Discos Fuentes (Restrepo Duque, 1991, p35).[8]

While Discos Fuentes is broadly acknowledged as "the pioneer of phonographic industry in the country" (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, p39) [My translation]—a point specially emphasized in company publicity and official histories—objectively, the company needs to be contextualized among other entrepreneurs that were also recording domestically during the same decade. Other two main entrepreneurs, which as Fuentes became long standing players in Colombian recording industry, are the firm Félix de Bedout e hijos in Medellín and J. Glottmann S.A. in Bogotá, both agents and distributors for RCA Victor.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the family of Félix de Bedout, whose businesses had roots in 1889 and constituted since 1914 as the firm Félix de Bedout e hijos, were an early main player in distribution of records and sound technology centred in Medellín. They had a long standing relation as agents of Victor Talking Machine and the later RCA Victor, for which they were exclusive distributors in Medellín and the Antioquia region (Arias Calle, 2011, p75, 77).[9] By 1916 they had set head quarters for their different activities in the recent building Edificio Bedout, which among other departments hosted a luxurious exhibition and retail shop for sound hardware, records and related accessories known as the "Salón Musical Víctor" [Victor Musical Hall] (Ibid, p77). Archival evidence presented by Arias Calle (2011, p92) points out that during the turn from 1939 to 1940, Félix de Bedout in partnership with Hernando Téllez got started as entrepreneurs in the recording business, backed by their association with the US multinational. After they imported a "recorder" in 1939, by February 1940 the media announced the arrival of "the first discs recorded in Medellín" to the "Salón Musical Víctor" which had been pressed at RCA Victor's plant in Camden, New Jersey. While giving recording engineer credits to

[7] Antonio Fuentes lived and studied in US during the 1920s where he also managed to learn about new electric recording technologies. He started as a "radioaficionado" [amateur radio or ham radio] in early 1930s (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, p34), and with his brother Rafael Fuentes started the radio station "Emisora de los Laboratorios Fuentes" in 1932, as a commercial outlet for the pharmaceutical company owned by his family in Cartagena. A few years later it was re-baptized as Emisora Fuentes (Ibid, p37), in which musical repertoire was central, combining classical music programs with "porro, gaita, mapalé y cumbia" played live or from early recordings (Ibid).

[8] "They were records registered in acetates in Cartagena and then processed in the United States. That way he achieved his first recording which, he says, was the porro 'Marbella'" (Restrepo Duque, 1991, p35). [My translation]

[9] See Chapter 5 for more information on the complex interlacing of businesses by the firm Félix de Bedout e hijos whose activities and interests diversified and grew extensively since early 20th century and came to form part of a complex and powerful economic group based in Medellín (Álvarez, 2002, pp230– 244).

Hernando Téllez, it was also highlighted how "the recorder only makes the matrixes, leaving the main part of the work" to the US associates.[10]

A third main early domestic player in recording and sound technology business was the firm J. Glottmann S.A**.** It was started by Jack Glottmann a Rumanian immigrant that arrived in Colombia in 1929 and worked as a merchant importing different sorts of goods (and whose company carried on until it closed in late 1990s). By 1935 he started "La Casa de la Radio" [The House of Radio] in Bogotá, and as the business grew it involved new partners and constituted into the cited society, which based in Bogotá, encompassed a broad chain of shops with several branches: from Tunja in the Andean region, to the Atlantic Coast. [11] J. Glottmann S.A. imported and distributed different kinds of commodities, including sewing machines, fridges, freezers, and other electro domestics, and photography equipment. Also, and most importantly, the company was another major importer of sound hardware and records since the 1930s, and since then it was also engaged in promoting classical music through sponsored radio shows and live theatre performances (Téllez, 1974, pp71-72). During early 1940s, as Restrepo Duque (1991) claims, J. Glottmann S.A. ventured into producing commercial recordings, based on the recording facilities of radio stations, and also by sponsoring artists to travel abroad to record: such was the case with Lucho Bérmudez and his "Orquesta del Caribe", who had moved to Bogotá and started a recording agreement with Glottmann in 1943. Intitially, they made domestic recordings at "La Voz de la Víctor" radio station, and then between 1946 and 1951 traveled to Argentina, México and Cuba to record for RCA Victor, for which the J. Glottmann S.A. were also agents and distributors (Ibid, pp36-37).[12]

Hernándo Tellez (1974), in his insider history of radio in Colombia, underlined that only four players concentrated the means for producing music recordings in Colombia from mid 1930s to early 1940s, which consisted mostly of RCA machines, or "cortadoras" [cutters] that recorded "acetatos" [lacquers or acetates]. Along with one in Medellín, owned by Tellez himself since 1939 in association with Félix de Bedout, and another owned by Antonio Fuentes since 1934 in Cartagena, a couple more were operating in two radio stations in Bogotá during the early 1940s: as all the previously mentioned, one of those was an RCA cutter owned by "La Voz de Bogotá", and the other was a Fairchild cutter owned by "Emisora Nueva Granada" (Téllez, 1974, p74).

As the author notes, during the 1940s radio broadcasters in Colombia kept an ear on "the short waves to hunt news and events of importance which they retransmitted directly or

[10] In "Discos 'made in Medellín'", *Micro* (1), February 15, 1940 [cited in Arias Calle (2011, p94)]. These early recordings involved radio stars of the time, as sister Martha and Inés Domínguez, the bambuco duet Ospina y Martínez, and the pasillo and tango singer Colis Londoño (Arias Calle, 2011, p92).

[11] "J. Glottmann empresa sin cuota inicial", *El Tiempo*, Bogotá, January 20, 1991. Available from http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-12530 [Accessed 5 January 2018].

[12] A series of records were made initially, "the first... was a new version of the porro "Marbella" with "Eternamente" a bolero on the B side, with Orquesta del Caribe and the voice of Maruja Yepes.. Abroad, it is noted that he recorded, "música costeña" as porro and cumbia (Ibidem).

recorded in acetates" (Ibid).[13] Also, from the case of J. Glottman, it is evident that some of those record cutters were used to provide recording services to other players. The Colombian case is resonant, with what Millard (2005) describes for that of the US: "[a]s radio grew in popularity during the depression, so did the amount of recording carried out in broadcasting studios. Radio stations were to become major users of recorded-sound technology in the 1930s", and it is noteworthy that "[m]ost of their recordings were made on discs". For radio broadcasters "[r]ecording and reusing their programs was an economical way to get the most out of the money spent on live performances", and this was made using "[s]pecial recording equipment... to make *transcriptions* (Ibid, p172) [Italics are mine]. Millard (2005) also notes how during a post WWII explosion of independent record labels related to the rise of rock'n'roll in US, "[r]adio studios often provided recording facilities… [and commonly] a friendly local radio station might be persuaded to loan out its microphones, amplifiers, and transcription recorders" (Ibid, p225). In such context, "one-shots" in the guise of "an entrepreneur who found a likely singer or song, bought a few hours of studio time, and paid a factory to press a thousand records", operated in parallel to record labels (Ibid, pp229-30).

From the above broad description of different players operating from late 1920s to the 1940s in Colombia, one can abstract and propose the idea of a *proto domestic recording business*, which unfolded during the same period described as one during which a broad shift to an "electrical era" of sound recording technology happened (Ibid, pp115-330). It was characterised in Colombia by the interlacing of "agents"—most of them related to RCA Victor from US—which were merchants of imported records and sound technology (among many other goods), as well as early entrepreneurs in recording business and in the sector of radio stations that emerged during the time. Their interlacing was centred on the use of a scarce number of sound recording machines, which were apparently concentrated in a limited handful of owners of "record cutters" or "transcript machines". These machines were able to produce "acetates" or laquers of master recording quality, which was the only part of the record production process available domestically at the time. A *proto domestic recording business* was therefore almost entirely based on the international outsourcing of phonographic technology and processes, and operated through a model in which recordings were made in Colombia, then exported abroad for the execution of the remaining processes of mass reproduction, and later returned to the country as imports of "foreign" records.

It is worth noting a series of evident and significant characteristics of the 1930s to mid 1940s period, abstracted from the reviewed secondary sources: i) The relations between "agents" of international recording companies and early phonographic entrepreneurs with radio broadcasting industries are heterogeneous: some, but not all, formed radio stations, while others used radio as an advertising service and in some particular cases, as providers of music recording services. ii) It can not be stated that there was a dominant pattern of integration between phonographic entrepreneurs and radio industry. iii)

[13] My translation.

People in radio industry played mostly the role of allies or business partners of recording business entrepreneurs during this *proto domestic recording business,* but very rarely a role of enemies, as happened in US (Laing, 2013; Huygens et al., 2001). iv) Regarding the case of Emisora Fuentes from which Discos Fuentes was formed during first half of the 1930s, it is is worth noting that the radio station served as a start-up business, but it was later sold in order to develop the label. As the official history of the company underlines: "the participation of Antonio Fuentes in radio broadcasting, would only be another step, a necessary road to create an industry" of recordings (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, p37). v) Finally, it is also relevant to note that main radio stations formed during the time and developed as national networks during the 1950s and 1960s did not form or merge with record companies.

Some of the above points contrast sharply with conceptions that simply assume that Colombia followed the US radio-phonographic model of the 1930s. For Rendón Marín (2009, p54) the Colombian case is explained as the result of following the business model of "northamerican radio-discographic industry".[14] Additionally, this idea resonates in Bermúdez (2008, p223), who extending an argument about the history of radio in Colombia by Reynaldo Pareja (1984) assumes that:

> This model that combined effectively the radio and the phonographic industries—was rapidly adopted in Colombia and by 1936 some distributors of the RCA Victor Company around the country (in Bogotá and Manizales) founded their own stations. Antonio Fuentes, who in 1932 established his Emisoras Fuentes in Cartagena and two years later Discos Fuentes—the first Colombian recording company—also followed this model strictly (Bermúdez, 2008, p223).[15]

I will not extend here on critiquing the idea of Colombian radio broadcasting following the US model argued in Reynaldo Pareja (1984), but I will certainly point out that such history should be understood instead considering Briggs and Burke (2009) remark that the "British and American systems were only two of many broadcasting systems which evolved during the 1920s and 1930s. There were *many hybrids*, as there always were in telecommunications" (Ibid, p203).[16] The same idea should be brought forward regarding music recording and sound technology business in Colombian from the 1930s to the 1940s. Considering the different secondary sources reviewed so far, it appears inaccurate and misleading to assume lightly that a US "model that combined effectively the radio and

[14] His work is part of musicological approaches whose main interest is music and repertoire, and that pay little attention the history of recording and sound technologies, for which they list very little bibliography.

[15] [My translation] On Discos Fuentes he had previosuly pointed out its model as exemplary: "Discos Fuentes in Cartagena and its combination of an orchestra and a radio station following the northamerican model " (Bermúdez, 1999, not paginated).

[16] This seems only rational considering: the important involvement of the State, particularly since the 1930s and importantly during 1940s to 1960s (as well as today) with Radio Difusora Nacional noted by Silva (2005); the catholic based Acción Popular (ACPO) organization, which developed a far reaching program of mass education for rural population through broadcasting since 1947 with Radio Sutatenza, a matter explored by Rojas (2009); and also considering Álvarez Morales (2003) analysis of the complexity of capital interlacing of businesses in Medellín during the 19th and 20th centuries, in which he notes how commercial broadcasting in Colombia involved manufacturing industry capital since its early days of the 1930s, in particular La Voz de Antioquia station in Medellín which later became Caracol, the second main national commercial network, "Cadena Radial Colombiana (Caracol)" (Ibid, 231).

the phonographic industries" was the one followed in Colombia (Bermúdez, 2008, p223). There are of course similarities, and the relationship of US companies with domestic recording industry is foundational and continuous (as I will evidence later), but most certainly there are important specificities to the Colombian case when compared with global models sketched for the 1930s and 1940s era.[17]

On the one hand, relations between different players during the 1930s and 1940 that can be deemed as *radio-phonographic* were of diverse kinds (as I have discussed above), and certainly different in nature and scope from those relations in US during the time which Millard (2007, pp158-17) describes as dominated by "empires of sound". With that term he stresses that powerful phonographic, radio and sound technology conglomerates were formed through merging big corporations, among other reasons as a strategy response to the effects of 1929 economic depression. The complex capital interlacing in which Victor Talking Machine and Radio Corporation of America conformed into RCA Victor, is certainly not the same case of Discos Fuentes, which used a small radio station as its start-off platform and sold it later to concentrate in recoding business. Even more, Fuentes is the sole case cited by Bermúdez (2008) and Rendón Marín (2009) to assume that Colombia simply followed the radio-phonographic industry model of the US by the book.

The case of Fuentes, changing from a radio station to a record company during the 1930s evidences not a process of integration, but one of actual dis-integration between these spheres. Traders or "agents" involved in importing and distributing what can be called "radio-phonographic" commodities, were key players in the period as explained earlier,[18] but their relations can hardly be compared to the complexity of RCA Victor's pattern. On the other hand, it is worth stressing how in contrast with the US historical process, the case of Fuentes was also markedly different: the allegedly first Colombian record company started in mid 1930s, was formed precisely during a crisis of the business in the Western centres of the world; furthermore, it sprung out of a radio station, interestingly during a moment in which radio was considered a threat to recording companies in US (Laing, 2013; Huygens et al., 2010).

[17] For Laing (2013), the period between 1920-39 is a phase marked by the rise of radio and the post 29 global depression, which motivated realignments of corporate structures, and various transfigurations, during a time when radio was perceived as an enemy of the interest of the business of selling music record (Ibid, pp34-37). A situation that changed in the period from 1940 to 1959: one of remarkable expansion of recorded music, economic growth, rise of new independent players, and changes in the relation with radio (Ibid, pp37-39). Huygens at al. (2001), based on patterns of behaviour and competition between main players in US, UK and Europe, characterises the 1930s as a decade marked by "competition from radio", a relation the started to shift towards strategic alliance since the early 1940s. The first part of the 1930s was one of several years of crisis: "Due to the Great Depression and the success of radio broadcasting as a substitute form of entertainment, record sales fell from 150 million units in 1929 to 25 million in 1935, forcing many small recording firms and a few big ones out of business" (Gronow, 1983, cited in Huygens et al, 2001, p989). This was originally noted by Garofalo (1999, p329), who explained that the advance of commercial radio after the First World War was experienced as a threat to recording industry in US, as it initially "lessened the appeal of records".

[18] See Appendices 6.4 and 6.5 for lists of import-distributors-retailers of records and also of jukeboxes active in Colombia during 1949-1963.

2. From the first "record factories" in the Atlantic coast during late 1940s, to the gradual end of a model of international outsourcing of phonographic technology during the 1950s

A significant process of change in the mode of production of music and sound recordings in Colombia started taking place in late 1940s when the first pressing plants were installed by Discos Fuentes, followed by other players in the Atlantic Coast, starting a national level explosion of "fábricas de discos" [record factories], a term commonly used in the time to refer to companies that could record their own music and that had the means for pressing records. As explained in previous chapters, the phenomenon which I will explore in the following pages focused in the 1949 to 1956 period, is contextualized within a global explosion of new record companies, an advanced stage of domestic industrialization hand in hand with high population growth and urbanization, in which players benefited from protective and import substitution economic policies.

Discos Fuentes in Cartagena, upgraded its operation after a decade in the record business with the addition of record pressing technology in 1945 (Pelaéz and Jaramillo, 1996, p41), and was soon followed by two new companies with the same standards in Barranquilla: "Industrias Fonográficas Discos Tropical" started operating in 1948, and "Organizaciones Plásticas Eléctricas 'Atlantic' Ltda." in 1950. This pioneering group of "fábricas de discos" in the main cities of Atlantic Coast region, was closely followed by new companies in the main cities of the Andean region.[19] There, among the earliest were Industria Electro Sonora Nacional Ltda. Sonolux and Discos Silver, both operating since 1949 in Medellín, and also Zeida (which later changed its name to Codiscos) in the same city, and Sello Vergara in Bogotá, both established in 1950 (Wade, 2000; Rendón Marín, 2009; Arias Calle, 2011).[20]

By late 1949, *El Diario* newspaper celebrated how with "the government's decision of controlling imports of records to the extreme... it seems that the industry of national recordings, that Toño Fuentes started in Cartagena many years ago, has definitely been born."[21] Based on a systematic revision of primary sources from the years 1949 to 1956, I have evidenced a total of sixteen [16] "fábricas de discos" operating during that period in different parts of the country, which I mapped in Figure 6.1 [See next page]. Most were started during these years (with the exception of Fuentes and Tropical), and their records were commonly reviewed or mentioned by the press in Medellín, as well as by other printed media in Bogotá.[22]

[19] Wade (2000, p277), reports "eight record factories in existence in Colombia, producing 110,000 records a month" listed in: *Semana*, Bogotá, December 30, 1950, p26.
[20] Restrepo Gil (2012, p67), notes that Silver in Medellín started a bit earlier than Sonolux in 1949.
[21] "La 'Sonolux' ha Iniciado la producción de discos y será la primera en calidad", *El Diario*, Medellín, September 14, 1949, p2. [My translation]
[22] See Appendix 6.1 for a detailed inventory of these sixteen companies. Rendón Marín (2009, p90) states that by 1958 there were [14] "fábricas" valued in $15 million Colombian pesos, yet he doesn't provide the specific source(s) or the method used for his appraisal. My figure of sixteen record companies denominated "fábricas", in fact could be slightly higher adding more primary sources to the inventory.

Figure 6.1 - "Fábricas de discos" whose releases reached the Medellín market (1949-1956).

Data source: *El Diario*, Medellín, from 1949-1956. See Appendix 6.1 for a detailed inventory of these sixteen companies.

Firstly, it is worth pointing out that the geography of this explosion of domestic record companies, which the press celebrated as a properly established "industry of national recordings", is evidently limited to the Atlantic Coast and Andean regions of the country, a matter that resembles long term historical patterns of the geography of centres of power in Colombia since colonial times (See: Safford and Palacios, 2002, or Bushnell, 1993).

Secondly, it should be clarified that while most of the sixteen "record factories" in the inventory operated with their own pressing plants since 1949/1950, others started out by pressing abroad or with other domestic companies, as they gradually increased their phonographic technology capacity, a matter in which importing heavy weight pressing plants was a fundamental and costly step.[23]

Thirdly, from the perspective of music journalism in Medellín—which continuously covered phonographic activity with reviews of records, news about the companies, and end-of-year chronicles— between 1954 and 1956 a leading group of eight [8] record factories had established within this nascent sector, due to their frequent and numerous releases: **Sonolux**, **Zeida** (Codiscos), **Ondina**, **Silver**, and **Fuentes** in Medellín (whose main operations had moved out of Cartagena by then), **Sello Vergara** in Bogotá, and **Atlantic** and **Tropical** in Barranquilla. [See Figure 6.2] Fourthly, and overlooked by previous researchers, along with all these "fábricas de discos" I also evidenced a total of thirty [30] small players that released records in Colombia from 1949 to 1956 (by pressing them and distributing them through other companies, domestic or foreign). These constituted a sector of small or independent players distinct from that of leading record *factories* with pressing capacity, which is explored in detail in later pages.

Figure 6.2 - Eight main record factories in Colombia: Medellín music journalism (1954, 1956).

Atlantic Coast	*Medellín*	*Bogotá*
Tropical (Barranquilla) Atlantic (Barranquilla) Fuentes (Cartagena)	Sonolux Codiscos (Zeida) Ondina Fuentes Silver	Sello Vergara

Source: *El Diario*, Medellín, December 22, 1954, p2,7; Ibid, December 19, 1956, p 2. Note: Fuentes was started in Cartagena in 1934, but moved main operations to Medellín in 1954. Zeida was started in 1950 but changed its name to Codiscos in 1954 (keeping Zeida as one of their labels).

[23] See Appendix 6.1 for the earliest reports gathered for the different sixteen companies. Evidence from 1954 points out that by then, Sello Vergara still pressed records in US (See: *El Diario*, Medellín, July 21, 1954, p2,7). I found little detail about Vergara, and no specific mention about when they import and operate their own record presses. It is possible as well, that even if they had some presses in 1954, they were going through circumstances similar to those of Discos Fuentes in the same year, which due to their own presses' limited capacity to cope with actual demand for records, also produced some records abroad (a matter evidenced in the next page). Similar is the case of Victoria from Cali, about which I have little evidence: even though by 1955 they were pressing records with Ondina in Medellín, this might have been a way to reach the Medellín market easily (and in any case, as evidenced in Chapter 8, the company contributed presses and copious phonographic technology to re-establish the company in Medellín in 1963). For the cases of Marango, Cifuentes, Lusar, Rico, or Alejandro Amaya Márquez I found no specific information about their pressing plant capacities.

With the broad picture sketched above in mind, in the following section, with further use of primary sources, I will argue that a new mode of production in music recording business in Colombia, gradually consolidated since late 1940s and during the 1950s. In this process, the main new players were domestic "fábricas de discos" [record factories] in the Andean and Atlantic coast regions, which experienced (as evidenced above) an explosion from late 1949 to mid 1950s. A significant change from the 1930s to 1940s model of production was achieved, in a process in which the whole range of phonographic technology processes and materials needed became available domestically, therefore leaving behind the previous dominant model based on international outsourcing of technology. Nevertheless, at the same time that a new mode of production unfolded, countless licensing agreements between domestic players in recording business and a plethora of international recording companies (mostly from Europe, US and Latin America) was a central feature in the operation of main record companies (as explored later in this chapter).[24]

2.1 A gradual increase in technological processes available domestically

While recording machines can be understood as a central locus of power during the 1930s and 1940s, based on the above description of a *proto domestic recording business* in Colombia, there are other key technologies in the unfolding of this new model. From late 1940s to mid 1950s, the different processes and materials necessary for the production of records became gradually available domestically, and it was covered by music journalism as a matter of competition between the different new companies that emerged and consolidated during those years. I will explain this matter as a series of steps in domestic technological availability.

The setting up of pressing plants addressed so far, which is a technology implied in the common use of the term "fábricas de discos" [record factory] during the 1950s, is the fundamental first step in this gradual process of technological change.[25] Another relevant step was the establishment of facilities for the production of "stampers", which were exact copies of the master recording, but negative (in the same sense of photography film), used in high temperature record presses to melt plastic material into the form of a record. A "stamper" can be understood as the actual material form of what Attalli (1985, p128) conceptualized as "the mold", which for him was the central element of a "repetitive

[24] See Appendix 6.2 for primary sources information on publishers active in Colombia between 1949 and 1963, a matter outside my focus of interest in this thesis, but waiting for future research. Also see Appendices 6.6 to 6.8 for more primary sources information on record company staff, a list of significant events during the period, and other players involved in domestic record business.

[25] For in depth research on this specific matter it is worth having in mind that technological advances by international big software/hardware companies implied that new machines replaced those with older technology, which as Sanjek and Sanjek (1996 [1988], p32) suggest were sold in second hand markets. As they annotate, after launching publicly the new LP format with microgroove technology in 1948 the US Columbia company: "cancelled all promotion of 78-speed popular disks, including the weekly transcribed disk jockey show. The Cincinnati plant was shut down preparatory to its sale, and all existing 78-speed presses were put on the second hand market".

economy" developed by recording companies. It is the result of a process of various steps of copying from the original recording cut in an acetate, until various copies of a negative version of the disc recording are made in a thick, metallic, durable and high temperature resistant material.[26]

Through music journalism in 1950, both Discos Tropical in Barranquilla and Discos Fuentes in Cartagena had claimed to be the first in the country capable of producing their own "stampers" for LP format records. In November that year, reacting to an article in Bogotá's newspaper *El Espectador* which reported the initiation of stamper production by Discos Tropical as the country's first, Antonio Fuentes claimed that his "planta de galvanoplastia" [electroplating plant] had been working for four months already. Nevertheless, he admitted that he still resorted to outsourcing from US companies in cases of "production excess", which as he noted happened often because by then he was producing an average of one record a day".[27]

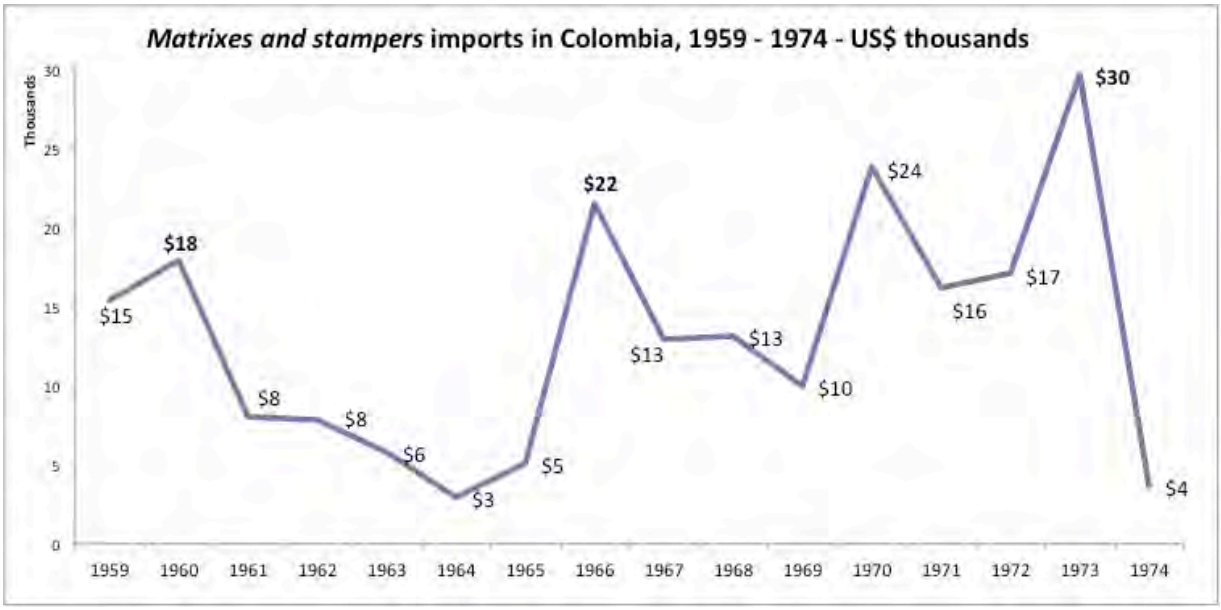
News about the 1949-1950 years of Sonolux are found in a key article reviewing the performance and hits by different labels and companies by the end of 1950.[28] It explains that by September 1949 the recording company had started production in Medellín after being formed on the grounds of an "extreme control" of record imports dictated by national level State, and it operated since 1949 by recording masters or "acetatos" in "La Voz de Antioquia" (the main station of the Caracol broadcasting network), sending them abroad for the production of "stampers" or "matrixes", and then importing them back to Colombia.[29] Later, when in 1952 Rafael Acosta split to form his own recording factory named Ondina (while Antonio Botero his ex-partner carried on with the Lyra label) it was reported they agreed to split "the 'stock' of actual acetates and 'stampers'", and since "la fábrica de galvanoplastia" [plating factory] operated as an independent company, it would since then provide stampers for both record companies.[30]

By the end of 1952, in a discussion related to domestic stamper production it is evident that a group of four companies already had such production capacity: Fuentes and Tropical in the Atlantic Coast, and Sonolux and Zeida in Medellín.[31] The following year, the Zeida company was reviewed as a top national seller, with "the most complete equipment for the recording of commercial records in the country", in possession of "a magnificent pressing equipment", and of its "own electroplating plant which allows it to self-source 'stampers' in a fast and efficient way".[32] Sonolux followed expanding phonographic

[26] For a detailed history of the vinyl analogue record see Osborne (2012).
[27] *El Diario*, Medellín, November 8, 1950, p2, 7. [My translation]
[28] "Resumen de La Producción Fonográfica Nacional", *El Diario*, Medellín, December 20, 1950, p 2, 7.
[29] Another example of a radio station providing recording services during the time is "Emisora Claridad", said to the operating since 1935 in Medellín, and advertising studio services since 1950 for the production of "acetatos". There are also news about acetates with versions of the song "La Mucura", originally recorded by Discos Fuentes in Cartagena, recorded in "La Voz de Antioquia" and being promoted in Medellín's "traganiqueles" [jukeboxes].
[30] *El Diario*, Medellín, June 11, 1952, p2, 6. [My translation]
[31] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 17, 1952, p 2, 7.
[32] *El Diario*, Medellín, January 14, 1953, p2. [My translation]

technology in 1954, with their first 45 rpm records "pressed... with 'stampers' and 'matrixes'" produced by their own factory.[33]

Figure 6.3 - Stamper and matrixes imports (1959 to 1974).



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, Républica de Colombia*, 1959 to 1974.

Determinant events for this matter took place when stampers started to be controlled by National customs authorities in 1954, including them in a new tariffs classification which gave an accurate description of these objects "made on a copper sheet and coated by a nickel layer". [34] The situation progressed by late 1956 with the inclusion of all forms of carriers of sound recordings, including discs and stampers or "plates" (as well as late 19th and early 20th century technologies as cylinders and paper rolls for pianolas), and all forms of "talking machines" or "graphophones" and their parts and pieces.[35] According to available official data presented in Figure 6.3, the value of imports of matrixes and stampers recorded during 1960 was at the low level of US$18 thousand, and dropped sharply during the first half of that decade, down to US$3 thousand in 1964 and US$5 thousand in 1965. They increased though, and came back to an average of US$18

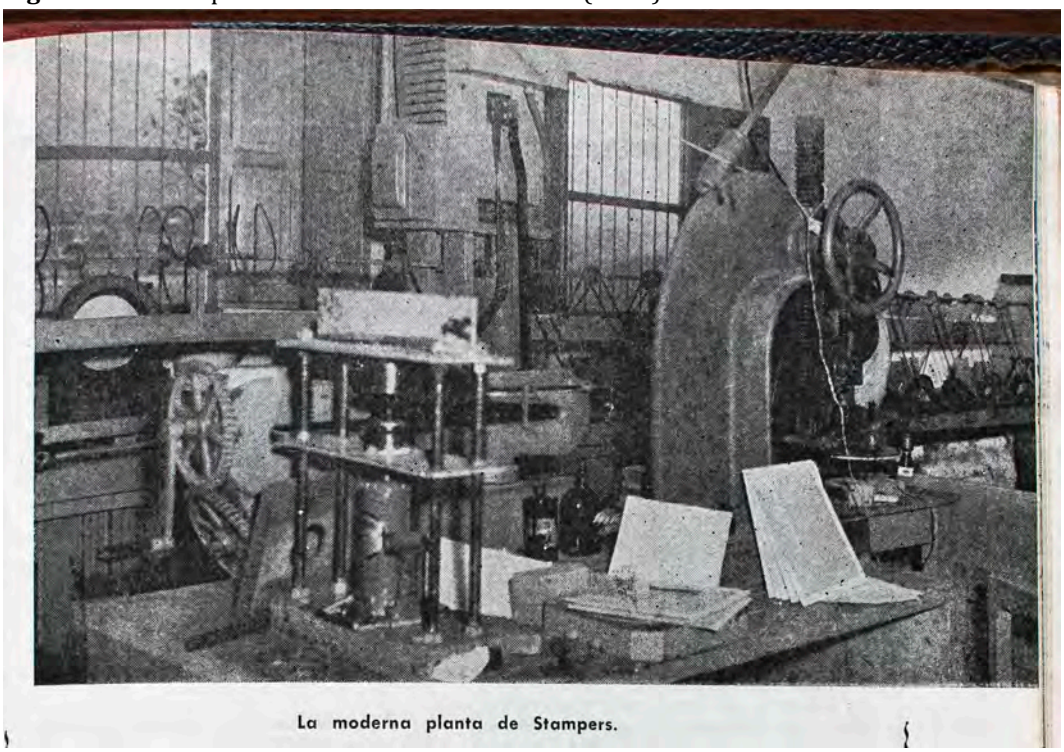
[33] *El Diario*, Medellín, April 14, 1954, p2. [My translation]

[34] *La República*, Bogotá, November 16, 1954, p2. [My translation] It's worth noting that in this reference, changes in tariff classifications were announced for several commodities, including that for stampers, which was named "25-889 Stampers o matrices para la producción de discos fonógrafos [sic], hechos en lamina de cobre y recubiertos por una capa de níquel, 840". The code 25-889, corresponds to the item's previous classification or "número", and the "840" at the end of the sentence to the code, or "posición", in the new classification.

[35] *La República*, Bogotá, November 4, 1956, p1. [My translation] The category cited in the tariffs list is: "943 Grafófonos y máquinas parlantes, y sus piezas sueltas. b) grafófonos y otras máquinas similares c) piezas sueltas, únicamente traganíqueles de música", and "944 Discos de grafófonos, placas, cilindros, bandas, rollos para instrumentos y aparatos de tocar mecánicamente. a) discos para grafófonos: 3) los demás b) otros" (Ibidem). Along with pianos, organs, and several plastic materials or artificial resins, one finds reference to "grafófonos" [graphophones] and their records. For the record, the term "Graphophone" was originally used to name a modified version of Edison's cylinder based phonograph ,developed by Alexander Graham Bell's Volta Laboratory with Chichester Bell and Charles Summer Tainter. It was sold initially by Volta Graphophone Company since 1886, and later by Columbia Phonograph Company, who acquired the rights to produce them during the turn to the 20th century (Morton, 2004, pp16-17, 24).

thousand since 1966 until 1973: with peculiar peaks in 1966, 1970 and 1973, and a drastic drop in 1974.[36]

Figure 6.4 - Stamper section in Codiscos Medellín (1958).



Source: *Economía Colombiana*, 16 (47), Bogotá, March 1958, p615.

It is well known that José María "Curro" Fuentes the family's younger brother started as a collaborator with Discos Fuentes. He received broad formation in phonographic and recording technology while living in the US during the 1950s (becoming a celebrated sound engineer), and also ran the record retail shops named as La Múcura. He also started his own record factory, Discos Currro in Cartagena, with recording studios and pressing plant in mid 1950s (Restrepo Duque, 1991, p35; Peláez and jaramillo, 1996, pp50-52; Wade, 2000, p151). It is worth noting that he had ventured as a label earlier, in parallel to running his record shops, firstly by sending recordings to Ansonia records in the US who produce his early Curro label records, but later as he notes "the factories did the impossible for prohibiting the importation of matrixes, so I had to give that job to Ondina".[37] During early 1954 the Medellín newspapers reported about their relations, noting that Curro records were pressed and distributed nationally by the Ondina company in Medellín.[38]

[36] These peaks in stamper and matrix imports (which fall beyond my period of focus) nevertheless remain at low levels of economic value, but they do stimulate investigative curiosity, and raise questions to be answered by future research.

[37] Radio interview with José María Fuentes 'El Curro' by Álvaro Ruiz Hernández with no date, provided by Discos Fuentes' press office as an audio file and a transcript. See: p16, and pp24-25 of the transcript. [My translation]

[38] *El Diario*, Medellín, February 24, 1954, p2, 6.

The case of Curro remarks that import prohibition of stampers, gave technological monopoly to a set of well developed players by mid 1950s—Fuentes, Tropical, Sonolux, Codiscos (Zeida) and Ondina—so other players previously operating through foreign outsourcing, since then, relied on those domestic companies exclusively for the production of stampers.[39] In mid 1955, Ondina was also responsible for pressing and nationally distributing the domestic label Victoria from the city of Cali.[40]

While main record companies in Medellín initially outsourced recording technology from radio stations, by 1953 a group of main record companies with autonomy in terms of having their own recording studios had conformed, including both record cutting, and significantly, Ampex magnetic recording technology.[41] As evidenced below, by mid-1950s the group included at least six main companies autonomous in phonographic technology in such terms: Zeida (Codiscos), Sonolux, Ondina, and Silver in Medellín, and Tropical and Discos Currro in the Atlantic Coast.[42]

In 1950, more than a decade after Discos Fuentes was started with very limited phonographic technology, Discos Tropical in Barranquilla claimed they had produced the first LP completely made in Colombia, including composition, recording and the production of the "stamper of copies".[43] Some years later, in the turn from 1952 to 1953, Zeida announced the release of the first records produced in recent studios of their own.[44] During that year, Zeida, Sonolux and Ondina record "factories" in Medellín had all

[39] As Curro further explains in the interview cited in the footnote above: "before having the factory I got records pressed in the United States and in some factories in the interior of the country", then, the delays of this process motivated him to set up his own record "factory" named "Fábrica de Discos Curro" in mid-1950s (5':18'' - 5':35''), which he did by selling the chain of shops in order to develop the record company, and by importing presses from the US (4':40'' - 4':55''). [My translation] Wade (2000, p95, 151) notes: "In the mid-1950s, he set up his own studios in Cartagena in the original Discos Fuentes building… often used Sonora Curro, a session orchestra directed mostly by Pacho Galán… In the early 1950s, he began to record artists on an ad hoc basis in the studios of Emisora Nuevo Mundo in Bogotá, releasing the records under the Curro label. One of his first Bogotá recordings was “Te olvidé”… composed and played by Antonio María Peñaloza… In the 1960s, he moved back to Bogotá and began to work with Phillips as an artistic director, recording mostly Costeño artists. Curro records declined from that time and eventually petered out”.

[40] *El Diario*, Medellín, June 15, 1955, p 2, 7.

[41] Based on “[s]amples of the German Magnetophon tape recorders found by the occupying forces in 1945… Ampex and others were persuaded to begin manufacture of professional tape recorders and the 3M corporation went into production of its ‘Scotch’ tape. EMI in Britain similarly designed high-quality console recorders and tapes, which recording engineers and broadcasters used in increasing numbers. ... The first impact was on professional recording… Tape machines were much easier to transport and set up and offered further benefits” (John Bordwick, 2003, pp521–522).

[42] Primary sources used focus on Medellín, and there is no information on this matter regarding companies in Bogotá, yet it is likely they were following the same trend described further on. Also, while Discos Fuentes was ahead in recording technology autonomy from its beginnings in mid 1930s, it is only until 1960 that I was able to evidence their use of magnetic tape technology in their studios.

[43] *El Diario*, Medellín, July 19, 1950, p2. In Spanish: ""hasta el estampador de las copias" (Ibid). [My translation]

[44] *El Diario*, Medellín, October 15, 1952, p2; and *El Diario*, January 14, 1953, p2. "Zeida tiene hoy el más completo equipo para grabación de discos comerciales en el país. Su propia planta de galvanoplastia que le permite surtirse de "stampers" en forma rápida y eficiente. Y un equipo de prensaje magnífico" (Ibid). [My translation: "Zeida has nowadays the most complete equipment for recording commercial records in the country. Its own electroplating plant which allows to provide itself with 'stampers' in a fast and efficient way. And a magnificent pressing equipment"]

achieved recording studio autonomy, and had both record cutting and Ampex tape recording machines in their own studios.[45] Also in 1953, the same was the case with Discos Tropical in Barranquilla. After visiting their head quarters, Antonio Botero and Hernán Restrepo Duque from Sonolux, celebrated the Atlantic Coast company as a "model in organization", due to its autonomy from recording to the production of labels and record sleeves, and for its technological advantage. As they noted, with four presses and two more on their way, the company produced 78 r.p.m. records and 33 r.p.m. LPs as all others "factories" did in the country, but they were the first in pressing 45 r.p.m. 7 inch releases as well. Further more, as they described, founder Emilio Fortou who was also its recording engineer or "técnico de grabación", recorded in its own studios using both technologies: from a magnetic tape master records were cut in acetate from which stampers were made in their own electroplating plant.[46]

Additionally, by mid 1950s Discos Silver from Medellín was also using magnetic tape technology and announced more enhancements in their own recording studios.[47] Around those years, Discos Curro had set its own "fábrica" in Cartagena, with pressing plants, RCA and Shure microphones and an Ampex recorder.[48] Also, when Discos Fuentes claimed the release of the first records in stereo in the country in 1960, it was noted how in their Medellín studios they used both an Ampex tape machine recorder and a Scully record cutter.[49]

The use of magnetic tape technology, and the long technological process "from disc to tape", is described by Morton (2004, pp141-151) as a key element in the "Revolution in the studio" in US. Also, as Millard explains, the introduction of magnetic tape recorders followed a slow and cautious path: "This was not an absolute technological change like talking pictures... Tape recorders were adopted throughout the industry in the early 1950s, but it took at least a decade to phase out the trusty disc recorder" (Millard, 2005, p207). In such time framework, the Colombian case appears to have followed up quickly up to international standards with such technology, whose significance should be read in the light of the intense relations these domestic companies had with foreign labels through licencing agreements. In the context of import restrictions of stampers since 1956, the use of magnetic technology may have been a significant matter for the efficient flow of such relations, at the same time that it was a desirable capacity for the interaction

[45] "Alberto Diez sale para E.E.U.U", *El Diario*, Medellín, April 29, 1953, p2; *El Diario*, Medellín, September 23, 1953, p2, 4; *El Diario*, Medellín, July 7, 1953, p2.
[46] "Ocho dias entre discos y músicos en Barranquilla*", El Diario*, Medellín, May 20, 1953, p 2, 7.
[47] *El Diario*, Medellín, February 24, 1956, p2, 6. [My translation] In Spanish: "En esta semana... Silver, inauguró su torno de grabación. Un torno moderno que le permitirá producir sus discos, totalmente, en estudios propios. ...cuenta también con un estudio de galvanoplastia muy completo, con su tipografía, igualmente completa, y con estudio de grabación y grabadora de cinta magnetofónica." (Ibid, p6). [My translation: This week... Silver, inaugurated its record cutter. A modern cutter which will allow them to produce their records, totally, in their own studios. ...they also count with a very complete electroplating studio, their own typography, equally complete, and with a recording studio and a magnetophonic tape recorder]
[48] Radio interview with José María Fuentes 'El Curro' by Álvaro Ruiz Hernández (no date) [provided by Discos Fuentes], p13 of transcript. [My translation]
[49] *La República*, Bogotá, July 9, 1960, p11.

with major companies abroad. In this matter, it is worth citing how by 1963, strategies for world simultaneous releases by RCA Victor considered the shipment of "stampers" as a slowing factor in a process that on the other hand benefitted by the interchange of master recordings in tape format.[50] The ideal licensee for a world level simultaneous release, would have no customs barriers of course, but would also have tape technology, as both accelerated the speed of arrival of materials:

> Requirements vary from licensee to licensee. A fully equipped licensee (and this includes most of the West Europe companies) needs only tapes. Tapes are shipped overseas as soon as they are lacquer-approved. Licensees who can work solely from tapes generally get the product in the hands of local consumers shortly after the U.S. public is serviced. Licensees who have only presses require stampers, and the process takes a bit longer.[51]

While there is no disaggregated import data, neither on stampers nor on blank magnetic tape before 1959, data after that date is significant. [See Figures 6.5. and 6.6] In spite of their low levels, they firstly pose the question of why in 1959 imports of stampers are registered if they were prohibited in 1956. At the same time, it is evident that their trend is of significant decrease in the turn to the 1960s: from US $18 thousand in 1960 to US $3 thousand in 1964.[52] The same happens with "blank record" import figures, which peak to over US $100 thousand in 1955, but after 1957 they remain below US $25 thousand. The opposite happens with blank magnetic tape imports, which are comparatively higher in price: they show a general grow trend since 1959, from US $32 thousand to US $88 thousand in 1964.[53]

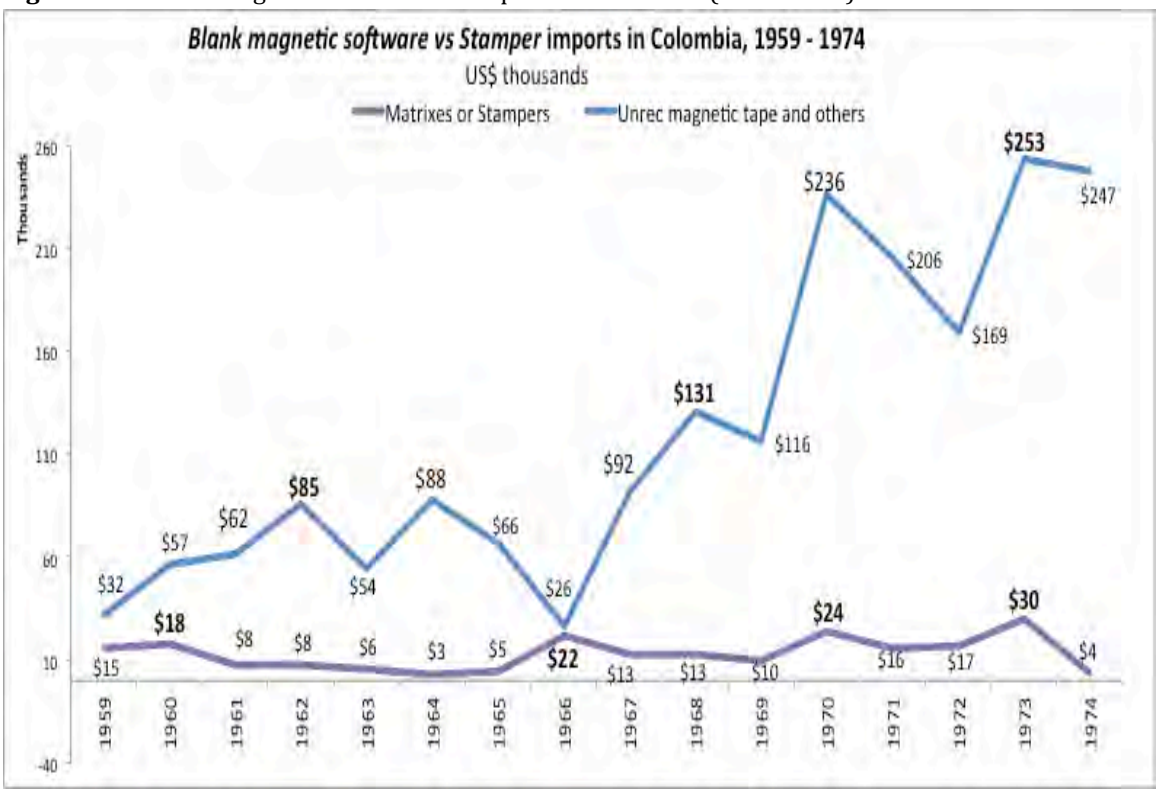
[50] "World wide Presley release calls for careful planning" *Billboard*, 1963-10-19, p R4, R6 [14/05/2015, 18:29:06] The whole strategy is explained in detail, following the case of Presley's album "It Happened at the World's Fair" (also an MGM film), as a process in which RCA Victor's New York office interacts with its international licensees. "When RCA Victor releases an album in the United States, the firm's licensees and overseas companies get into production on the same product, sometimes almost simultaneously and some times several months later." (Ibid, p R-4) The operation is coordinated by "Richard Y. Crum... administrator of Licensee Services" at RCA's New York office: they send information, receive requests for material, and send "tapes" or "stamper molds" and visual material for record covers (Ibid, p R-6).

[51] *Billboard*, 1963-10-19, p R-4. The geography of simultaneous release depicted for 1963 included: US, Canada, Western Europe, and also Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Philippines and Mexico, but no countries in South America. Cited obstacles for this were: the interest of foreign companies and the musical taste of their markets; the technology available in foreign companies; and custom regulations. "The album, released in the U.S. in April, appeared almost simultaneously in Western Europe and is just being released [six months later in October] in most of South America" (Ibid, R-4).

[52] Stampers decrease from US $18 thousand in 1960 to US $3 thousand in 1964, and from 1966 to 1977 they raise significantly to an average of US $25 a year.

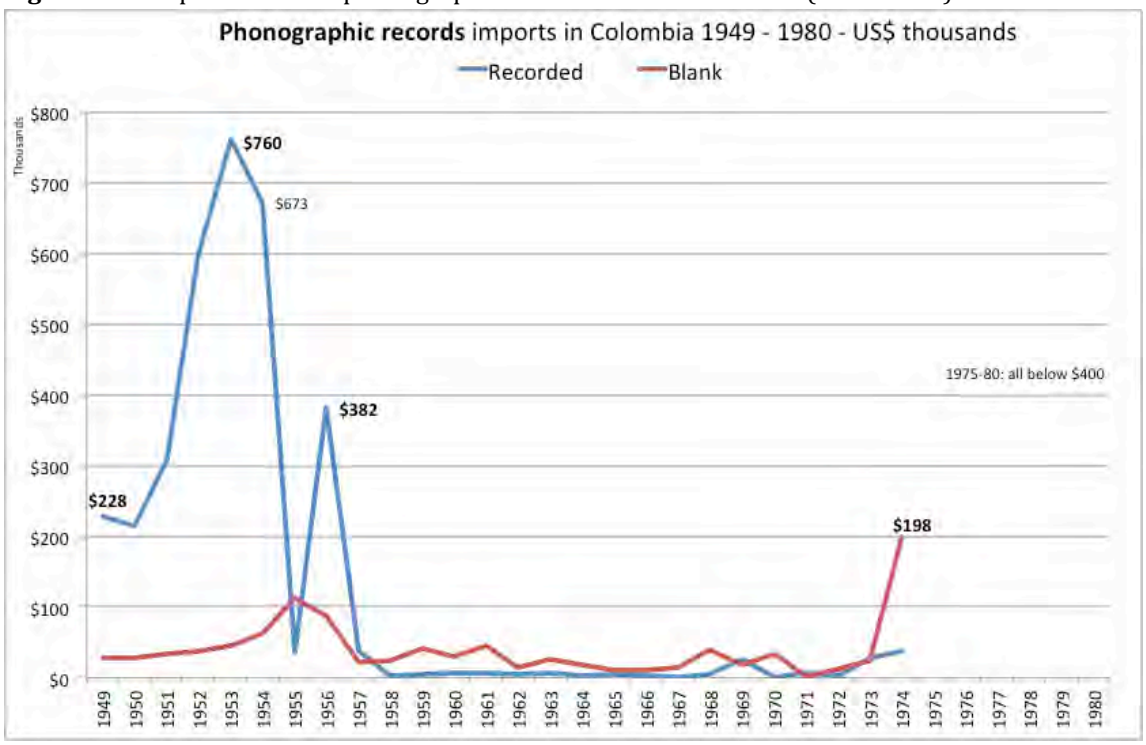
[53] After this a drop is registered in 1966, but then growth rates increase reaching an average above US $222 thousand from 1970 to 1974.

Figure 6.5 - Blank magnetic software vs. imports in Colombia (1959-1974).



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia*, 1949-1980.

Figure 6.6 - Imports of blank phonographic records vs. recorded ones (1949-1980).



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia*, 1949-1980.

Along with pressing plants, stampers and recording technology, an important third step for the increase of domestic phonographic technology was posed by the availability of raw materials, which was a problematic matter for Colombian companies during the time.[54] While Discos Fuentes imported its first record pressing machine in 1943, it wasn't until 1945 that the company was able to press its own records. As Antonio Fuentes noted, after sorting many importing and technical problems, he was finally "able to make good quality records", but at the same time "problems with raw materials arrived".[55] Similarly, in the turn from 1952 to 1953, when Zeida was reported to be technologically autonomous (i.e. able to complete the whole range of steps from recording to pressing), they expressively underlined that raw materials were nevertheless a missing link, for which they still depended on external providers.[56]

The matter of "importation of raw materials", along with "licences and quotas, patents and businesses with the intellectual property office", was one of common concern for recording companies in Colombia as early as 1950-1951 when a group of players insisted on the imminent need for a formal meeting between presidents of main recording companies.[57] The raw materials topic resurfaced in the public sphere in 1953, particularly in an extended argument by Antonio Fuentes complaining about the lack of support by the government to the expanding recording industry. In his view, "if the government wishes to favour national industry... it should raise taxes on the importation of foreign records and lower the tariff for the raw materials that compose the elaboration of that product". Concerned by the competition of US made records imported by several merchants in the country, he explained that "imported foreign records turn out cheaper than those manufactured here, due to the elevated tariffs to raw materials for their elaboration in this country". As he argued further, he had set up "machinery for the production of raw materials for the manufacturing of records, with the idea of not importing them", but was not able to run it due to the excessive tariffs of two of the elements necessary (and not produced in the country), as was the case with "goma laca" or shellac. As he pointed out, nine elements were required and seven of them were produced domestically, so the high tariffs of the remaining two constituted "almost a prohibition" barrier.[58]

Earlier that year, news about record companies from Medellín had a different tone. The initiation of operation of "raw material mills" in Sonolux was celebrated as the solution to the problems of "pasta sonora" [local name given to the plastic raw material], for both the

[54] A case worth deepening in this matter is that of "Organizaciones Plásticas Eléctricas 'Atlantic' Ltda." [Plastic Electric Organizations, 'Atlantic' Ltd.], a company formed in Barranquilla in 1950, which was known during the time for its own Atlantic label. The name suggests the shape of an umbrella company, that encompasses recording activities, and other related with plastic and electricity, yet, I have no further evidence to elaborate on this. See: *Catálogo General de Discos. Atlantic. Pampa. Popular. 1950-1951-1952*. Editorial Salvat (in Fonoteca HRD Medellín).

[55] Unidentified company document cited in the company's official history: Pelaéz, Ofelia, and Luis Felipe Jaramillo O, *Colombia musical: una historia... una empresa* (Discos Fuentes, 1996, p41).

[56] *El Diario*, Medellín, October 15, 1952, p2.

[57] *El Diario*, Medellín, June 14, 1950, p 2, 6; and Ibid, February 21, 1951, p2.

[58] *El Diario*, Medellín, August 12, 1953, p 2, 5. [My translation]

company and others in the city of Medellín, and it was claimed that they were producing "hundred per cent" local raw materials.[59] Some months later, it was reported that Alfredo Díez founder of Zeida had travelled to the US to buy two additional presses and "a mill to solve problems of raw materials".[60] Furthermore, two related events were reported almost simultaneously during mid 1954. The first, involved the firm of Julio Ramírez Johns in Medellín, which had started the Silver record company in 1949, and whose diverse business interests also included "distributing Columbia and Odeon records in the city" (Wade, 2000, p150). The press celebrated that the company had recently bought US technology for starting in Medellín "the first factory of raw materials for records in the country".[61] Some two weeks later, Sonolux was also exalted as "the only Colombian company that can make a record, from the 'pasta' to the pressing, completely with its own elements and technicians".[62] This implied the company by then had its own recording studios, a stamper production plant, and "raw material mills ".[63] On its part, Ondina was reported to be in the same conditions, with presses, "raw material mills ", and recording equipment, which it expected to enhance soon.[64]

The reviewed primary sources information so far, suggests that by mid 1950s domestic provision of raw materials was solved, al least in the case of some companies in Medellín. This is certainly a fine grain matter, and one would want more detail on how this happened, what a "molino de materia prima" or raw material mill actually worked, and about how the "factories" of raw materials operated and what they used and how.[65] Nevertheless, from the cited case of Fuentes and his detailed description of composing elements of raw materials for making records, it is evident that shellac or "goma laca" a natural resin was being used, while I found little direct evidence about the use of vinyl in

[59] *El Diario,* Medellín, March 25, 1953, p2. Original quote in Spanish for the record: "Samuel Botero, hermano de Antonio... fue el técnico que llevó a cabo la feliz realización. ...estuvo en los Estados Unidos empapándose de técnica, y regresó convertido en todo un maestro que domina hasta en sus más mínimos detalles el complicado aparataje de las prensas, calderas y demás elementos mecánicos de una fábrica de tal naturaleza" (Ibid). Also, Samuel Botero joins Sonolux and is in charge of "las instalaciones actuales de materia prima y maquinaria de prensaje" (*El Diario,* Medellín, May 6, 1953, p 2, 8).

[60] *El Diario*, Medellín, 14 October, 1953, p5. [My translation]

[61] "Se monta fábrica de pastas para discos", *El Diario*, Medellín, August 11, 1954, p7. [My translation] In Spanish for the record: "la primera fábrica de pastas para discos en el país" (Ibid).

[62] *El Diario*, Medellín, August 25, 1954, p2, 7. [My translation]

[63] *El Diario*, Medellín, July 7, 1953, p5. [My translation] The quote in Spanish for the record: "[Sonolux] muy pronto comenzará la construcción de su propio edificio... una construcción con las especificaciones técnicas de una fábrica de discos de primera linea. Sus grabaciones se harán totalmente allí, pues tendrá su propio estudio de grabación, planta de galvanoplastia, molinos de materia prima, etc." (Ibid).

[64] *El Diario,* Medellín, July 14, 1954, p2. [My translation] Ondina is also reported to be pressing 45 rpm speed records by the end of that year (see: *El Diario,* Medellín, December 12, 1954, p2).

[65] In the tight import restrictions of the time, it is possible that raw material recycling could have been practiced, as is suggested by a 1950 newspaper article on the history of Capitol Records: "Como llegó a ser Capitol Records una de las empresas fonográficas más famosas del mundo", *El Diario*, Medellín, 7 September, 1955, p2, 7. It underlines how during WWII, the due to the "problem of not being able to import raw materials to make records", Capitol "started a very strong publicity campaign, and collected all old and useless recordings, and with them gave life to the new... titles" (Ibid, p2). [My translation] Also as Alfredo Díez noted in 1956, all processes were available the in the country, while "the only thing imported are raw materials", which sometimes benefited from leftover records retired from the market, giving more efficiency to the companies ("Grabaciones Nacionales", *Industria Colombiana*, 3(9), 1956, p54). [My translation]

Colombia from 1940 until 1963. Discos Fuente's official history exalts the company's breakthrough with their first record in stereo in 1960 (Peláz and Jaramillo, 1996, p49), but there is no mention about the use of vinyl there.

Nonetheless, the matter of imports of plastic raw materials was of concern once more in 1958, when an ANDI executive in Bogotá, Antonio Oviedo, was reported to have addressed formally the National agency regulating international commerce, on behalf of the "numerous industries existing in Colombia that manufacture the most varied plastic articles", in which recording companies and sound hardware manufactures were counted.[66] By late 1959, the setting up of two new companies—B.F. Goodrich Chemical Company in Zipaquirá (central Andean region) and Sintéticos S.A. in Medellín—was expected to help "substitute imports of Polivinyl which approximately cost one million and six hundred dollars [US$1.6 millions].[67] In an analysis of industrial diversification during the 1960s, Poveda Ramos (2005, pp 490-3) considers incentives provided by tariff reform of 1959 and Law 81 of 1960 as the backbone of a 1960s process in which, among many other new domestic products, several "synthetic resins and fibres" started to be produced, from polyester and nylon (which were of interest for leading textile companies), to PVA and PVC (Poveda Ramos, 2005, p492, 547).[68] The latter are indeed the main materials needed to produce vinyl records.[69]

By 1958, Codiscos founder and higher executive Alfredo Díez reported that most Colombian recording companies were by then using imported "synthetic products mostly", which cost US$180 thousand yearly for the whole sector. While it was pointed out that Codiscos had its own deposits of "Vinilita" and "Semiplex", of which about 600 tons were imported annually, Díez also claimed the company was doing "tests" to use "national raw materials", aiming to reduce those imports to only 20% of the cited figure.[70] Nevertheless, I did not find any other direct reference to the use of vinyl during the 1950s, and many questions remain about the kinds of raw materials they used to produce records, about the ingredients they combined to make their own, if they resembled the

[66] "Materias primas plásticas deben estar en lista libre", *La República*, Bogotá, July 3, 1958, p2. ANDI claims for certain commodities to be moved to the "free importation list", specifically raw materials involved in plastic artefacts, as those for "paint, records, resins destined for the Bakelite in the manufacturing of furniture for radios and in general the resins for all articles of plastic material" (Ibid). [My translation]

[67] *La República*, Bogotá, December 16, 1959. p2. [My translation]

[68] Poveda Ramos (2005) notes industries related to resins and early plastic materials were pioneered during the late 1930s, but only started expanding during the 1950s following the tide an industrializing economy: among early players were Industrias Kiko in Barranquilla since 1937 is an early case of plastic manufactured goods for the home, and later Industrias Estra in Medellín which started producing plastic goods for domestic, personal and industrial uses in 1953 (Ibid, pp 326, 392-4). Also, companies as: Vanylon in Barraquilla, and Colnylon, Enka de Colombia, and Polímeros Colombianos in Medellín, produced nylon and polyester materials for textile industries; and several others related to PVC and PVA plastic as Pintuco (Medellín), Carboquímica in Bogotá, Petroquímica Colombiana in Mamonal (Cartagena area), Colcarburo in Zipaquirá, and other companies as Tuvinil and Pavco (Ibid, p492, 547).

[69] PVA and PVC are main constituents of the plastic material trademarked as "Vinylite" which became the standard in global recording industry after the Second World War. See: Rodriguez, Ferdinand. "Major Industrial Polymers." *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Accessed January 8, 2014. http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/468698/major-industrial-polymers

[70] "Música de América y de Europa en "Codiscos" - Compañía Colombiana de Discos, Ltda. (CODISCOS)", *Revista Economía Colombiana*, Año V, Vol. 16, No. 47, Marzo 1958, pp615-616.

shellac material used in other parts of the world, or if domestic companies had their particular methods, and about the process of change to vinyl. Overall, as Millard (2005, p207), this change in materials was also a slow process in US as: "Vinyl did not completely replace shellac, until the late 1950s, and it was still possible to buy 78-rpm record in the 1960s".

2.2 International licensing agreements: a fundamental trait of Colombian recording industry since early 1950s

Record company catalogues of the period, as well as music journalism in Medellín, provide sufficient evidence to state that licencing the catalogues of foreign labels—mostly from US, Cuba, Mexico, Argentina and other countries in Latin America—was a central practice in Colombian recording business from an early stage.[71] This seems perhaps reasonable for companies that had just started to produce recordings, and probably did not have enough material of their own to release and meet their pressing capacity, and also considering that they dealt with audiences that had appropriated foreign music intensely in the previous decades, particularly from Latin America and the Caribbean (see Chapter 4). As will be explored later in this chapter, different primary sources make evident that at the same time that new record companies competed with local agents from Odeon, Columbia, Victor, Seeco, Verne and other foreign companies during the first half of the 1950s, main Colombian recording companies signed licencing agreements as early as 1950, as is evidenced in Figure 6.7 [next page].

The licensing scheme prevailed and increased during the whole period of study (and kept increasing afterwards as evidenced in Chapter 8). As an example, Codiscos (Zeida at the time), founded in Medellín in 1950, started out doing their own recordings and at the same time pressing records from the Verne label from US.[72] By early 1960s, Codiscos's licenses included Musart, Odeon-EMI, Capitol Records-EMI, and Seeco;[73] and by 1966 it had added Angel, Warner Bros Records, and the Reprise label.[74] Four years later, when the record company accrued twenty years of operation, celebratory inner sleeves were printed in which a cosmopolitan character of the company was stressed, by drawing a world map with all their licencing agreements. [See Figure 6.8] These included both "Concesionario[s] Codiscos", i.e. foreign companies that had licensed Codisco's catalogue, and "Compañia[s] representada[s] por Codiscos", i.e. the foreign companies whose catalogues Codiscos exploited domestically. The inner sleeve describes the company as one with myriad global licensing agreements in Latin America, the Caribbean, US, UK,

[71] In Fonoteca Hernán Restrepo Duque see: "GUIA PARA COLECCIONISTAS. CONSERVE COMPLETA SU COLECCION DE MUSICA ARGENTINA. ODEON. COMPAÑIA COLOMBIANA DE DISCOS, LTDA. CODISCOS" (Circa, 1956) and "Catálogo General de Discos de Larga Duración. Zeida. Musart" (October, 1956); "Catálogo general de discos Atlantic, Pampa y Popular: 1950 - 1951 - 1952" (1952); "CATALOGO GENERAL. LYRA - Sonoluyx - Panart. Producidos por Industria Electro-Sonora Ltda. Medellín - Colombia" (January, 1959).
[72] "Resumen de La Producción Fonográfica Nacional" *El Diario*, Medellín, December 20, 1950, p7.
[73] *CODISCOS - ESTEREOFONICO - MONOFONICO - Tercera Edición del Catálogo General de Discos de Larga Duración* [Portada Roja] [circa 1960s]; *CODISCOS. Catálogo Larga Duración* [Portada Negra/Azul] [circa 1960s].
[74] *Codiscos Catálogo General - Noviembre, 1966*, in Fonoteca Hernán Restrepo Duque.

Europe and Japan: of those 33% of agreements worked both ways; 48% were licenses granted by Codiscos to other labels; and 19% licenses granted to Codiscos, without agreement the other way.[75]

Figure 6.7 - Colombian record factories and international licensing agreements (1949-1956).

"Fábrica de Discos"	City	Own labels	Foreing licences	No.
Fuentes	Cartagena	Vallenato (1952)	Tahiti Rec.(Tahiti), Pentagrama de Oro(Mex), Peerless(Mex.), and Ansonia (US) by 1950; Panart(Cuba) by 1951.	5
Discos Curro	Cartagena		Ansonia(US) by 1956.	1
Tropical	Bquilla	Tony[?], Acordeón(1952), Colombi (1954).	SMC(US) by 1950; Seeco(US) by 1952; Turpial(Venez.) and Musart(Mex) by 1953; Odeon and Columbia by 1954.	6
Atlantic	Bquilla		Pampa (Argentina) by 1952.	1
Sonolux	Medellín	Lyra, Sonolux.	Reha(Venezuela) and "Indostan" (see note) by 1951; Pampa(Argentina) and Panart(Cuba) by 1955.	4
Silver	Medellín		Champion(US) and Universal(?) by 1952; Ryney(US) by 1953; Onyx(Ecuador) by 1954.	4
Zeida - Codiscos	Medellín	Zeida	Verne(Argentina) by 1950; Musart(Mex) by late 1953; Capitol(US) by 1955.	3
Ondina Fonográfica Ltda	Medellín	Ondina	Azteca(Mex) and Venus (Venez.) by 1952; Peerles(Mex) by 1954.	3
Vergara	Bogotá	Mar Vela, Estrella(1954).	Columbia(US) and Marvela(PtoRico) by 1954.	2
Other "´fábricas de discos", but no evidence of licensing agreements in sources used.				
"Fábrica de Discos"	**City**	**Own labels**		**No.**
Mario Arango - Marango	Pereira	Mario(1950), DiscosCali(1951), Perla(1952), Lumar(1953).		0
Cifuentes	Girardot			0
Honda?	Honda			0
Atlas	Bogotá			0
Lusar	Ibagué			0
Rico	Pereira			0
Victoria	Cali			0
Metropoli	[?]			

Source: *El Diario*, Medellín, 1949-1956. Note: "Indostan" might migh a mispelled reference to Hindusthan (India).

[75] As one would expect, the possibility of such optimistic estimations might come from the positively inflating nature of the advertisement strategy, and in the absence of specific sales and royalty figures it is not possible to tell precisely how the scales were balanced in the such network of international business of licensing. EMI and Odeón from different countries are counted within the first group, as well as Musart; Capitol, Liberty and AM Records among the third: which suggests thin licensing royalties revenue for Codiscos coming from US.

Figure 6.8 - A sleeve from Codiscos celebrating "XX años" and boasting about their international network of licensing.

Source: Inner dust sleeve of a Codiscos record, 1970.

Figure 6.9 - Codiscos' licencing agreement (1966).

Source: *Codiscos Catálogo General - November, 1966.*

3. Tensions between two groups of recording companies, or "La Guerra de los Discos" [The war of records] of early 1950s

In this section I will outline a matter which certainly deserves further research and in depth analysis, related to the tensions identified in the relations between two opposing blocks of record companies in Colombia during the 1950s which went through a conspicuous sour phase. Understanding these tensions, the conflicts, and the resolutions arrived at, might be a better path for answering thick questions, of the kind that might come up in public forums, and that are worth giving some thought: Why did Medellín consolidate as recording industry capital? Why not Bogotá, Cali or any other city in the Atlantic Coast?

Bermúdez (2006, pp86-95) interprets the rise of Medellín as the indisputable centre of a nascent Colombian phonographic industry in the 1950s, almost as a natural phenomenon derived from the city's advanced stage of industrialization, adequate radio broadcasting and printed media infrastructure, including several cultural journalists writing about radio, music and film (which provide most of the master primary sources for this research by the way). It might be true that digging deeper for other possible answers to the question I pose above, was not a relevant task for the musicologist. Yet, it should be said that his interpretation is at least slightly teleological, if not tautological. Explaining the process in such terms, i.e. recording industry flourished in Medellín because industrialization at large was also booming in the city, seems similar to arguing that it was simply *meant to be*, which I consider insufficient to say the least.

Early calls for unity within the nascent phonographic industry of Colombia were registered by 1950, and emerged out of concerns for raw materials and over production of records.[76] An actual meeting between the leaders of the main record companies took place in Bogotá during the first months of the following year, called by Sonolux's founder Antonio Botero and attended by representatives of Caracol, Zeida and Silver also form Medellín, by representatives for Atlantic and Fuentes from the Atlantic Coast, and by representatives for two players from Bogotá: Sello Vergara and "Philips Colombiana S.A. record section".[77] Discussions led to agreement on creating a common central office called "Oficina Coordinadora de la Industria Fonográfica en Colombia" [OCIFC], which would deal with administrative and legal affairs as a group, and tackle common concerns as raw materials, licences, import quotas, patents and intellectual property matters. [78]

[76] *El Diario*, Medellín, July 5, 1950, p2, 6; *El Diario*, Medellín, June 14, 1950, p 2, 6.

[77] *El Diario*, Medellín, February 21, 1951, p2, 6. English translation: Coordinating Office of Phonographic Industry in Colombia. Note: The meeting was attended by: Antonio Botero (Sonolux-Lyra); Gregorio Vergara, Francisco Peñaranda and Marino Lemos from Sello Vergara (Bogotá); Eliecer Velasco from Atlantic (Barranquilla) and Humberto Perez Restrepo from Fuentes (Cartagena); Ciro Vega from the Caracol label (Medellín); León Ramírez as representative of Zeida and Silver (Medellín); and Humberto Salcedo "director of the record section of Phillips [sic] Colombiana which is in charge of distributing Lyra". The lawyers Humberto Pérez Restrepo (Fuentes) y Marino Lemos (Sello Vergara) were appointed as directors.

[78] The office would be in charge of creating standard contracts between artists, composers and record companies, after having agreed on setting royalties at six cents [$0.06]. It would also deal with common

Nevertheless, a month later a group within them—including Fuentes, Atlantic, and Sello Vergara—announced they were leaving the recently formed association in order to form their own office and constitute a separate block of "record factories".[79]

Available evidence allows arguing that the underlying tensions that caused this split and led to the formation of two antagonistic blocks of record producers, grew in a context of overproduction and intense competition for the record market, and were significantly caused by State policy changes in international commerce regulation. The latter were relaxed after Laureano Gómez took office in August 1950, and in the specific case of records it meant the abolishment of import prohibition instated in 1949 during Mariano Ospina's government. By April 1951, record companies were complaining publicly and asking the government to obstruct imports of "foreign records",[80] at the same time that differences between them grew regarding the standard price that should rule the market for those domestically pressed.[81]

An official price of $4.5 pesos was set in 1949 by State authorities for imported records from the US Columbia label, which was used since then as the maximum standard retail price for an imported 78 r.p.m.[82] As foreign trade regulations changed, the strategic response of a group of domestic companies was lowering prices to $3.5 pesos for releases of their own recordings, as a way of competing with international records available in the same shops they sold theirs; while maintaining pressings of foreign labels at $4.5 pesos. By December 1950, J. Glottmann S.A. from Bogotá announced the lowering of prices for Barranquilla's Tropical record company releases they distributed nationally to $3.5 pesos,[83] and three months later Lyra and Zeida companies in Medellín did the same. [84] The press had already underlined that during meetings the led to the formation of OCIF in 1951, the nodal and sensitive topic of prices, on the verge of unleashing a "prices war", had not been addressed.[85] By June that year, the increasing tensions in this situation came

concerns with raw material importation (licences, quotas, patents), and with "business" with the "oficina de propiedad intelectual" [intellectual property office]" (*El Diario*, Medellín, February 21, 1951, p2).

[79] *El Diario*, Medellín, March 28, 1951, p2. The announcement was made after a meeting in Medellín attended by Antonio Fuentes, Francisco Ramírez [unidetified], Gregorio Vergara, Ciro Vega (representing Atlantic), and "Mr. Barker" [probably a Philips de Colombia representative] (*El Diario*, Medellín, March 28, 1951, p2)

[80] *El Diario*, Medellín, April 11, 1951, p2. Note: New measures gave freedom to import records, but restricted those of jukeboxes and domestic record players: See: *El Diario*, Medellín, June 6, 1951, p7.

[81] *El Diario*, Medellín, March 21, 1951, p2; Ibid, March 29, 1951, p2.

[82] *El Diario*, Medellín, November 9, 1949. For the reader's reference, the cheapest model of radio by Philips announced in 1954, was the "BCL 135 U" priced at $89 pesos (see editions of *La República* or *Cromos* magazine from Bogotá for the year 1954, particularly during the month of December). Also see Appendices 7.1 and 7.2 for a list of prices of sound hardware of different sorts during mid1950s, constructed through data from adverts from different primary sources.

[83] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 6, 1950, p2.

[84] "Comenzó la depreciación de los discos nacionales", *El Diario*, Medellín, March 7, 1951, p2. Note: Zeida nevertheless maintained the $4.5 standard price for their own pressings of the Argentinean Verne label, with which they had a licensing agreement (Ibid). It is also suggested that when Antonio Biotero's company, in parallel to Zeida stars releasing foreing licenced recordings under the Sonolux label also keeps them at $4.5 (*El Diario*, Medellín, June 6, 1951, p7).

[85] *El Diario*, Medellín, February 21, 1951, p2, 6.

to be known as "La Guerra de los discos" [The war of records],[86] at the same time that the soon arrival of copious imported records to the domestic market was heralded, following large orders made by Colombian agents for Odeón, Columbia, RCA Victor, Seeco, Verne and "some foreign labels that release classical as well as popular music."[87]

Out of these manifest tensions two opposed blocks of domestic record companies were formed. On the one hand stood those called "los alcistas" [the risers] that kept a retail price of $4.5 pesos, and harshly criticized the lower price strategy of others who were charging $3.5 pesos for each 75 r.p.m. record pressed in the country.[88] This block included: Fuentes, Atlantic and Caracol (both distributed by Ciro Vega in Medellín), Sello Vergara and Silver,[89] and "Mr. barker" [Philips?], and Francisco Ramírez.[90] On the other hand stood those called "los bajistas" [the decreasing] whose strategy was lowering the retail price to $3.5 pesos, and included: Lyra, Zeida, Tropical, and J. Glottmann,[91] who were joined a few months later by Silver and Vergara (after leaving the opposing block).[92]

The lower prices style of aggressive and sectarian business strategy was celebrated by the press in Medellín as the proper way to deal with competition with imported records, and also applauded the remarkable results achieved through it by Sonolux and Zeida: whom reportedly had "tripled their sales and therefore doubled their earnings.[93] In contrast, during late 1952 record companies in the Atlantic Coast expressed their outrage about this price strategy deployed by some companies in Medellín, attributing it to the voracity of industrials in the Antioquia region, and declared that Atlantic, Fuentes and by then also Tropical, would still not lower their prices.[94] While visiting Medellín, Anibal Conde from Odeon in Argentina, commented on the situation which for him expressed lack of business experience by phonographic producers in Colombia, since it meant a "war" that he reckoned would only leave the strongest two or three companies standing.[95]

New price decreases by the end of 1952, had the explicit intention of defeating small competitors, referred to as "pirate" labels, which were reported as a significant problem

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[86] "La guerra de los discos", *El Diario*, Medellín, June 6, 1951, p2,7.
[87] *El Diario*, Medellín, June 20, 1951, p2. [My translation] Note: the latter is probably a reference to Philips de Colombia, S.A.'s involvement in the domestic record business, which was already a distributor for Medellín's Sonolux record company, and also a distributor of its own imported records.
[88] *El Diario*, Medellín, March 21, 1951, p2.
[89] Ibid.
[90] *El Diario*, Medellín, March 28, 1951, p2. Note: the Marango company from Pereira is reported as a future possible member of this block.
[91] *El Diario*, Medellín, March 7, 1951, p2.
[92] *El Diario*, Medellín, June 6, 1951, p7. Tropical was distributed nationally by J. Glottmann S.A. who had shares in the company since late 1950s (*El Diario*, Medellín, November 8, 1950, p2). The company change sides later and joined others in the Atlantic Coast led by Fuentes (*El Diario*, Medellín, September 27, 1952, p2).
[93] "La guerra de los discos", *El Diario*, Medellín, June 6, 1951, p7. Note: The journalistic source underlines that record shop owners favoured the promotion of releases that companies sold them for $2.6 and they could sell up to $4.5 to the public, since those gave them a larger profit margin and also allowed for discounts.
[94] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 17, 1952, p2, 7.
[95] *El Diario*, Medellín, July 2, 1952, p5.

in the city's recording industry by music journalists friendly with the big companies.[96] This matter had in fact been discussed a few years earlier during the meeting that gave premature shape to the failed plan of a central office, and the participating companies had agreed on not providing pressing services to companies or other players in the business different from those summoned there, and certainly not to people or companies that were not an established brand.[97] While Orlando Posada, A&R for the Silver label admitted they had joined the lowering prices strategy, he was questioned, with certain subtlety, about his company's well recognized role in pressing records from stampers for those so-called "pirate" labels, and if they would continue to do it now that they were part of the lower prices block led by Zeida and Sonolux. As he explained, there was no proper union of record companies in Antioquia at that point, and they had many pressing contracts they could not drop: even more, considering the changing opinions of companies in the country, at any moment others could start doing the same. For Orlando Posada, the solution was "the union of all record people of the country. And in that sense we think like people from the Atlantic Coast. There are governmental measures and entities as SAYCO, from which only by being united will we be able to defend ourselves".[98]

Even though I do not posses specific evidence at hand, considering the argument that at the base of these tensions between domestic record companies were changes in international commerce regulation, one could expect that they loosened significantly after 1956 and during the second moment of study, due to the reinstatement of record import prohibitions. A more detailed understanding of the diachronic movement of these tensions that took the shape of aggressive competition since the early 1950s, indeed requires further archival research and analysis, as does the process by which a joint body called ASINCOL was finally conformed in 1963, including companies that led the earlier antagonistic blocks, as Discos Fuentes and Sello Vergara, and Sonolux and Codiscos.[99]

By May 1963, the forthcoming establishment of Federación Nacional de Productores de Discos [National Federation of Record Producers] was announced, and was presented as a new entity that would help protect the interests of the phonographic sector. It was headed by Guillermo de Bedout, member of the wealthy family firm that as noted earlier had a long standing involvement in the business of music and sound technologies in Colombia as importer-distributors.[100] By the end of the year the association was legally conformed, but with a change of name to Asociación de Productores e Industriales Fonográficos - ASINCOL [Association of Phonographic Producers and Industrials], as a body devoted to the protection of phonographic industries' interests.[101] The dynamics of relations between players that formed part of the new association during the 1960s and

[96] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 3, 1952, p2, 6; *El Diario*, Medellín, August 20, 1952, p2. [My translation]
[97] "Realizóse importante reunión de los mandones de la fonografía nacional", *El Diario*, Medellín, February 21, 1951, p6.
[98] *El Diario*, Medellín, January 21, 1953, p2. [My translation]
[99] *Pantalla*, Medellín, May 10, 1963, p5.
[100] Ibid.
[101] "Asincol: estatutos y solicitud de decomiso de fonogramas ilícitos a la Alcaldía" (1981). Fondo: Alcaldia, Sección: Despacho del Alcalde, Medellín. Años: 1981. Folios: 1-188. Nivel: Serie. Legajos: 4. Caja: C57. In: AHM.

later decades, also needs further archival scrutiny, if one is curious to explore if a climate of agreement predominated, or if calls for war continued to happen, or if new blocks of different sorts, motivated by different reasons and contingencies, were conformed. I leave the matter here, as the blueprint for future research, by noting that ASINCOL remained in operation for decades and apparently still exists today, even though under the obscure circumstances of an office conformed by hard to reach lawyers.[102]

I dare to judge the previous evidence about price or record *wars* of the 1950s as much better elements than Bermúdez' (2006, pp86-95) for elaborating answers to questions as: Why did Medellín consolidate as recording industries capital during these years? And why not elsewhere? In my perspective, possible answers range from those that pose the pre-existing social structure and its technological conditions as the fundamental determinants, to those that stress the agency of specific players in the recording business, that perhaps *constructed* Medellín as the capital of recording industries through strategic operation in the game of business competition. The previous inspection of primary sources is indeed inclined to the latter strand of answers, considering they reveal that the agency of people and players involved was at play. It is true that a set of necessary structural conditions for developing a strong recording industry sector in Medellín had been consolidating since at least the 1930s, but as the results of my archival work suggest, it is also evident that an aggressive strategy was set in motion by a group of players mostly based in Medellín, aimed at weakening strong competitors in the Atlantic Coast, and also at controlling the entrance of new small independent entrepreneurs, particularly those the press called "pirates". In this sense, Medellín was not so much *meant* to be the capital of Colombian recording industries, but *made to be*, or constructed through rational business practices. Further changes were to come later though as Bogotá's role increased [See Chapter 8].

[102] During the archival work period of this research my attempts at reaching them did not progress from a phone call, and no information at all was obtained from them. I still wonder if there is an archive where the minutes of meetings of record business executives members of ASINCOL were kept. I truly hope that sort of documents didn't end up in flames, consumed by moisture, or something worse.

4. A group of "independent" record labels sourcing services from record factories

A key characteristic of Colombian recording industry as it unfolded during the 1950s with the establishment of several new "fábricas de discos" [record factories], was the parallel operation of smaller players. As Alfredo Díez founder of Codiscos and its Zeida label remarked in a 1956 interview: "apart from proper recording companies, an infinity of labels that make their pressings in the cited [main] companies", were also in operation.[103] As discussed previously, this was a sensitive matter for established companies in the country and was brought up as early as 1951, during the first attempts at discussing the importance of creating an association of record producers.[104] While the companies that participated in those talks agreed on not providing pressing services to companies or other players in the business different from those summoned to conform an alliance (and certainly not to players that were not an established brand), archival scrutiny reveals that the practice continued during the whole research period.

Judging on data presented in Figure 6.10 [next page], it can be stated that a parallel proliferation of small record labels accompanied the explosion of record *factories* charted earlier in this chapter, in which at least sixteen [16] players operated with pressing plants capacity by 1956: half of which led the competition for technological autonomy from foreign providers. Along with these mighty players, through a rigorous exercise I counted a total of thirty [30] companies that released records in Colombia from 1949 to 1956 by pressing them and distributing them through other companies, domestic or foreign. I arrived at this figure using mostly the sections in *El Diario* newspaper from Medellín that routinely reviewed new record releases available in city's record shops and traganíqueles [jukeboxes].[105] Through a less exhaustive revision, another four [6] small labels active from 1957 to 1963, were made evident through other primary sources.[106] In this way the number of small labels registered in this research and during the whole period of study 1949-1963 raises to thirty six [36], and it is worth stressing that this figure should be read in terms of *at least* thirty six small players in record production during the time. Also, according to my data, at least 50% of those registered in this research were based in Medellín, around 20% in Bogotá, only two [2] in Cali, one [1] in Pereira and another one [1] in Cartagena, while the city of origin of other six [6] could not be identified.[107]

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[103] García Vela, E. (1956), Ibid, pp46-7. [My translation]

[104] "Realizóse importante reunión de los mandones de la fonografía nacional", *El Diario*, Medellín, February 21, 1951, p6.

[105] Of that total of thirty [30] small players active between 1949 and 1956, a few were evidenced through other sources: two [2] in *Industria Colombiana* magazine and one [1] in *Cromos* magazine, both from Bogotá.

[106] *El Clarín* radio-newspaper from Medellín and *Billboard* magazine from US.

[107] The limitations of these results should be noted here, in order to incite deeper research on the topic. With little risk of being wrong, I reckon there are plenty more small independent labels to be identified which could bring the country figure considerably higher than thirty six during the period 1949–1963. The inventory presented in Figure 6.10 is mostly based on a thorough revision of *El Diario* newspaper from Medellín, due to is pertinence and richness of information on the matter, but its archival collection in Eafit university is limited to editions from 1949 to 1958. The exercise was complemented with rigour using *La República* newspaper and *Cromos* magazine from Bogotá, *El Clarín* radio news scripts from Medellín (all of which proved to offer limited information on the specific topic), as well as *Billboard* magazine. The vast quantity of archival material represented by the cited sources, limited the possibilities of a more thorough analysis of material collected from *Pantalla* magazine from Medellín, which I found to be excitingly rich

Figure 6.10- Small players in Colombian domestic recording business (1949 to 1963).

	Origin	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	Source
Caracol	Medellín	x																*El Diario*
Discos Curro	Cartagena	x	x	x	x	x	x	"	"									*El Diario*
Festival	Medellín			x														*El Diario*
Tin-Tan	Pereira			x														*El Diario*
Discos Medellín	Medellín				x													*El Diario*
Discos Oscar y Canadian	Medellín				x													*El Diario*
Discos Leo (Leonindas Alzate, A&R Silver)	Medellín				x													*El Diario*
Continental	Medellín				x													*El Diario*
Patria (Ciro Vega)	Medellín				x													*El Diario*
Radio Bolivar	Cali					x												*El Diario*
Sello Bolivar (Velasco Madriñan Ltda)	Bogotá					x												*Cromos*
Triunfador	Medellín					x												*El Diario*
Castillo	Medellín					x												*El Diario*
Nacional	Medellín					x												*El Diario*
Canadian and Discos Oscar	Medellín					x												*El Diario*
Musical	?						x											*El Diario*
Orozco							x											*El Diario*
Sello Colombia	Medellín						x											*El Diario*
Discos Lucho (Lucho Bermudez)	Medellín						x											*El Diario*
Discos Don Américo	Bogotá							x										*El Diario*
Producciones Vieco (Carlos Vieco)	Medellín							x										*El Diario*
Dyana	Medellín							x										*El Diario*
Kalamary	Bogotá								x									*El Diario*
RCU	Bogotá								x									*El Diario*
Coro	Bogotá								x									*El Diario*
Erres	Cali								x									*El Diario*
Discos Compás	Medellín								x									*El Diario*
EL	Medellín								x									*El Diario*
Discos Tito	?								x									*El Diario*
Discos Oriol	?								x									*El Diario*
Cooperativa Colombiana de Grabaciones	Bogotá											x						*El Clarín*
Girón	?														x			*Billboard*
Serenata	?														x			*Billboard*
Metropoli	Medellín														x			*Billboard*
Discos Daro (previously distributor)	Bogotá									?	?	?	?	?	?	x		*Pantalla*
Velvet Colombiana or Producciones GEMA Colombiana	Medellín											?	?	x	x			*Billboard*

Note: the years marked for each label correspond to the earliest evidence found on their operation, and not to the years in which they were started. In the case of Curro for example, as reviewed earlier, the label was realising recordings made in Cartagena since late 1940s possible, yet the first review of one of their releases in Medellín corresponds to 1954. Also: Sello Colombia apparently progresses into a record factory in 1963 as Discos Colombia Ltda , and the same happens with Discos Daro (reknown as record distributor and retailer, and with Velvet and Gema, and independent operation based on licences from the Venezuelan label of the same name, which after Orlando Posada buys out Discos Silver is conformed as Sonomúsica or Conmúsica (see Chapter 8).

with information about recording and sound technology industries (judging on numbers between 1957 to 1968 also available in Eafit university). Most certainly, the inventory presented here should be expanded with further archival work. Firstly, through the possibility of finding later numbers of *El Diario* and by a thorough revision of *Pantalla*. And secondly, given these sources account for Medellín's public sphere (even if they reported on records released by players from different parts of the country and the world), through archive material from other cities as Cartagena, Barranquilla, Cali, and Bogotá, in order to assure a wider country picture.

On a first quick glance at the list above, the Caracol record label mentioned earlier sits among the earliest small players in Medellín.[108] It was reported to operate without pressing plants, a service they outsourced from Discos Silver's factory, a dependency that had been affecting their timely release during 1950.[109] Significantly, the Silver company was reviewed three years later as the Medellín "factory that presses the *pirate* labels",[110] and Orlando Posada its A&R was questioned about its well recognized practices of pressing records for any other player without restrictions.[111]

In this line of argument, when Zeida reported the setting up of big new studios, after buying in the US "the most modern equipment of high fidelity", it was also stressed that with David Ocampo as recording engineer (who had just left his "controler" job at La Voz de Medellín radio station), it would "put its studios to the service of the general public". That meant that not only the company's records would benefit from their technological advance, but "all phonographic industry in Medellín".[112] Another recording studio services provider active that year was Emisora Claridad, which also announced the inauguration of new studio facilities.[113] While I don't have detailed evidence at hand about such studio services, there is plenty of evidence about pressing and distribution relations between small and big players.

The role of Ondina as a technology and national distribution services provider for labels without such technologies, is very visible in primary sources explored. Their use of foreign stampers from Venezuelan label Venus, had been reported since 1952,[114] and its pressing and national distribution services for Discos Curro by 1954.[115] During the second half of 1955 it was explicitly noted that the orientation of "Ondina Fonográfica" involved "pressing and distributing various national labels, even interchanging matrixes with factories in other cities of the country".[116] By the time, Ondina was reportedly pressing and distributing recordings for the factories Marango from Pereira and also for the domestic label Victoria from the city of Cali Victoria from Cali [not RCA Victor], and had success with Ecuadorian singer Olimpo Cárdenas, bambuco singers Rios y Macías, an Italian orchestra based in Cali, and Lucy Figueroa interpreter of Argentinean "canción".[117] distributing. Additionally, in a 1956 end-of-year review, it was noted that "pressing of

[108] I found very little information about this early record label, and no mention or suggestion at all of it being a venture of the Caracol radio network. This is a case worth digging into, nevertheless it is clear from my archival inquiry that it wasn't a very visible player in the 1950s and 1960s public sphere in Medelín.
[109] *El Diario*, Medellín, August 9, 1950, p5. See Negus (1999, pp57-60) for an argument on the "distribution struggles" involved in the relation of a small independent label in 1990s US with the distribution branch of a major company that provides such services.
[110] "Seis meses de grabaciones nacionales", *El Diario*, Medellín, July 15, 1953, p7. [My translation]
[111] *El Diario*, Medellín, January 21, 1953, p2.
[112] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 17, 1952, p2. [My translation]
[113] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 28, 1952, p2. [My translation]
[114] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 3, 1952, p2, 6.
[115] *El Diario*, Medellín, February 24, 1954, p2, 6.
[116] *El Diario*, Medellín, November 16, 1955, p2. [My translation]
[117] "Lo que nos cuentan por las grabadoras", *El Diario*, Medellín, June 15, 1955, p2, 7; Ibid, December 14, 1955, p2.

independent labels" was what maintained Ondina in business, along with its success with Edmundo Arias porro music composer.[118]

It is possible to argue that relations of power between main record factories and the sketched sector of small players changed as the former increased their technological capacity and enlarged their distribution networks. Furthermore, the import prohibition of stampers and records instated in 1956,[119] gave a *de facto* technological monopoly to a set of well developed players by mid 1950s, including leading companies as Fuentes, Tropical, Atlantic, Sonolux, Codiscos (Zeida), Ondina, Silver, and Vergara. The State measure blocked the access of small players to foreign outsourcing of stampers or pressing, and those who had been operating through such mode of production had to rely since then exclusively on domestic companies for the production of stampers and records (at least if operating legally). As discussed earlier, that was precisely the case of Discos Curro in Cartagena who started operating by sending recordings to Ansonia records in the US, but had to give the job to Ondina after "the factories did the impossible for prohibiting the importation of matrixes".[120]

Other noticeable small labels were: "Discos Lucho", started in 1954 by renown porro and Atlantic coast tropical musicians Lucho Bermúdez and Matilde Díaz, with a debut release in 78 rpm with their own executions of the songs "Diego Martinez" labelled as "mapalé" music, and of "Linda Beatriz" label as "merengue";[121] "sello Patria" a label started by Ciro Vega Aguilera (former A&R with DeBedout hnos.), dedicated to bambuco and Colombian Andean *national* music, which debuted with an LP release of old recordings by Trio Marina of bambuco and guabina songs "Invierno y Primavera", "Guabina Chiquinquireña", "Pregón del Montañero" [bambuco], and "El Gallo Viejo"[guabina]; [122] the earliest records by Sello Colombia, a small label owned by "Francisco Cristancho and a son of Emilio Murillo", were released in 1954 (even though there is little information about the case),[123] and it is possibly related to the later "Fábrica de Discos Colombia, Ltda", a company that requested a licence for operating as a record factory in 1964.[124]

Now, regarding the consolidation of a sector of small players in the record business that depended on others for different phonographic processes, it is worth noting that two different terms were used to refer to them. The term "marcas 'piratas'" [pirate brands]

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[118] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 19, 1956, p2. [My translation]
[119] *La República*, Bogotá, November 4, 1956, p1.
[120] Radio interview with José María Fuentes 'El Curro' by Álvaro Ruiz Hernández with no date, provided by Discos Fuentes' press office as an audio file and a transcript. See: p16, and pp24-25 of the transcript. [My translation]
[121] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 22, 1954, p2.
[122] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 17, 1952, p2. Note: Ciro Vega was an important player during the time, by 1952 working as "jefe de departamento de grabaciones" [chief of recording department] with the De Bedout firm in Medellín, and later distributor for different labels, and one of the few local agents for foreign publishers.
[123] *El Diario*, Medellín, May 5, 1954, p2.
[124] "Solicitud de Funcionamiento de Fábrica Discos Colombia Ltda., Negada Por Estar En Zona Residencial (Calle 31 Con Cras 78 Y 80)", AHM, Fondo ALCALDIA, Serie ACTAS, Medellín, September 9, 1964, Folios 44r-57r.

was evidenced since 1952, and those who fell under such category were sentenced as a "real chaos for national phonographic industry".[125] As discussed before, price decreases instated by some record companies in Medellín that year, had the explicit intention of affecting small competitors, referred to as "pirate" labels.[126] A year later I evidenced the first use of the term "marcas independientes" [independent brands], in relation to a couple of labels started by musicians and composers from the Antioquia region: Nacional, owned by Abel Diaz, and Castillo owned by Arturo Ruiz del Castillo.[127] In the distinct use of these two terms, a significant tension is expressed, perhaps differentiating between those considered allies (at least to some extent), and those considered enemies for some of the main companies.

Finally, it is worth considering that some record factories outside of Medellín could have operated by pressing their own records for local distribution or within their own region, while outsourcing pressing and national distribution with companies that operated in cities different from their own, in this way avoiding shipping costs. Additionally, it is noticeable in such descriptions that those so-called "independent" players in record business could actually be better defined as the opposite: small companies dependent on the services of bigger companies with the technological means of production they do not possess. Extending this argument in the light of the change in modes of production analysed earlier in this chapter, it is evident that asymmetries in ownership of technology and distribution networks, played a central role in configuring a domestic recording industry during the 1950s, and they involved the interplay between leading and big capital record companies or "fábricas de discos", and a group of smaller and less equipped players.

[125] *El Diario*. Medellín, August 20, 1952, p2.
[126] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 3, 1952, p2, 6; *El Diario*, Medellín, August 20, 1952, p2. [My translation]
[127] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 16, 1953, p5. [My translation] The first source credits Abel Rico in Pereira as owner of the Nacional label, but the information is rectified later. See: *El Diario,* Medellín, September 23, 1953, p4.

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Along the pages of this chapter I have attempted a diachronic description of the process through which Medellín came to be considered the capital of Colombia's phonographic industry. The historical process has been explained as a gradual change in modes of production. From late 19th century record and sound technology importing, to a model of domestic record production based on international outsourcing of most elements of phonographic technology determinant during 1930s-1940s. I have called the latter a *proto domestic recording business*, and then traced a gradual increase in technological procedures available domestically: from the pioneering "record factories" with pressing plants in the Atlantic coast of late 1940s, to an explosion of players in domestic recording business, particularly inventoried here from 1949 to 1956.

In this gradual shift form one model of production (1930s to 1940s) to another (1949-1956), even though the traditional geography of the phenomenon (and of Colombian *national* history) remains the same, the geographic distribution of main players in recording and sound technology industries in Colombia changed. From a small group of three main entrepreneurs in domestic recording business—Fuentes (1936) in the Atlantic Coast, Felix de Bedout with Hernando Tellez (1939/40) in Medellín, and J. Glottmann S.A. in Bogotá—which draws a picture of one main player in each of three regions: Atlantic Coast, Central Andes, Oriental Andes. To a broad group resulting from the explosion of players in recording business, that encompassed at least sixteen main record producers or factories, and a plethora of small independents, concentrated in one of the three previous regions: the central Andean city of Medellín.

Finally, as I have evidenced, established merchants involved in import-distribution-retail business of sound hardware and records, along with people from a growing radio broadcasting sector, were key pioneer players during the 1930s and 1940s. While from the late 1940s to mid1950s they were joined by members of a strong economic group from Medellín (with interlaced interests in industry, commerce and a strong financial sector). Significantly, foreign "investment" or interests flowed indirectly and exclusively through a domestic sector of import-distribution-retailers in the business of international trade from late 19th century until mid1950s, and also through licensing agreements mostly since the 1940s, a channel for foreign interests that as later chapters evidence continued to expand since then until 1963 (and beyond).

Chapter 7. Expansion of Colombian recording business, and the emergence of sound technology assembly industries: mid 1950s

Following the previous description of the gradual unfolding of a new and technologically autonomous mode of production in Colombian recording industry (which took place from late 1940s to mid1950s, during a first moment of the period studied), this chapter focuses on the transition from a first to a second moment (mid 1950s to early 1960s), during which the country entered a period of strong import substitution policies (see Chapter 5 for a detailed depiction of these two moments). The analysis here, will move forward by exploring a series of progressions and consequences of the novel mode of production and of new international commerce regulations. Firstly, it traces the emergence of the topic of Colombian recording industry in economic press and journals in 1956. Secondly, it charts the activities of a sector of sound hardware importers during the firsts half of the 1950s, and points out that after the change of international commerce policies of 1956, this kind of players faced the necessity of changing their business activities. This happened at the same time that a domestic sound hardware and electro-domestic "assembly industry" emerged, catalysed by the new policies after which record players and radios were produced or assembled domestically, using mostly imported parts and pieces. A third section of the chapter will concentrate on the case of Philips Colombiana S.A., which from the outset played a predominant role in the emergent sphere of hardware production (and later in the domestic record business as well, by establishing their own subsidiary in Bogotá). Finally, I will evidence that in parallel to powerful players as Philips, a sector of small players dedicated to radio and phonograph assembly were also part of the emerging industries, and formed mostly out of radio repair shops.

Now, before moving on to these tasks, in order to contextualize the reader I will use a series of primary sources that chart an initial short-term dynamics boom-bust-boom in record sales from 1949 to mid 1950s, underlining that these dynamics are a conspicuous characteristic of the early moment in the process of establishment of the new sector of domestic record companies or "factories". Medellín's cultural journalism reviews of recording industry from 1949 to the 1950s, report an initial situation of *boom* in record sales in 1949, and then one of *crisis* from 1950 to 1952, followed by a second *boom* in 1953, which constituted a sustained bonanza that continued during the following decade.

By December 1949, in cultural journalism in *El Diario* newspaper from Medellín a tone of enthusiasm marked end-of-year reviews, in which a recent geographic expansion of record "factories" in Colombia was received with praise.[1] It involved a group of three new players based in Medellín—Sonolux with its Lyra label, Silver, and Caracol—that during

[1] "La Industria de Grabaciones", *El Diario*, Medellín, December 20, 1949, p2. Note: Records by Caracol are reviewed since then until 1952 (see: Ibid, July 23, 1952, p2), and also in 1950 the press reports difficulties for the label Caracol, whose records are pressed by Silver (see: "Caracol en dificultades", *El Diario*, Medellín, August 9, 1950, p5). There is very little detail about the company itself, and no clear reference to its relation with the radio network Cadena Radial Colombiana S.A., also known as Caracol.

the year had joined those that had been operating in the Atlantic Coast previously—Fuentes in Cartagena, and Discos Tropical in Barranquilla. A summary of "national phonographic production" was repeated the next year, even though without the previous enthusiasm.[2] In 1950, at the same time that the arrival of Sello Vergara, a new player in Bogotá was celebrated, concerns about overproduction were already a matter of debate in the press. Music journalist Hernán Restrepo Duque attributed these to "absurd" competition practices among record companies which threatened their own existence, since most records released actually failed commercially. For him, the phenomenon of most records failing, was not related to a misreading of audience preferences, but to the fact that the public could not cope with an excessive rate of production.[3] By mid 1951 the situation was perceived as one in which an initial "fiebre discófila" [discophile fever] had been in decline for a considerable and worrisome period of time.[4]

A few years later, perception shifted again as reviews once more revealed an optimistic and positive tone. Early in 1953, good and growing record sales made by "discómanos" [disco-maniacs] in the city and the rural areas were reported.[5] While terms as "las pastas criollas" (which refers to domestically pressed records) or "fábricas de discos" [record factories] were used in journalism since 1949, only since then did terms related to the idea of "discomania" become common and of frequent use.[6] It is noteworthy that the earliest short chronicle on the history of Colombian recording industry, evidenced through this research's archive work, was published in 1954, and it emphatically applauded the extensive development of phonographic industry in the last few years with cheer and optimism.[7] Also, while reports on hit records had been sporadic since 1949, or published yearly or by semester, during 1955 the section "El marcador de la popularidad" [The marker of popularity], offering charts of top selling records, started to be published in a more regular basis in *El Diario* newspaper.[8]

Also, during December 1955, the press in Medellín complained about the proliferation of record players or "tocadiscos" at maximum level, noting they "kept working day and night at immoderate volume" in certain neighbourhoods of the city, and blew the whistle on the lack of enforcement by the police of established regulations on their volume, hours and

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[2] "Resumen de la producción fonográfica nacional", *El Diario*, Medellín, December 20, 1950, p2,7. [My translation]

[3] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 20, 1950, p2,7. For a theorization of overproduction as one element among a set of various core characteristics of "cultural industries" see: Hesmondhalgh, 2007, p22. For overproduction in late 20th century corporate recording companies as a response to a fundamental uncertainty about the commercial results of record releases, see: Negus, 1999, p.32-35.

[4] *El Diario*, Medellín, May 16, 1952, p2,6.

[5] *El Diario*, Medellín, March 25, 1953, p2.

[6] This was evidenced in *El Diario* as well in *La República* newspaper in Bogotá. See for example: *La Républica*, Bogotá, December 20, 1956, p4.

[7] "En pocos años la industria fonográfica nacional ha obtenido extenso desarrollo", *El Diario*, Medellín, July 21, 1954, p2,7. For another early journalistic historiography on the matter see Latorre Mendoza's piece about media and communication history based on anecdotes and his childhood memories: Latorre Mendoza (1951), "De la Aldea a la Ciudad Industrial: Cuando llegó el progreso a Medellín" in *El Diario*, Medellín, June 7, p5.

[8] See: *El Diario*, Medellín, August 10, 1955, p2; Ibid, August 17, 1955, p2; Ibid, August 31, 1955, p2,7; Ibid, December 7, 1955, p2, 7.

days of use.[9] The signing of a licence agreement that year between Codiscos and Capitol Records from US, was commended as definite proof that "the phonographic capital in Colombia" had been definitively settled in Medellín.[10] At the same time, the press in Bogotá reported that radios and televisions were to be manufactured domestically by Philips de Colombia S.A. in a new plant in Puente Aranda, near Bogotá.[11]

As the second half of the decade progressed, commerce during end-of-the year season produced positive results. According to a report cited in the press by FENALCO (the national association of merchants), in spite of tight import restrictions imposed earlier in 1956, sales had increased satisfactorily. Shops in Bogotá were working longer shifts, and national producers were getting the same reception as those foreign.[12] Similarly, December 1958 was reviewed as a good month for commerce, with 40% increases in sales, in respect to the previous year in Bogotá. Among other goods, radio and record sales were particularly outstanding, as was the use of recorded music in shops to entertain customers.[13] Significantly, a publicity campaign for Noel biscuits (a very popular product during the time), made a visual analogy between the round edible objects and music records, in order to promote surprise vouchers to claim free records, found inside biscuit tin cans.[14] [See Figure 7.1 next page]

Therefore, considering the events reviewed in the previous paragraphs, an initial argument in this chapter is the following. After an initial short cycle of boom-crisis-boom in record sales characterised by overproduction, the overall picture of the transition to our second moment of study (1956-1963), is one marked by positive reviews about the operation of a vigorous sector of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia.

[9] "Los tocadiscos a todo volumen se han multiplicado", *El Diario*, Medellín, December 15, 1955, p5. Note: in section "La Ciudad y Sus Barrios", also credited to Hernán Restrepo Duque. [My translation]
[10] "Como Llegó a Ser Capitol Récords Una de Las Empresas Fonográficas Más Famosas Del Mundo," *El Diario*. Medellín, September 7, 1955, p2. [My translation]
[11] *La República*, Bogotá, December 27, 1955, p2.
[12] *La República*, Bogotá, December 13, 1956, p2.
[13] *La República*, Bogotá, December 23, 1958, p10. Note: Use of music also reported in main retail shops as Ley, Tia, and Vida, in general related to the "música brillante" style [see Chapter 4 for a definition].
[14] *La República*, Bogotá, April 20, 1959, p9.

Figure 7.1 - Advert for Noel biscuits, giving away records by Sonolux (1959).

Source: *La República*, Bogotá, April 20, 1959, p9.

1. Recording industry appears in economic journals: significant size by 1956

While music journalism in the Medellín newspaper *El Diario* covered the growing domestic recording industry since an early stage in 1949, judging on the revision of the collections of two specialized journals devoted to studies of Colombian economy it took until after mid 1950s for the topic to emerge in printed media not related to culture or entertainment. The earliest cases resulting from this thesis's archive work are two articles specifically dedicated "national" recording industries. On the one hand, "Grabaciones Nacionales" [National Recordings] (1956) authored by Ernesto García Vela appeared in the magazine *Industria Colombiana* (a periodical commonly advertised during the time in *La República*).[15] The magazine covered the development of industry in the country, and for the particular case of domestic record companies it used quantitative information provided by Ciro Vega Aguilera an important record distributor and retailer in Medellín during the time. On the other hand, the article "Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos" (1958) was published by *Economía Colombiana: Revista de la Contraloría General de la República*.[16] The magazine, published since 1954 by the national audit office, based the mentioned piece on a interview with Alfredo Díez, founder and president of the Codiscos record company in Medellín.[17]

These two texts constitute key primary sources, and it can be argued that they evidence national State level interest in the role of an expanding sector of Colombian recording companies within overall manufacturing industries, whose development was a policy priority by the time. In this sense, their description of the state of affairs in 1956 and 1958 is of particularly value, keeping in mind that they are by *nature* optimistic and their underlying motivation is advocacy. Therefore, it is worth highlighting a series of points made in these two articles' overall characterization of recording industry in Colombia, some of which are consistent with several features evidenced in previous chapters using other primary sources.

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[15] García Vela, E. "Grabaciones Nacionales" (1956), *Industria Colombiana,* Año III, No. 29, May 1956, pp45-47.

[16] The article's title translates: Colombian Company of Records, Ltd. (Codiscos) - Music from America and Europe in Codiscos.

[17] "Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos" [Interview with Alfredo Díez president of Compañía Colombiana de Discos, Ltda. - CODISCOS] (1958), in *Economía Colombiana: revista de la Contraloría General de la República*, Year 5, Vol 16 (47), March 1958, pp611–616. Note: *Revista Economía Colombiana* chronicled growing and promising manufacturing companies in section "La Industria" during 1957–1958. In Valle del Cauca and Cali region it covered Empresas Municipales de Cali, La Garantía (textiles), Frutera Colombiana S.A. (Fruco), Colgate Palmolive Cia., Grasas S.A., Home Products Inc., Molinos Roncallo S.A. (see: *Economía Colombiana*, Año IV, Vol. 15, No. 43. November 1957, pp393-498). From Medellín it featured Cervecerías Unión S.A., Textiles Modernos S.A, Coca-Cola, Industrial de Gaseosas S.A., Industrias Metalúrgicas Unidas, S.A. (IMUSA), Compañía Colombiana de Discos, Ltda. (CODISCOS), Cooperativa Familiar de Medellín, Ltda., Pintuco - Pinturas Colombianas Ltda (see: *Economía Colombiana*, Vol. 16, No. 47. March 1958, pp587-627). Additionally, special features of Medellín textile company Fabricato, and Ingenio Manuelita S.A. an industrial refinery of sugar in the Valle del Cauca region were published (see: *Economía Colombiana*, Año V, Vol. 17, No. 48, April 1958, pp201-217).

Firstly, the broad picture is an industry composed by a small set of main players with their own phonographic factories, and a broad group of small players which pressed their own recordings through the former companies, based in the main cities of the country: Barranquilla and Cartagena in the Atlantic Coast; Medellín, Pereira, and Ibagué in the Central Andean region; and Bogotá in the eastern Andes (according to these sources with "one factory only"). Within this geography, Medellín was posed as capital of the industry due to the concentration of factories there, which according to cited estimates provided "almost 80% of national production with its five factories".[18] Additionally, as Alfredo Díez put it back then, Colombian recording industries were protected by Government economic policy and going through a booming moment:

> It is a prosperous industry. We don't have insuperable difficulties. Demand is bigger every day. The Government has protected us by prohibiting imports of foreign records, because it understood fully that our industry is of equal and even superior quality. We are in sum, very optimistic.[19]

Secondly, the specific appraisal of Codiscos was interestingly interwoven with an argument about Colombia being part of a small group of countries in Latin America, which by then had their own autonomous recording industry. As the earlier text noted, production in 1955 was of more than 2 million units of records, including 78, 45 and $33^{1/3}$ rpm formats, a figure celebrated as a "valuable contribution" to the country's economic development. In the face of such data and other related to an increased capacity of production, the article claimed that Colombia had the third place in Latin America in "volume of production".[20] From such claims, a regional ranking of production volume (which excludes Brazil allegedly due to lack of information) was posed as follows: 1) Mexico, 2) Argentina, 3) Colombia, and 4) Chile. Codiscos' Alfredo Díez commented on this, with a perhaps embellished claim: "Colombia is in third place in South America", and added that while four-decades-old recording industries in Mexico, Argentina, Chile and Brazil were also operating by then, "Colombia is as advanced [as them]" and even "surpasses them in some aspects".[21]

This argument about Colombia occupying a third place in Latin America as a music recordings producer, resonates with the earliest IFPI figures available for Colombia. According to world sales of LPs and pre-recorded tapes in 1985, Colombia occupied a second place in value of sales within Spanish speaking Latin America, with US$15 million,

[18] García Vela, E. "Grabaciones Nacionales" (1956), Ibid, pp46-7. Note: factories reported in Medellín, Ondina, Silver, Codiscos, Sonolux (Lyra) and Fuentes; in Barranquilla, Discos Tropical and Atlantic (releasing its own label as well as US matrixes); in Cartagena, Discos Curro; in Bogotá, "one factory only" with Sello Vergara; in Pereira, Marango; in Cali Mario Méndez "is setting up the "Victoria label"; in Ibagué, Discos Luzart owned by Luis Suarez (Ibidem). [My translation]

[19] "Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos" (1958), Ibid, p615.

[20] García Vela (1956), Ibid, p45. [My translation] Note: The alleged source of data in this article is an unreferenced study by Ciro Vega Aguilera.

[21] "Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos" (1958), Ibid, p613. [My translation]

while México registered the highest figures with a total of US$20.5 million, and Argentina a third place with US$6.1.[22]

Thirdly, Colombian recording industry was characterized as one in which production growth had been intimately related to the use of foreign matrixes, while in contrast, exports had played a minor role. As Díez noted, many companies were dedicated to "producing and pressing imported matrixes", while Colombia "is not a wide scale importer", with the exception of Venezuela, which was said to "consume more or less 15% of what we produce".[23]

Fourthly, music genre diversity was presented as another main trait, with Colombian companies releasing both "discos populares y de música selecta" [popular and classical music], as well as music from Europe, US and Latin America.[24] Such was the case with Codiscos through its foreign company licenses. In particular, music of foreign origin was predominant: it was claimed that 90% of commercial hits were songs by foreign authors, and that "Mexican music is above all we know".[25]

In fifth place, the appearance of Colombian domestic recording industry in such specialized journals, certainly brings up the question of its economic size, which as discussed in Chapter 3 is one hindered by the lack of Colombian IFPI figures for the era and of official sales data from the companies. Under such conditions of proper statistics absence, I nonetheless put myself to the task of collecting a set of information from sporadic reports in journalistic primary sources, and from the two key articles discussed above, in order to at least provide some ideas about the economics of recording companies during the 1950s. [See Figure 7.2] [26]

According to Alfredo Díez from Codiscos: "[v]ery complete statistics in my possession, indicate that from six hundred thousand annual records that the country consumed two years ago [1950], we have increased to two millions and a half [1953]".[27] Three years later, according to an unreferenced study by Ciro Vega Aguilera, 1.8 million units had been sold in 1956 by all factories including all formats (150 thousand units a month).[28] In 1958, the total value of fourteen main companies was estimated in $15 million pesos

[22] This data also excludes sales in Brazil. See: *International Federation of Phonogram and Videogram Producers. IFPI. 1987*. Edited by Dave Laing and Carol Wilson. London: IFPI, 1987. Note: Discerned figures for 1985 are: Mexico US$12.5 million in LPs (30 in 1984) and US$8 in tapes (25 in 1984); Colombia US$ 9 million in LPs and US$ 6 million in tapes; and Argentina US$1.4 million in LPs (3.2 in 1984) and US$ 4.7 in tapes.
[23] García Vela, "Grabaciones Nacionales" (1956), Ibid, pp46-47. [My translation]
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid, pp45-46.
[26] Depending on the case, appraisals were done using different units. These include: rate and capacity of production, capital of the companies, number of workers, and with them, luckily, some information of quantity of records actually sold.
[27] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 9, 1953, p5.
[28] García Vela, "Grabaciones Nacionales" (1956), Ibid, pp45-47. Data from an unreferenced study by Ciro Vega Aguilera.

value by Díez as well.[29] In other words, and cautious about the credibility of these data, sales of domestic recording companies increased between three and four times during the first half of the 1950s, reaching an annual sales range of 2.5 million units (1953) to 1.8 million (1956) for all factories in the country (2.1 million in average). Also, contrasting these estimates with a 1928 peak of 1.1 million units of imported records sold in Colombia, right before the 1930s depression during which sales fell dramatically (Gronow, 1983, p63),[30] suggests that sales had dropped to almost half that quantity in 1951, but later experienced a two fold growth.[31]

Figure 7.2 - Records sales, production, and other figures in primary sources (1949-1960).

Year	Figures	Company, artist	Source
1949	**5 thousand units sold of each of five hit releases** by Garzón y Collazos	Ciro Vega	*El Diario*, February 9 , 1949, p2,6.
1950	110 thousand records produced monthly	8 record factories in existence	Wade (2000, p277), source from *Semana*, 30 Dec 1950, p26.
1951	40 thousand records imported	Félix de Bedout e hijos to RCA Victor.	*El Diario*, August 29, 1951.
1951/ 53	**600 thousand records sold in 1951; 2.5 million in 1953**	Whole country accordign to Alfredo Díe from Codiscos.	*El Diario*, September 9, 1953, p5.
1954	3 thousand records produced daily	Zeida	*El Diario*, April 28, 1954.
1954	**100 thousand records sold in 6 months, of several releases**	Noel Petro	*El Diario*, August 25, 1954, p2.
1954	**More than 2 million sold during year**	All factories (but most of them by Sonolux and Zeida).	*El Diario*, December 22, 1954.
1955	**3 thousand units sold in 10 months:** " batió el record de ventas entre los paises latino americanos"	Peerless LP by harpist Florencio Coronado pressed by Silver in Colombia (Latin American record).	*La República*, October 23, 1955, p10.
1955	More than 2 million records produced during year	All factories. Data from an unreferenced study by Ciro Vega Aguilera	"Grabaciones Nacionales." *Industria Colombiana*, 1956, pp45-47.
1955	**150 thousand units a month sold of all formats**	All factories. Data from an unreferenced study by Ciro Vega Aguilera	"Grabaciones Nacionales," *Industria Colombiana*, 1956, pp45-47.
1955	2.4 million records produced during year	All factories. Data from an unreferenced study by Ciro Vega Aguilera	"Grabaciones Nacionales," *Industria Colombiana*, 1956, pp45-47.
1958	**50 thousand units sold of hit record**	Codiscos' unexpected hit "Yo valgo más"(80% sold in small towns, 20% in main cities).	"Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos", *Economía Colombiana*, 1958, pp611-616.
1958	**$15 million pesos value of whole industry**	Estimated value of 14 "factories".	"Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos", *Economía Colombiana*, 1958, pp611-616.
1958	Production from 6K/month in 1950 to 25K/day in 1958	Alfredo Díez, Codiscos.	"Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos", *Economía Colombiana*, 1958, pp611-616.
1958	Capital of $8 million plus assets of $3 million, 160 employees.	Alfredo Díez, Codiscos.	"Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos", *Economía Colombiana*, 1958, pp611-616.
1958	10 installed record presses	Sonolux	"Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos", *Economía Colombiana*, 1958, pp611-616.
1958	18 installed presses and 12 more on their way	Codiscos	"Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos", *Economía Colombiana*, 1958, pp611-616.
1960	25 million units produced in ten years: average of 2.5 million a year.	Codiscos (Horacio Diez) calculates.	*Radioperiodico Clarín*, July 1, 1960.
1960	Capital of $2 million pesos, 120 people employed in factory, and 30 direct distributors.	Codiscos (Horacio Diez).	*Radioperiodico Clarín*, July 1, 1960.

Additionally, it is worth considering some reports by the press and record company executives in order to give an idea about the level of sales that constituted a hit record during the time. I gathered evidence about 5 thousand units sold by Ciro Vega of each of five different releases by Garzón y Collazos in 1949,[32] and of 3 thousand units sold during 10 months in 1955 by the Silver record company of a release by harpist Florencio (through a licensing agreement with the Mexican Peerless label), which according to the

[29] "Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos", *Economía Colombiana*, Year 5, Vol 16 (47), March 1958, pp611-616.
[30] See Appendix 6.3 for a chart of 1921-1934 record sales in Colombia produced by Gronow (1983).
[31] See Appendix 6.9 for figures on record sales in Latin America from 1960 to 1980 in Gronow (1983, pp66-68), and Appendix 6.10 for recorded music sales in four Latin American countries (1999 vs. 2004) from IFPI reports.
[32] *El Diario*, Medellín, February 9 , 1949, p2,6.

press in Bogotá achieved the highest sales "within the Latin American countries", and broke regional marks.[33] Also, during a 6 months period in 1954, 100 thousand records were reportedly sold of different releases by Noel Petro.[34] Later, Codiscos claimed they had achieved sales 50 thousand units of the hit record "Yo valgo más" in 1958 (80% sold in small towns, 20% in main cities).[35] If this set of figures allows for an appraisal of the growth of the sales standards of a hit recording during the 1950s, it suggests an incredible ten-fold increase from a mark of 5 thousand in 1949, to 50 thousand in 1958: which interestingly contrasts with the figures effective in the year 2000 for a Gold record recognition—25 thousand units, and for a Platinum—50 thousand units.[36]

A final point I want to highlight about the picture of domestic recording business drawn by the cited key articles from the second half of the 1950s, is a reportedly high uncertainty of the commercial success of a release. Alfredo Díez from Codiscos specifically stated that only one out of fifty records put in the Colombian market might turn into a hit.[37] Amidst the claims of prosperity in which those texts are wrapped, such rate seems incredibly hard, considering cases elsewhere. Sanjek and Sanjek (1996, p326), an insider history of US music industry, explain how during the 1950s, in the context of numerous new independent labels with records in the charts, major companies faced "smaller output" which caused their "success rate" to rise "from 1952's 2.3 to 3.3, or one hit out of every thirty releases." In other words, the authors indicate that initially one out of twenty three records would make it high up into the charts, and suggest that later, in a context of more competition, achieving a hit was harder and involved a higher number of releases (one out of thirty). This topic of success rates of releases is analyzed by Negus (1999, p32) among major record companies in the 1990s. As he notes: "For many years... the same statistic has circulated within the music industry: a claim that only one in eight of the artists acquired by a record company will sell enough recordings to recoup their initial investment and be considered a financial success." And to this he significantly adds: "This is an elusive figure, hard to verify and as mythical as it is statistical. Yet it is an indication of how staff within the music industry perceive their daily plight" (Ibid).

The different cited rates seem rather disparate, and the change from the 1950s to the 1990s counterintuitive, if not incongruous. Following the Sanjeks' rationale, expected results after four decades of growth in the record business would be tougher rates I reckon, and perhaps not the relaxation in competition that would allow for rates changing from 1/30 to 1/8. Nevertheless, if one assumes the markedly hard success rate of one hit

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[33] *La República*, Bogotá, October 23, 1955, p10.
[34] *El Diario*, Medellín, August 25, 1954, p2.
[35] "Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos" (1958), Ibid, pp611-616.
[36] See: *International Federation of Phonogram and Videogram Producers*. *IFPI. 1987*. Edited by Dave Laing and Carol Wilson. London: IFPI, 1987; and also see *IFPI, The Recording Industry in Numbers report, 2000*. Certification awards in Colombia have been reduced more than half during the last decades, following the downtrend of sales the global industry experienced after the 1990s. In the year 2000 a Gold record meant sales of the order of 25 thousand units and a Platinum meant sales of 50 thousand. By 2008 these quantitative roofs changed to 10 thousand units for a Gold record and 20 thousand for a Platinum in domestic albums (and half those figures for international albums). See *IFPI, The Recording Industry in Numbers* reports, from 2000 to 2012.
[37] "Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos" (1958), Ibid, p613.

out of fifty records released claimed by Codiscos in 1958 as a truth worthy indication of the actual context, the appraisal hints at a moment of very high competition in Colombian domestic recording business: even higher than the levels of competition suggested by the cited US rates during the same decade. Having said that, it is also worth reading Diéz's claims in the light of Negus (1999) understanding of these rates as an appraisal of a dual mythical/statistic *nature*, common in a business characterized by high levels of uncertainty and anxiety. In this sense, they can be taken as things record companies say about themselves, that sit between the subjective and the objective, or perhaps they could be simply interpreted as manipulation. In any case, the specific matter would certainly benefit from deeper dedicated research.

2. From a sector of sound hardware importers, to post 1956 consolidation of domestic sound hardware *assembly* industries

As one would expect, the tight restrictions on international commerce instated by the Government in late 1956, which have been mentioned previously, had important consequences not only for the record business in Colombia but also for that of sound hardware technology for mass consumption. In the following pages I will evidence how the hardware business in Colombia, previously the domain of merchants that worked as local agents and distributors based on imports, shifted under new conditions that hindered the import based activities of theirs. On the back of State regulations of late 1956, the sound hardware business in Colombia became the domain of a domestic sector dedicated to the assembly of radios, radio-phonographs and TVs (yet not of professional phonographic and recording equipment). The process involved a reorganization of the roles of players involved earlier as importers, and the entrance of new players, from small radio retail and repair shops to a domestic branch of the Dutch originated electric technology conglomerate Philips, which played a leading and powerful role. Here, paradoxes of Colombian industry protectionist policies should be noted. Firstly, at the same time that tight regulation of material imports saw an increase in the *innumerable* goods in the prohibited list, foreign investment and trans-nationals were welcomed and greeted with very loose regulation and low work force prices (Kalmanovitz, 2005, pp423-424). Secondly, as evidenced in Chapter 5, the overall value of imports of commodities related to recording and sound technology industries increased dramatically if one compares an appraisal for the 1949-1956 period with another for the period 1957-1967. While record imports decreased, those of magnetic tape for recording sound increased dramatically, as well those of parts and pieces for sound reproduction hardware.[38]

While hardware import restrictions were instated in 1949, such measures only achieved stability and strength after 1956. As mentioned before, during the Rojas Pinilla period as president, import restrictions were reversed and they experienced a peak between 1954 and 1956. Nevertheless, the fall in the international prices of coffee after 1956 forced Rojas Pinilla to reinstate import restrictions, a policy shift well received by industrials (Saenz Rovner, pp160-161). By the end of that year, the government announced a new list of prohibited imports in which both phonographic hardware and software, "grafófonos, discos", plus their raw materials, were included.[39] Consequently, 1956 was a turning point year because from then onwards, recording companies operated under a long lasting record import prohibition which changed their relations with other players, while players in domestic assembly industry of sound technology hardware became markedly visible in the public sphere, at the same time that advertising by previously active importers was markedly reduced.

[38] See Figure 5.22 in Chapter 5. Note: The increase in magnetic tape software imports is associable a continuous increase in foreign label licensing (discussed in detail in Chapter 8), since the international shipping of master recordings by then favored tape format over stampers.
[39] "Lista de prohibida importación", *La República,* Bogotá, November 4, 1956, p1,12,14.

Figure 7.3 - Hardware importers, distributers and retailers advertising in press and magazines (1949 - 1956).

Brand	Origin	Strategy	Domestic Distrib	Distrib. Net	Commodities	Source	Years 49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	Hardware adverts		
Imperial	Germany	Colombian Distribs.	***Almacén Westinghouse***	Med	Radios, Radiolas	Dia						1			1	0.5%	
Wega	Germany	Colombian Distribs.	***Almacén Westinghouse***	Med	Radios, Radiolas	Dia						1			1	0.5%	
Pilot	UK	Colombian Distribs.	***Almacén Westinghouse***	Med	Radios	Dia			3	1					4	1.9%	4.7%
Westinghouse	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Almacén Westinghouse***	Med	Radios, TV	Dia	3	1						1	4	1.9%	
Grundig	Germany	Colombian Distribs.	***Almacenes Camacho Roldán***	Bta.	Radios, Radiolas	La Rep								3	3	1.4%	
Webster-Chicago	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Almacenes Camacho Roldán***	Bta.	Tocadiscos	La Rep								1	1	0.5%	3.8%
Grundig	Germany	Colombian Distribs.	***Almacenes Camacho Roldán***	Bta.	Radio-fonógrafos	Cromos								4	4	1.9%	
Motorola	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Almacenes Ravel***	Bta.	Autoradios, TV, "Alta Fidelidad"	Cromos					2	1	1	2	8	3.8%	
Lignitone	Czech	Colombian Distribs.	***Antonio Duque G (Med); Carlos J. García B. y Cía (Bta)***	Bta & Med	Horns (music inst)	Dia					1				1	0.5%	
Telefunken	Germany	Colombian Distribs.	***C. Pardo & Cía Ltda***	Bta.	Radios	Cromos				1					1	0.5%	
Telefunken	Germany	Colombian Distribs.	***C. Pardo & Cía Ltda***	Bta.	Radios, Tocadiscos	La Rep						1	1		2	0.9%	
Zenith	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Casa Belga + Foto-Radio + otros***	Nat	Radios, Radio-fonógrafos, radiolas, TV	Cromos				5	7	3	5	1	21	9.9%	
Zenith	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Casa Belga + Foto-Radio + otros***	Nat	Tocadiscos, Radiolas, Radios, TV	Rep						4	1	3	8	3.8%	13.7%
Loewe Opta	Germany	Colombian Distribs.	***Curacao Trading Co.***	Nat	Radios, Radio-gramófonos	Rep							2	4	6	2.8%	
Westinghouse	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Curacao Trading Co.***	Nat	Radios + electrodomésticos	Cromos					1				1	0.5%	3.3%
Philco	US	Colombian Branch	***Distribuidora Philco S.A. + otros***	Nat	Radios + neveras, planchas	Cromos			1		3		1		5	2.4%	
Philco	US	Colombian Branch	***Distribuidora Philco S.A. + otros***	Nat	Tocadiscos, Radio, TV, TV-Radio-Fonog	Rep						3	3	9	15	7.1%	9.4%
General Electric	US	Colombian Branch	***General Electric de Colombia S.A.***	Nat	"Equipos de Alta Fidelidad", radios	Cromos									0	0.0%	
General Electric	US	Colombian Branch	***General Electric de Colombia S.A.***	Nat	Radios, radio-fonógrafos, TV	Rep						2	4	8	14	6.6%	6.6%
Wurlitzer	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Ivan Restrepo A.***	Med	Wurlitzer 800 Juke	Dia	1	1							2	0.9%	
Eavestaff	UK	Colombian Distribs.	***J. Glottmann S.A.***		Pianos								1		1	0.5%	
RCA Victor	US	Colombian Distribs.	***J. Glottmann S.A.***	Nat	TV	Cromos								5	5	2.4%	
RCA Victor	US	Colombian Distribs.	***J. Glottmann S.A.***	Nat	TV	Rep						1	7	3	11	5.2%	8.5%
Steinway	US	Colombian Distribs.	***J. Glottmann S.A.***		Pianos								1		1	0.5%	
Philco	US	Colombian Branch	***J. y A. Vásquez L. Ltda.***	Med	Radios, Tocadiscos, Radio-fonógrafos, Radioelectrolas	Dia	1	2	1		2				6	2.8%	
Champion	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Julio y José Ramírez Johns & Co***	Nat	Billares	Rep						1			1	0.5%	
Cuesnon	France	Colombian Distribs.	***Manuel J. Plata***	Bta	Horns (music inst)	La Rep								1	1	0.5%	
Blaupunkt	Germany	Colombian Distribs.	***Mora Hnos.***	Nat	Radiolas	La Rep								1	1	0.5%	
Blaupunkt	Germany	Colombian Distribs.	***Mora Hnos.***	Med	Radios, Radiolas	Dia								1	1	0.5%	1.9%
Crosley	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Mora Hnos.***	Nat	TV	Cromos						1			1	0.5%	
Philips	Dutch	Colombian Branch	***Philips Colombiana S.A.***	Nat	Radios, Radio-gramófonos	Cromos					2	7	10	13	32	15.1%	
Philips	Dutch	Colombian Branch	***Philips Colombiana S.A.***	Nat	Tocadiscos, Radiogramófonos, Radiolas, Radios, Auto-radios, TV	Rep						3	16	12	33	15.6%	30.7%
Emerson	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Primavera & Almacén Cetro***	Antioquia, Caldas, Valle	Radio, "combinación tocadiscos y radio"	Dia					1				1	0.5%	
Philips	Dutch	Colombian Branch	***Radial***	Med	Radios	Diario				3					3	1.4%	
DeWald	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Radiotelevisión***	Med	Radios	Dia		1							1	0.5%	
National	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Ramón Cuellar Cía Ltda***	Bta.	Radios	Cromos					1				1	0.5%	
Scott	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Ramón Cuellar Cía Ltda***	Bta.	Radio-fonógrafos	Cromos					1				1	0.5%	0.9%
Westinghouse	US	Colombian Distribs.	***Salazar e hijos ltda***	Nat	TV y otros electrodomésticos	Rep								1	1	0.5%	
Silvertone	UK	Colombian Distribs.	***Sears, Roebuck & Co.***	Bta.	Radios, Radiolas, Radiogramófonos, "Consola"									2	2	0.9%	
Allstate	UK	Colombian Distribs.	***Sears, Roebuck & Co.***	Bta.	Auto-Radios	La Rep								1	1	0.5%	1.4%
Siemens	Germany	Colombian Branch	***Siemens***	Nat	Radios, Radiolas	Rep							1		1	0.5%	
Hohner	Germany	Colombian Distribs.	***Distribuidores Hohner***	Nat	Armónicas, Acordeones	Rep						1			3	1.4%	
Tungsram	Hungary	Colombian Distribs.	***Isy Neumann (Bogotá), Adolf Kuhne (Manizales)***	Bta, Man	Tubos	La Rep								1	1	0.5%	
31 foreign brands			**Hardware adv**		212		4	5	8	8	20	38	52	77	212	100.0%	
68% from US, 26% from Germany			**Players per year**				3	4	3	4	8	12	9	13			

A robust sector of twenty five [25] sound hardware importers, distributors and retailers were evidenced through their increasing advertising in printed media from 1949 to 1956.[40] [See Figure 7.3 in previous page] Almost a third of adverts were by **Philips Colombiana S.A.**, a long established branch of the Dutch conglomerate in the country with broad national distribution for radios, phonographs or "tocadiscos", and their combination as "radio-gramófonos" or "radiolas", as well as car radios and TV sets. [See figures 7.5 to 7.8 for some example adverts] Other main advertisers with national distribution were: **Casa Belga** and **Foto-Radio**, which advertised the same range of goods, particularly Zenith (US) radios; **Distribuidora Philco S.A.** promoting from Philco irons and fridges to radios, record players, their combination or "radio-fonógrafos"; **J. Glottmann S.A.** advertising pianos Eavestaff and Steinway as well as RCA Victor TV sets; and **General Electric de Colombia S.A**. which promoted radios, "radio-fonógrafos", TV sets and "High Fidelity Equipment". It is noteworthy that while De Bedout hnos. is an import player of this kind during the time, no adverts from the company promoting their licenced RCA Victor sound hardware were evidenced in the sources used.[41] Additionally, a group of eight [8] importers and distributors of jukeboxes were identified through Billboard magazine, most of them based in Bogotá, along with four [4] players from New York involved in the trade of this particular kind of sound hardware. [See Figure 7.4].

Figure 7.4 - Players in Jukebox international commerce, 1951-1956: US and Colombia.

City	Import/Distribution Companies	Notes	Staff	*Billboard*
New York	Young Distributing, Inc.	Wurlitzer used and reconditioned equipment	Joe Young	1953
New York	Atlantic-New York	Seeburg used and reconditioned equipment	Murray Kaye	1953
New York	Runyon Sales	Unspecified used and reconditioned equipment	Barney Sugerman	1953
New York	Herman Distributors	Unspecified used and reconditioned equipment	Arte Herman	1953
Medellín	Felix de Bedout e Hijos	Wurlitzer		1951
Barranquilla	Foto Velasco	Wurlitzer	Elieces Velasco (head)	1951
Bogotá	Importaciones Cabo, Ltda.	Wurlitzer	Leopoldo Franco	1955
Cali	Importadores Aliados Ltda.	Wurlitzer	Alfredo Rizo	1955
Cali	Alejandro Garces Ltda.	Seeburg		1956
Bogotá	Patiño & Patiño Ltda.	Seeburg sub-distributor		1956
Bogotá	Guillermo Zuluaga-Laserna	Seeburg sub-distributor		1956
Bogotá	Radiolaboratories Mohen	Seeburg sub-distributor	Julio C. Moreno (partner).	1956
Bogotá	Importaciones Extra Ltda.	AMI	Bernardo Lozano (manager)	1954
Medellín	Fidel Duque Isaza	AMI		1955
Manizales	Nicolas Echeverria & Cia.	AMI		1955
Cali	Central Fonotecnica	AMI		1955
Barranquilla	H. Echevarria and Cía. Ltda.	AMI		1955
Ibagué	Hugo Gaviria B.	AMI		1955
Pereira	Jaime Londoño A.	AMI		1955
Pereira	Simon Velasco & Co.	Rock-Ola		1955

Source: *Billboard* magazine, 1951-1956. Note: Alejandro Garces Ltda. in Cali, sets sub-distributors in Bogotá.

[40] The analysis includes material from *El Diario* in Medellín, and *La República* and *Cromos* in Bogotá. The number of campaigns in which domestic agents advertised foreign technology sound hardware, increased from 20 in 1953 to 77 in 1956, related mostly to US (68%) and German (26%) companies.

[41] While advertising for De Bedout was not evidenced in *El Diario*, their absence should be corroborated through other newspapers in Medellín as *El Colombiano*.

Figure 7.5 - Adv. Philips multi-object (1954).

Source: *La República*, Bogotá, Dec. 14, 1954.

Figure 7.6 - Adv. "Radio gramófonos" (1954).

Source: *Cromos*, Bogotá, 1954.

Figure 7.7 - Adv. "Cambiadiscos" Philips AG 1003 (1955).

Source: *La República*, Bogotá, Aug 10, 1955, p7.

Figure 7.8 - Adv. "Radio-gramófono" Philips HCL538 (1956).

Source: *La República*, Bogotá, Jan 9, 1956, p7.

Significantly, it should be noted that in issues of *La República* in Bogotá until 1956, a diversity of brands and domestic distributors were advertised, while after 1956, almost all sound technology advertisings was by Philips, with few exceptions as Philco. It was also since this breaking point year, that the topic of "assembly industry" started to be widely discussed in Colombian public sphere. That year, *La República* in Bogotá celebrated the scheme followed by "La industria del ensamblaje" [The assembly industry] using the domestic assembly of Remington Rand and Olivetti typewriters as examples. The newspaper also reported that imports of parts and pieces of machines for such purpose had been authorised by the government, including radios, sound amplifiers, speakers, record players for home use, and jukeboxes, among several others.[42] A year later the topic was extensively discussed in *Industria Colombiana* magazine, specifically related to the case of automobiles, a sector that had encountered many difficulties and had not fulfilled expectations of industrials involved.[43] The following year, *Economía Colombiana* magazine also joined discussions and reported about the country's assembly industry, but used a smaller scale example: Electricidad Medellín, an assembly company of lamps and electric heaters that had sprung out of a 1940s founded electric irons repair shop.[44]

Also since 1956, the new Colombian assembly industry was subject to a series of regulations, related to the fact that it depended on imports of parts and pieces in a context of foreign currency scarcity in Colombian economy. By May 1956, the concern of regulating radio assembly was formally expressed by merchants to the national customs authority Dirección Nacional de Aduanas, motivated among other things by the complex system of classifications, tariffs, prohibited lists, and so on.[45] A few years later, during 1959, a set of regulations and rules were issued by the national State, and a scheme of import licences for parts and pieces was formulated, determining they would only be granted to already established players, and to those that complied with a set of newly established criteria.[46] Further regulations were established during 1960, to which ACOPI, the Colombian association for small industrials responded by demanding more industry protectionism, and criticising the operating tariff system because the "nascent national producers" were not consulted and because commodities that were being produced in the country were not considered. [47] Among those, speakers with their parts and pieces were mentioned.[48] They claimed for their imports to be blocked since there was enough domestic production of "cones, membranes, and other parts of speakers".

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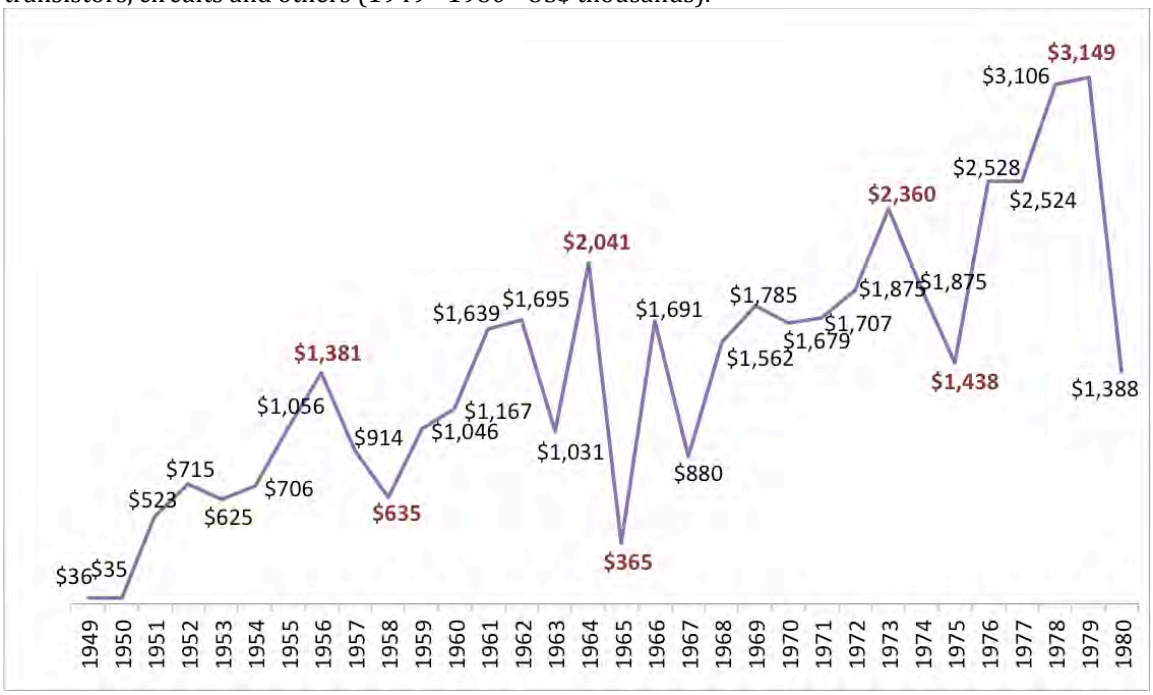
[42] *La República,* Bogotá, January 14, 1956, p3,5.
[43] "Crisis en la industria nacional de ensamble", *Industria Colombiana*, Año IV, no 44, August 1957, pp20-24.
[44] *Economía Colombiana*, Año V, Vol. 17, no. 50, June 1958, pp685-691.
[45] *La República,* Bogotá, May 20, 1956, p8.
[46] "Fijaron normas de importación para las plantas de ensamble. Solamente se otorgan licencias para las ya establecidas", *La República*, Bogotá, August 1, 1959, p2.; [More on rules for imports by "industria del ensamble"] *La República*, Bogotá, August 26, 1959, p2.; "Reglamentada la Importación para Industrias de Ensamble. Requisitos que deberán reunir las empresas", *La República*, Bogotá, September 8, 1959, p2.
[47] "Reglamentan importación de ensamble", *La República,* Bogotá, January 26, 1960, p2; "El gobierno reglamento industria de ensamble", Ibid, September 2, 1960, p1, 9. [My translation]
[48] See Appendices 7.3 to 7.9 for statistics on the value and country of origin and internal destination of imported disassembled speakers between 1956 to 1974.

Considering the above, it can be argued that sound technology business in Colombia during the 1950s changed radically. From a dominant model of importing hardware from different brands and parts of the world, in which a diverse number of domestic merchants were involved and that experienced a bonanza around 1954; to a post-1956 model of sound hardware "assembly industry". The latter based on importing disassembled machines and their parts and pieces, which were put together by workers in Colombia, in which as the following sections explain, Philips de Colombia, S.A. was a dominant player, at the same time that a group of small entrepreneurs emerged and consolidated.[49]

The series of official statistics of imports presented in Figure 7.9 aggregates electronic tubes for radios and TVS, transistors, circuits and other similar electronic parts. It evidences an overall continuous growing trend from very low levels in 1949 of US$36 thousand (when import bans were first instated) to US$2 million in 1964. The effects of tight restrictions imposed after 1956 are also readable in the graph, as well in a drop to US$635 thousand in 1958, after growth returns and surpasses the 1956 levels by 1961.

Figure 7.9 - Imports to Colombia of electric and electronic parts — Tubes for radios and TVs, transistors, circuits and others (1949 - 1980 - US$ thousands).



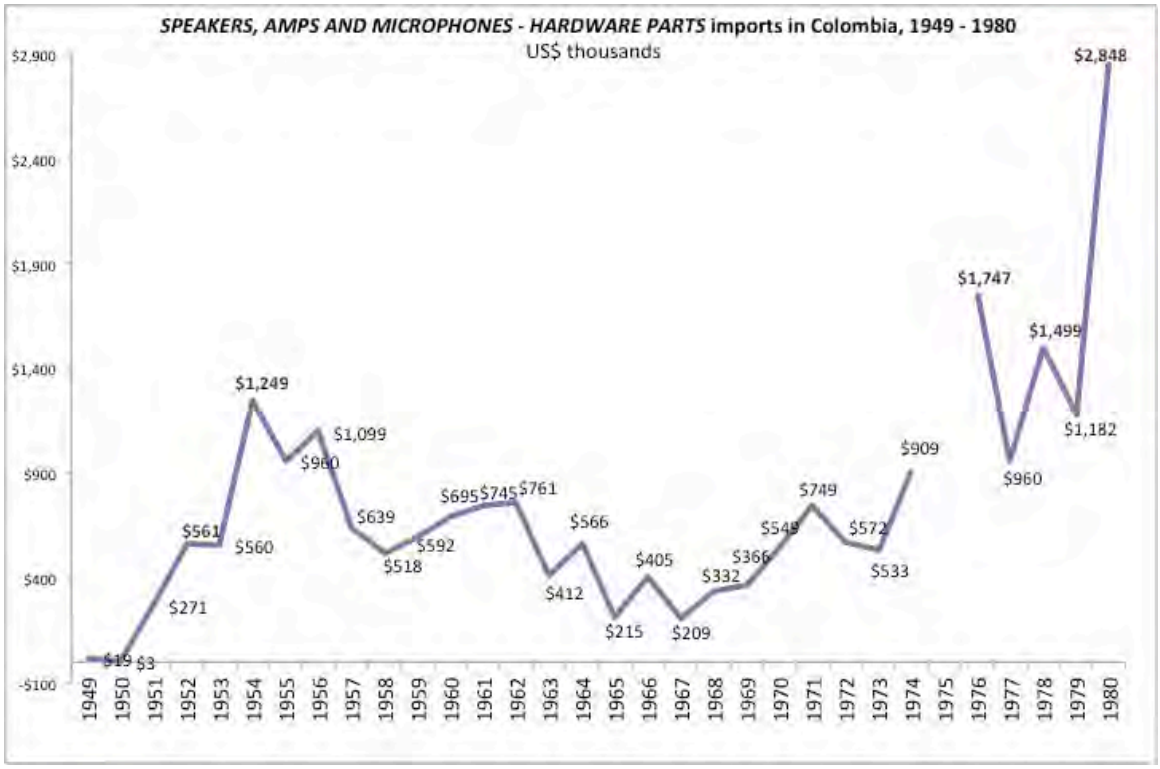
Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia* - 1949 to 1980.

In contrast, Figure 7.10 presents a series of official statistics of imports for speakers, amps and microphones from 1949, evidencing a clearly different behaviour compared with the commodities charted above. From very low levels of US$49 thousand in 1949, imports gradually increase to a peak of US$1.2 million in 1954. Yet, while they maintain an average of US$1.1 from 1954 to 1956, imports drop considerably in the next couple of

[49] See Appendices 7.3 to 7.21 for statistics on the value and country of origin and internal destination of speakers, electric tubes for radios, and transistors.

years and behave in a downwards trend which reaches a lowest level in 1967 with US$209 thousand imports.

Figure 7.10 - Imports to Colombia of speakers, amps and microphones (1949 - 1980 - US$ thousands).



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior, República de Colombia* - 1949 to 1980.

This same source of official statistics of imports offers valuable information about the countries of origin of different commodities, which allows drawing a picture of the international trade of parts and pieces that fed sound hardware assembly industries in Colombia, including the dynamics of competition between different countries since 1956.[50] In the cases of speakers and electric tubes the pattern is very similar. In 1956, 75% of speakers and electric tubes that entered the country officially came from US, followed by the Netherlands with 14% of speakers and 19% of tubes. Later during mid1960s, the previous dominant share held by US imports declines, with 15% of speakers in 1964 and 31% of tubes in 1966, at the same time that imports from the Netherlands increase, 22% of speakers in 1964 and 27% of tubes in 1966, and that Japan enters the picture as new strong player: 25% of speakers in 1964 and 11% of tubes in 1966.[51] The case of international commerce of transistors, whose imports were classified independently since the 1960s, adds up to the pattern of speakers and tubes: in 1962

[50] See Appendices 7.3 to 7.21 for statistics on the value and country of origin and internal destination of speakers, electric tubes for radios, and transistors.

[51] By 1974, US with 33% and Japan with 32% are the dominant players in international commerce of speakers in Colombia, while the Netherlands levels remain similar with 17%, and interestingly: 6% come from Argentina and 3% from Chile. In the case of electric tubes, by 1979 US is the dominant player again with 55% of imports to Colombia, followed by Western Germany's 15%, and Japan's 12%.

62% of transistors came from Japan, 35% from the Netherlands, and only 2% from the US, yet, by 1973, the US held a share of 34%, Japan 33%, and the Netherlands 25%.

Debates between merchants and industrials in 1958 were reported around the topic of defining policies of "understanding" between these two interests groups, in the face of the new situation of tight import prohibitions. These discussions suggested that industrials should refrain from distribution activities, in order to leave the task to merchants whose international businesses had been impeded by law.[52]

Finally, judging on evidence from primary sources, a particular feature during the new situation that began with tight import restrictions after 1956 is that some of the new players in sound technology assembly industry had been importers, distributors or retailers of foreign made sound hardware and records in the past. Such was the case of Mora Hermanos, which I registered in previous pages as one of the main importers of sound technology, particularly visible through their adverts in the press by mid 1950s as exclusive distributors of German made Blaupunkt radios, radio-phonographs and TVs. [See Figure no 7.3]. Interestingly, by 1958 they were reported as responsible for 5% of an annual total of thirty thousand radios assembled a year.[53]

Another important case is that of J. Glottmann, a main player in importing and national distribution of RCA Victor sound technology and records. After initial import restrictions in 1949, it was reported that the Bogotá based company became a share holder in Barranquilla's Discos Tropical, and in this way benefitted the latter with its national network of distribution.[54] Later, in response to tighter import restrictions of mid 1950s, there is evidence that J. Glottmann ventured into manufacturing fridges and freezers by forming the ICASA company.[55] As the press had covered earlier, in 1956 the government also banned fridges and washing machines imports, and had also issued patents to create joint entrepreneurships for the assembly of "Kelvinator" fridges. Among them: General Electric and the Colombian metal workshops Talleres Centrales; Servel and Industria Colombiana de Artefactos, S.A. (ICASA) in Bogotá; and an additional joint venture in Manizales as well.[56]

If the previous cases exemplify how some hardware merchants moved into hardware assembly as an effect of economic contingencies and the State measures to deal with them, another fundamental case was that of the firm De Bedout hnos. from Medellín, which I will evidence in detail in the next chapter. They had been recognised local distributors of gramophones and records for the US based Victor Talking Machine since the 1910s, and later for RCA Victor since the 1930s, as well as pioneers in recording

[52] "Bases para una política de entendimiento entre comercio en industrias. Para distribuir la producción nacional,"*La República*, Bogotá, May 29, 1958, p2. [My translation]
[53] "130.000 radios se ensamblan al año en el país," *La República*, Bogotá, April 26, 1958, p2.
[54] *El Diario*, Medellín, November 8, 1950, p2.
[55] "J. Glottmann empresa sin cuota inicial," *El Tiempo*, Bogotá, January 20, 1991. Available from http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-12530 [Accessed 5 January 2018].
[56] *La República*, Bogotá, April 21, 1956.

activities in Medellín during the 1940s. Nevertheless, they did not set up a record factory of their own during the first half of the 1950s, when the country was experiencing the explosion outlined previously in this thesis [See Chapter 6]. It is particularly after 1956 that they decidedly expanded their business interests to the *software* side, by buying shares into the Sonolux record company in 1958, and assuming its executive direction by 1963. [See Chapter 8] If their long term deals with transnational companies were jeopardized by economic policies, the move of this mighty firm of merchants into recording business seemed rather appropriate.

3. Philips de Colombia, S.A., a main and powerful player in electric hardware assembly and a new player in record business

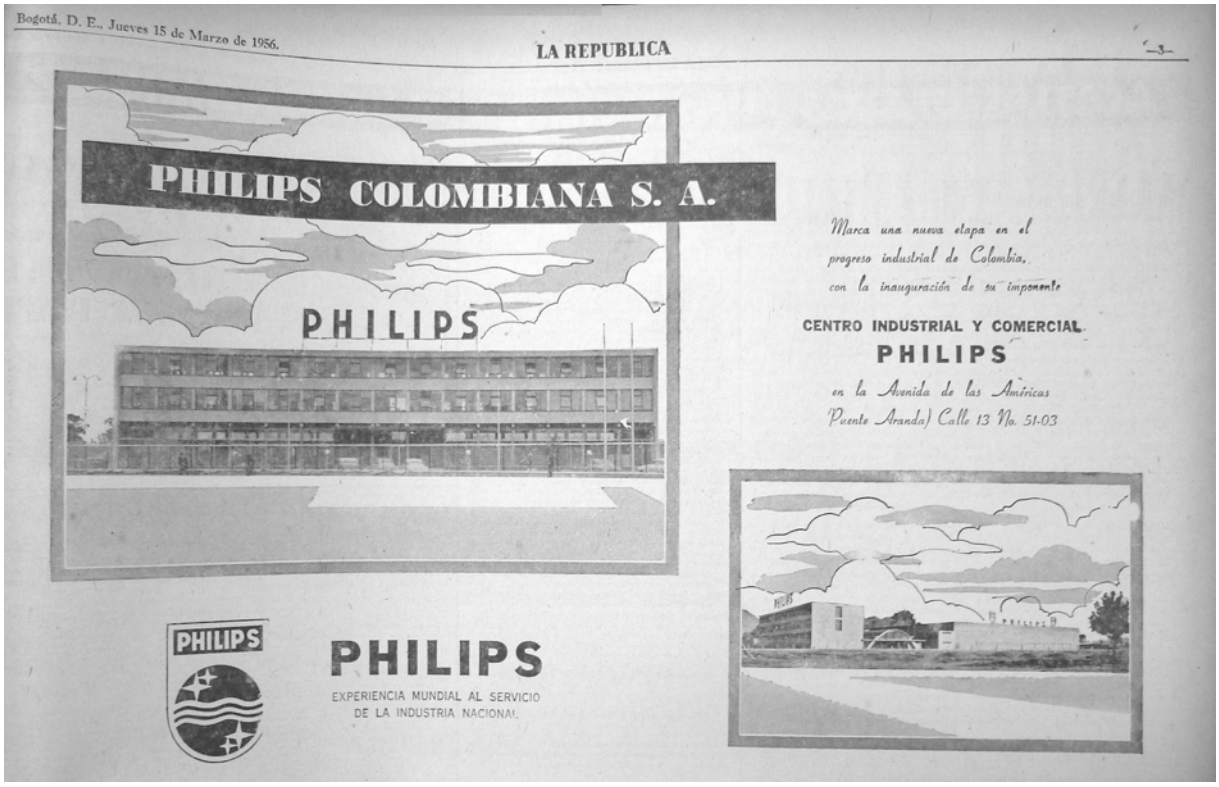
Under new rules and conditions, Philips shifted from importing activities and established as the leading player in domestic "assembly" of technology, including radios and record players, and also as an important player in domestic record business. The Dutch originated multinational conglomerate Philips constitutes a historical example of a technology company that ventured into the music business after WWII to become a major player in international industry (Barfe, 2005, pp170-74.). Its activities in technology industries in Colombia as 'Philips Colombiana S.A.' can be traced back to the early 1940s, by a set of key and rich archival documents. One is a 1955 dedicated article in *Industria Colombiana* magazine which celebrated its growth since it started domestic operations in 1941 with four importing agencies in the main cities.[57] The others are press interviews with company excecutives of the time, as Esteban Shuck, long time president of the company, published by *La República* newspaper in Bogotá.[58] Together, these sources describe the history of the company in Colombia as one the started out based largely on imports from their foreign companies. As Shuck noted: "we started with the line of imported radios, due to the second World War, from the company's factories in United States and Argentina, since the circumstances wouldn't allow bringing them from Holand."[59] In his account, the WWII period was one of boom for Philips Colombia which grew further after the world conflict ended. By 1946 the Netherlands plants were able to provide commodities directly: "In that year sales went up to one million pesos [$1 million Colombia pesos], in a wide variety of products... as light bulbs, machines for X ray as well as for filming, amplifiers, etc." [60]

As the primary sources chronicle, since late 1947 their activities changed from importing to domestic assembly and manufacturing, by setting up their own branches for production. A first step was buying out a light bulb company in Barranquilla to form "Industria Colombiana de Productos Eléctricos (INCOPE, S.A.)" in 1947, and a second was expanding to other activities of assembly of technology hardware. As Esteban Shuck noted: "In 1949 imports of radios to Colombia were prohibited", but "[f]ortunately Philips was ready for assembling and the Colombian market was not affected".[61] A decade later, a second big step was the construction of a new plant in Bogotá's Puente Aranda area. [See Figure 7.11] This meant moving forward in a planned expansion of assembly activities, which would included radios, amplifiers with their accessories, sound film equipment, as well as several communication equipment for telephone, radio-communication and

[57] "La Philips Colombiana, S.A.", *Industria Colombiana*, no. 22, November 1955, p29. [My translation]
[58] See: "Nuevo vicepresidente de Philips Colombiana", *La República*, Bogotá, April 26, 1956, p9; "Habla Don Esteban Shuk. Nuevas industrias de 'Philips' en el país", *La República*, Bogotá, December 8, 1958, p2; "25 años de servicio cumple el Vicepresidente de Philips", *La República*, Bogotá, August 27, 1960, p2. [My translation]
[59] "Habla Don Esteban Shuk. Nuevas industrias de 'Philips' en el país", *La República*, Bogotá, December 8, 1958, p2. [My translation]
[60] Ibid. [My translation]
[61] "25 años de servicio cumple el Vicepresidente de Philips", *La República*, Bogotá, August 27, 1960, p2. [My translation]

others, along with X ray machines and others for hospital use.[62] Along with these and other activities, the company's "Electro-Acoustic Department" was reported as being in charge of installing sound technology in State buildings.[63] In early 1956, in another interview, Philips' president in Colombia mentioned the production of "electronic" hardware in the country as a plan devised since 1949 which was then fully operational in the Puente Aranda plant. There, among others, the company produced radios, radio-phonographs, amplifiers and "tocadiscos" or record players.[64] Further growth and expansion was announced in 1958, with a new plant in Zipaquirá, in Eastern Andean region, for the enlargement of their communications department in charge of different aspects of telephone technology.[65]

Figure 7.11 – Adv. Philips Colombiana S.A. at Puente Aranda, Bogotá (1956).



Source: *La República*, Bogotá, March 15, 1956, p3.

By 1958 Shuck claimed that along with a recent modernization of lighting production in Barranquilla, the Puente Aranda headquarters in Bogotá had been conformed into three different kinds of factory: one for radios, phonographs and TVs, one for producing Bakelite, and a third for manufacturing metal parts, which as he noted, were necessary "for the electronic machines we produce."[66] Additional activities in this sense would include producing glass in Barranquilla for their own light bulbs, as well as widening their electro domestic range to include irons, vacuum cleaners and heaters, whose

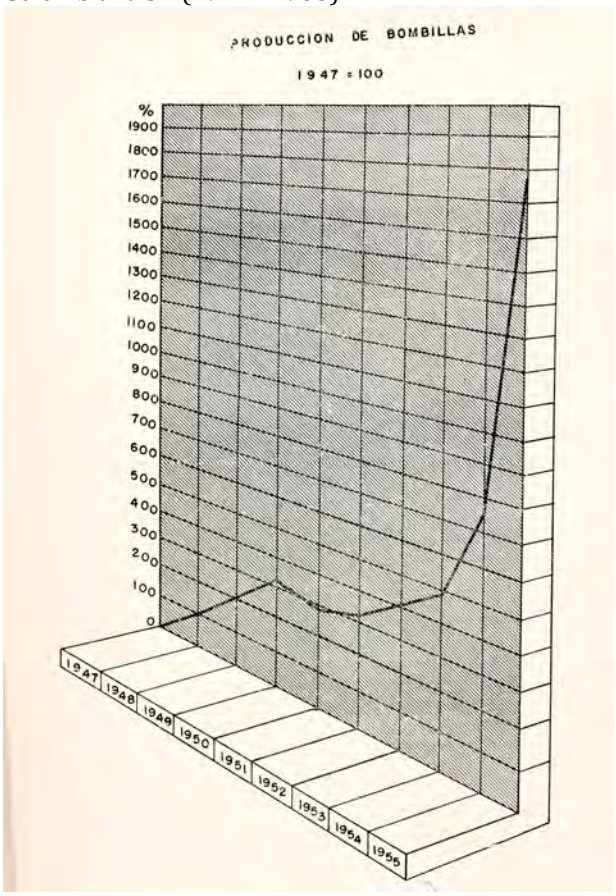
[62] "La Philips Colombiana, S.A.", *Industria Colombiana*, no. 22, November 1955, p29. [My translation]
[63] *La República*, Bogotá, July 11, 1955, p5. [My translation]
[64] "Nuevo vicepresidente de Philips Colombiana", *La República*, Bogotá, April 26, 1956, p9. [My translation]
[65] *La República*, Bogotá, July 31, 1958, p7. [My translation]
[66] "Habla Don Esteban Shuk. Nuevas industrias de "Philips" en el país", *La República*, Bogotá, December 8, 1958, p2. [My translation]

commercialization would benefit from their strong distribution network of close to two hundred agencies around the country and three hundred lighting distributors.[67] The leading role of Philips in Colombia in the business of electric lighting, was promoted by the company itself through a 1960s advertising campaign which showed a series of historical patrimony buildings in the country for which they provided materials, design and installation of lighting. [68]

The advantage position of Philips Colombiana, S.A. which as evidenced above expanded and consolidated during the second half of the 1950s, was repeatedly celebrated by journalistic pieces in *La Républica* in Bogotá during 1958. The same happened through numerous advertisements for the different activities and commodities of the company in the newspaper. One journalist portrayed Philips as a "Colombianist company", "the most powerful of its kind", and particularly as one of the main factors for Colombian "material and spiritual development". The piece thanked the company for "its services in favour of our progress", and considered it "a matter of pride for Colombian industry."[69] Side by side with such statements, a Philips advert in the same page, used language of the kind common in the rhetoric of political campaigns. It used terms as "our nation" ["nuestra patria"], and expressed concern about "the joy of the people" ["disfrute del pueblo"] and "national sovereignty," at the same time that it endorsed current protectionist economic policies with the slogan styled sentence: "Colombia's industrialization, only basis for its future grandeur."[70] Another piece, celebrated the "task of economic encouragement of Philips Colombiana", and explained: "At the same time that it substitutes imports, by manufacturing in national territory, it tends to stimulate exports of manufactured products and of raw materials" in the face of the need for new markets for coffee, sugar and cotton. [71] In this matter, Shuck, specifically remarked how their progress would allow them to "substitute imports of parts in considerable volume" and move forward in their plan for "vertically integrating production in Colombia".[72]

[67] Ibid.
[68] Among others in the year see: *La República,* Bogotá, July 17, 1960, p7. Note: The series of adverts include Capitolio Nacional, Catedral Primada, Capilla del Sagrario, Casa del 20 de Julio, Plazoleta de San Bartolomé, Palacio de la Alcaldía, Plaza de los Mártires, Observatorio Astronómico, Parque Nacional - Cúcuta, and Castillo de San Felipe in Cartagena.
[69] "Philips una empresa colombianista," *La República*, Bogotá, July 9, 1958, p7. [My translation]
[70] Adv. Philips "Colombia, país subdesarrollado?", *La República*, Bogotá, July 9, 1958, p7. [My translation] Note: Key sentence in Spanish is "la industrialización de Colombia, base única de su futura grandeza" (Ibid).
[71] "Treinta millones de Bombillas podrá producir la Philips", *La República*, Bogotá, November 15, 1960, p2. [My translation]
[72] *La República*, Bogotá, December 8, 1958, p2. [My translation]

Figure 7.12 - Light bulb production by Philips Colombiana SA (1947 - 1955).



Source: *Industria Colombiana*, no. 22, November 1955.

The above not only brings together further evidence to argue that Philips became established as the main player in communication media and other technology industries during the 1950s, but raises many questions about its political power and influence in Colombia. The recurrent praise by the press, which suggests the foreign company is a model for Colombian *national* industry, appears paradoxical, and certainly speaks about the significant role of international capital in Colombian industrialization. Correspondingly, a rhetoric of "development" present in discourses about Philips in the press and in their own advertisements, added to the myriad contracts celebrated by the company that can be found in historical archives, raises questions about the political muscle of the company at the time.[73]

Marxist critique of the matter by Bejarano (1978, pp66-67) interpreted foreign investment in industry in Colombia during mid20th century as a strategy of control and monopoly of markets. In his view domestic players developed the conditions necessary for foreign investment to move forward and expand their activities from production of raw materials, to that of consumption goods for the internal market. These expansions specifically involved those branches with more dynamism and were deployed through a monopolistic strategy. The latter produced significant asymmetries between foreign players with "national" branches, and industries conformed by domestic capital. Kalmanovitz (1985, pp423-4), an authority in economic history of Colombia, explained that apart from Colombia representing work force of considerably lower costs for "foreign investors and trans-nationals", these "operated without any control until 1967". Regulation of branches of foreign companies was imposed then, as an effect of the "acute scarcity of foreign currency", and for the first time restrictions on the remission of utilities to foreign based matrix houses were introduced (Ibid).

These authors offer some economic answers to the question of how Philips managed to establish as a leading company in Colombian industrialization, with operations centred in

[73] See: Galvis and Donadio (1988, p527-532), a journalistic history of General Rojas Pinilla, president of Colombia during the first half of the 1950s, which cites evidence of shady dealings between his office and Philips de Colombia, S.A. and J. Glottmann.

Bogotá, and also with plants in different cities of the country, as well as a vast national network of distribution that by 1956 already counted with "170 Philips agencies" according their advertisements.[74] Questions on the economic and political influence of Philips Colombiana, S.A. fall beyond the scope of this research, yet, it is worth noting that there is no academic research on the specific case. It is also worth noting here that there is evidence about plans by General Electric de Colombia, S.A. for following in the steps of Philips in 1959, by setting up "a modern plant for the production and assembly" of a wide variety of electro-domestic and electro-industrial goods, including radios and TVS among many others. [75] Nevertheless, there is no evidence about these plans being carried out to the extent of their competitor.

Figure 7.13– Adv. Philips "Los 1ros en Discos".

Source: *La República*, Bogotá, March 24, 1960, p 7.

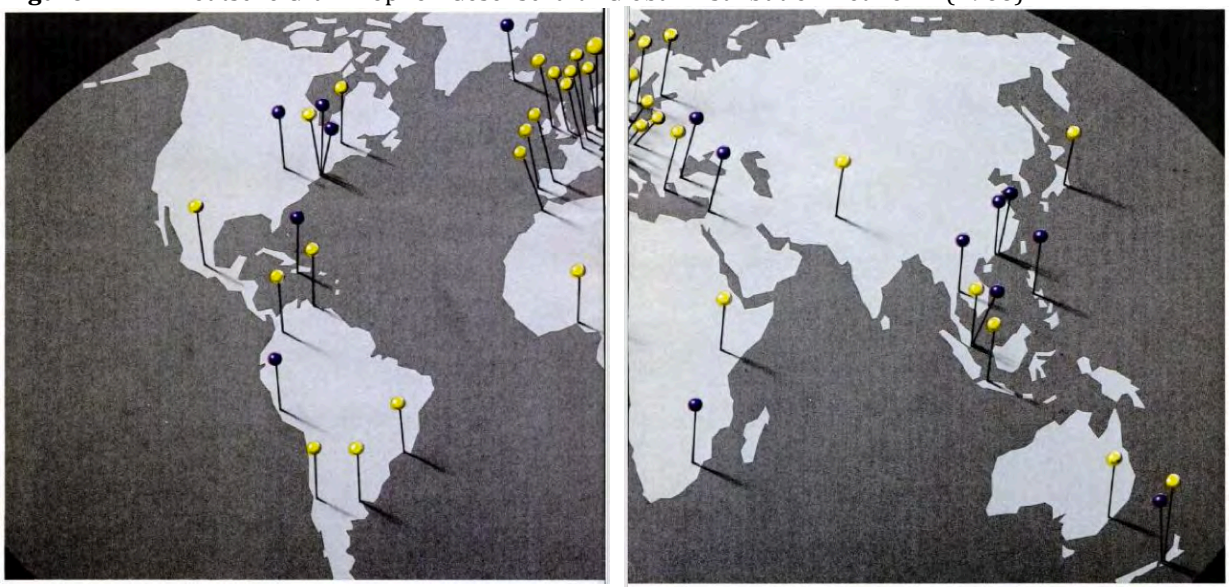
If then, as we have evidenced Philips established as the main player in media technology in Colombian emergent "assembly industry" during the 1950s, it was also during that decade that the trans-national corporation expanded from electric technology industry to the music industry. As Barfe (2005, p171) notes, "[t]he suggestion that Philips should produce software as well as hardware" was carried out by September 1950, when "Philips entered the record business". This was done as a world level strategy, by partnering or by buying local companies. By 1962 their record business activities had conformed as the PolyGram conglomerate of labels.[76]

According to the evidence accrued, Philips Colombia S.A. "Sección de discos" [records section], was operating in Bogotá by 1951, distributing and commercializing imports of it own records, and also of other labels as London Gramophone.[77] A decade later, the company claimed to be "the first in records" in Colombia as it announced that their records would be pressed by Fonotón a company in the municipality of Bosa in the outskirts of Bogotá, which as they claimed, guaranteed the same quality as their imported records.[78]

[74] *La República*, Bogotá, January 9, 1956, p7. [My translation]
[75] *La República*, Bogotá, July 5, 1959, p12. Also see: Ibid, July 7, 1959, p7.
[76] "PolyGram, although dating as an entity only from 1962, encompassed the record business of the Dutch electrical firm Philips, the German label Deutsche Grammophon/Polydor and the British company Decca, all of which also have long histories" (Barfe, 2005, p xviii).
[77] *Billboard*, March 15, 1952, p117.
[78] Philips Adv. "La responsabilidad de ser los 1os en DISCOS", *La República*, Bogotá, March 24, 1960, p7; "Principales industrias de Bosa", Ibid, 4 Sept, 1960, p8. Note: "Fonotón" is listed among the main industrial settings in Bosa.

Judging on the above material, Philips´s longevity in Colombia as a technology industry, from the lightning business to the imports and domestic assembly of media hardware and electro domestics, assured them the benefits of vast and well-structured distribution network for developing their record business activities. By 1966 "Philips Colombiana S.A. 'División Discos' Bogotá" was one among six branches owned in Latin America by the Netherlands originated conglomerate.[79] As company executive Hans Schrade claimed, there were "Philips factories in Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Peru, Colombia and Chile and a outlet in every Latin American country."[80] An advert showing a map of the Global Distribution Network of Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft", the classical music company that was foundational to the Philips (PolyGram) global conglomerate, shows its parent recording industry corporation world scope at the end of the 1960s, including Philips Colombiana S.A. in Bogotá. [See Figure 7.14]

Figure 7.14 - "Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft - Global Distribution Network" (1968).



Source: *Billboard*, May 4, 1968: DGG-8 to DGG-9.

[79] "Trust in Philips Is World Wide" [Adv], *Billboard*, December 3, 1966, p49.
[80] *Billboard*, December 17, 1966, p53.

4. A parallel sector of small players in sound technology assembly industries

In spite of the vast size of Philips' interests and operation in Colombia, and its leading and powerful role, the multinational technology company was not playing alone in an unfolding new domestic sound hardware assembly industry. By 1958, based on data provided by a report from national foreign commerce regulator agency, Superintendecia Nacional de Importaciones, the press reported the "assembly industry" was operating under good conditions, particularly with radio sets, TVs, as well as with different kinds of hardware for office use, as typewriters, cash register and adding machines. In the particular case of radios, a yearly production of 130 thousand units was celebrated as an important advance in import substitutions. A group of ten main players was listed in relation to that outcome in sound hardware assembly industry in Colombia, underlining that only three out of them had provided 75% of the production: "Industria Colombiana de Productos Eléctricos, Philips" was the major player with a majority share of 38%, followed by "Industrias Eléctricas 'Dewald y Tonfunk'" [sic] with 23%, and by "Mc-Silver, Rubén Avivi, Motorola y Televisores Olimpic" with 12%.[81]

Figure 7.15 - Ten main players in sound hardware assembly industry in Colombia: share of 130 thousand radios assembled domestically in 1958.

Assembly company	Share in 130K radios
Philips	38%
Industrias Eléctricas 'Dewald y Tonfunk' [sic]	23%
"Mc-Silver, Rubén Avivi, Motorola y Televisores Olimpic"	12%
"Internacional General Electric"	8%
Philco	7%
Mora Hermanos	4%
Industrias Mercury	3%
E.K. Cole	3%
Pa-Te-Fen Ltda.	1.5%
Eduardo Gabrieloff	0.5%
	100.0%

Source: "130.000 radios se ensamblan al año en el país", *La República*, Bogotá, April 26, 1958, p2.

Further primary sources evidence that radio and phonograph retail and repair shops also played a noteworthy role in the domestic assembly industry of sound hardware, and could be thought as conforming a parallel sector of small players. Along with others as Rubén Avive & Cía. Colectiva, a small business dedicated to assembling and repairing radios in Bogotá,[82] an important example is Rafael Acosta, co-founder of the Sonolux

[81] "130.000 radios se ensamblan al año en el país," *La República*, Bogotá, April 26, 1958, p2.
[82] *La República,* Bogotá, November 13, 1956, p2.

record company with Antonio Botero in 1949, and who some years later started the Ondina record company. He was certainly not simply a "business man" (Wade, 2000, p149), but an example of a player that moved from the business of sound *hardware*, to that of music *software* or record production. Judging on archival evidence, he started out with a radio and phonograph retail and repair shop in Medellín which also imported spare parts, and was ran in parallel to his recording business interests.[83] Another meaningful example is a company named "Televi-Radio" in Bogotá, which in 1956 was reported as a business that had recently progressed from a simple workshop into what was described as a "factory", under the direction of Augusto Marulanda Prado and Hernando Reyes. A short review of the company explained how they were by then operating with four different departments, dividing the production process between carpentry, soldering, electronic control, and a fourth department dedicated to a final stage of mechanic inspection. In this way they produced "high fidelity equipment" for "public spaces" as well as "radiolas" [radio-phonographs], under their own brand. The press celebrated they would soon launch a Colombian record player with wood furniture, baptized with the name "Concierto", of which five hundred units were expected to be completed by 1957.[84]

The role of retail and repair shops, as the 1950s advanced and the State dealt with declining exports and scarce foreign currency, should be understood in the light of industry wide strategy of optimizing use of installed machinery, production-improvisation of spare parts, and repairing instead of replacing. These add up to comments by Kalmanovitz (1985, pp408-414) about strategies for coping with foreign currency scarcity after mid1950s in other industries, which involved a need for repairing faulty machines instead of replacing them, in the midst of the economic disarrangements generated by the collapse of the business of exporting coffee in Colombia during mid-1950s. The topic of *repairing* under such monetary crisis and subsequent economic policies that restricted imports, was prominent in different industries. In 1958, I evidenced the Federación Nacional de Arroceros [rice producers association] promoted the refurbishment of unused machinery in rural areas, while companies as Remington Rand Colombiana Ltda. and IBM de Colombia S.A. agreed on enhancing repairing services for their customers and endorsed the importance of "maintenance and repairing" in brief news as well as half page adverts, with the slogan "repare su máquina" [repair your machine].[85] [See Figure 7.18] The following year Philips advertised their own repairing

[83] Rafael Acosta frequently advertised his business of retail, repair and spare parts importing in the classified ads section of *El Diario*, as "Rafael Acosta, Importador de Repuestos. See: *El Diario*. Medellín, June 20, 1949, p3, and Ibid, October 5, 1949, p3, as well as editions from later years.

[84] "El progreso del país. Se instala una fábrica de equipos de alta fidelidad", *La República*, Bogotá, December 7, 1956, p2. [My translation] Also evidenced **Radiotécnica Colombiana**, formed by three companies (Radiocentro S.A. Bogotá, Radioagencia Bogotá Ltda., Radio Servicio Ltda), involved in retail and assembly of: "Amplificadores, Aparatos de Grabación, Cambiadiscos... Tocadiscos", and claiming "18 years" of technical services in 1957 (*Economía Colombiana*, Año IV, Vol. 13, no. 36, April 1957, p178.; La República, Bogotá, December 19, 1958, p2).

[85] "I.B.M. pide al Público Cuide sus Máquinas de Escribir", *La República*, Bogotá, April 24, 1958. p2.; [Remington Rand proposes enhancing maintenance services] *La República*, Bogotá, April 22, 1958, p2.; Av. Remington Rand "Cuide su máquina", *La República*, Bogotá, May 13, 1958, p5.; *La República*, Bogotá, May 16, 1958, p2; Ibid.

services in "more than 2000 agencies and sub-agencies in the country, ready for immediate attention and guarantying a perfect care of your equipment".[86] Additionally, the company also promoted a special refurbishment service for stylus (or needles) used in different kinds of phonographs, as "Clínica de Agujas" [Stylus Hospital]. [See Figure 7.17]

It is worth reminding the reader here, that in Chapter 5, a quantitative analysis of official data of imports produced by the national State, revealed a dramatic increase in those of parts and pieces for different forms of sound hardware, either phonographic or magneto-phonic: they quadrupled from US$8.7 million during 1949-1956, to US$39.3 between 1957 and 1967.[87] Also, as evidenced in Chapter 4, when *Billboard* magazine highlighted Colombia as the fourth biggest market for second hand exports of jukeboxes in 1953, and fifth in 1954 [See Figure 4.3 in that chapter], the particular mechanics of such trade were described as follows: "Colombian importation ban, specified that all jukes entering the country be disassembled".[88] The chart in Figure 7.16 was elaborated using official data of imports, in which disassembled speakers were discriminated as a separate category from total imports of speakers. This particularity in a complex system of classification of innumerable commodities of the most diverse kinds, strongly underlines the importance of an international commerce of parts and pieces for an unfolding Colombian sound hardware *assembly* sector: in average, 92% of all imports of electric sound speakers from 1959 until 1974 were classified as "disassembled" (with an even higher average proportion of 97% between 1960 and 1969).

Figure 7.16 - Imported disassembled speakers in Colombia (1959-1974).

Disassembled Speakers imported in Colombia - US$

Year	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Disassembled speakers	$305,602	$515,447	$560,504	$596,808	$316,363	$417,410	$173,107	$202,448	$156,198	$204,890	$193,426	$272,030	$347,242	$298,526	$307,217	$328,220
% of all speakers	60%	98%	98%	97%	97%	96%	99%	98%	96%	95%	96%	93%	91%	92%	83%	81%
Total Speakers	$511,704	$523,852	$569,724	$616,969	$325,273	$434,317	$174,776	$206,404	$161,878	$214,561	$202,268	$291,145	$381,257	$325,115	$370,800	$407,125

Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior*, *República de Colombia*, 1959-1974.

The consolidation of a sector of small players dedicated to domestic assembly of sound hardware—using imported parts and pieces of electronic technology—is also substantiated with reports about the creation of ACTREL (Asociación Colombiana de Técnicos en Radio) [Colombian Association of Radio Technicians], right after discussions

[86] Ibid, May 28, 1958, p7. [My translation]
[87] See the category "Parts and Pieces for Phono and Tape" in Figure 5.16 (Chapter 5).
[88] *Billboard*, March 6, 1954, p2.

held at the "Congreso Nacional de Técnicos de Radio" [National Congress of Radio Technicians] which took place in Bogotá, on August 16, 1960.[89] The association expressed a lobbying agenda that pursued "changes on the tariffs scheme", demanded relaxation of controls on imports of elements for radio and TV, and opposed tariffs they considered excessive. Additionally, a proposal was made for:

> the creation of a large cooperative that would be able to import materials and pieces for radio and TV sets and [other] electronics, with the aim of updating the country with the advances of science.[90]

I gathered very little information on ACTREL, and this is a matter that certainly deserves further research. Nevertheless, their case adds up to an important argument sketched in the previous pages of this chapter, that I will pose as follows. As the Colombian recording business expanded under post 1956 strong import prohibitions that highly benefitted them, a sector of players that had been dedicated to importing and distributing sound hardware of different kinds faced a contingency that threatened their previous business model, and forced them to explore new avenues of economic activity. In parallel, a particular kind of sound technology manufacturing sector unfolded in the country during mid 1950s, which operated by importing disassembled hardware and their different sorts of parts and pieces which were not produced by any player in Colombia. Led by bigger players as the Philips de Colombia, S.A. this emerging sector, was part of a broad phenomenon which was called *assembly industry* during the time, and involved players producing very different kinds of commodities whose imports were banned or highly regulated: including cars, fridges and other electro-domestics, typewriters and office equipment, and certainly, sound related hardware as radios, phonographs, TVs, and also jukeboxes (as evidenced in Chapter 4). In Colombian sound technology *assembly* industries of the second half of the 1950s, Philips de Colombia, S.A., a branch of the Dutch originated technology transnational corporation which had operated in the country since the 1940s, played a leading role with considerable political influence and economic muscle. At the same time, and along with other players of significant size, a group of small entrepreneurs, mostly formed by radio technicians and radio repair shops, participated and had a voice in the process.

[89] "Creada la Federación de Técnicos de Radio", *La República*, Bogotá, August 17, 1960, p3.
[90] Ibid, p76. [My translation]

Figure 7.17 - Adv. Philips' reparation service of stylus for phonographs (1959).

Source: *La República*, Bogotá, Oct 26, 1959, p7.

Figure 7.18 - Adv. "Remington Rand Cuide su máquina".

Source: *La República*, Bogotá, May 13, 1958, p5.

Chapter 8. Medellín capital of recording industries, Bogotá capital of sound technology "assembly industry": into the 1960s

This chapter will start by playing with the idea of *Medellín capital of recording industries*, through a plot with no intention of elevating such statement to a degree of virtue, nor of hinting at a concluding argument that perhaps could steer the reader towards the shallow waters of tautological explanations.[1] The above sentence highlighted using italics, certainly resonates with many of the arguments, descriptions and data presented so far. Yet, my aim in the first section of this chapter is to eschew a *commonsensical* reading of the events that took place in Colombia during the second half of the 20th century, and that left traceable evidence of the kind used in this thesis so far. Therefore, the following section argues that in the context of changes in the geography of industrialization and mass media in the country, while a dominant group of domestic record factories established in Medellín during mid 20th century, Bogotá also took the leading role in overall industry and established as capital of sound hardware manufacturing. Moreover, as the 1960s unfolded Bogotá became host of the recording business branch of CBS and of Philips recording activities, events with incidence in a late 1970s journalistic discussion in which the idea of *Medellín capital of recording industries* was challenged.

Afterwards, the second section of this chapter collects a series of events that took place during the second moment of my period of study, several of them concentrating around the year 1963, which evidence changes in Colombian recording and sound technology industries as their history moves into the 1960s and beyond. These include: i) the association of SONOLUX, DeBedout a hijos, and RCA Victor in 1958; ii) the conformation of ASINCOL in 1963, the Colombian association of phonographic industrials; iii) the establishment of the new Discos Victoria record company by Otoniel Cardona, a long term distributor of records and A&R with Sonolux, in partnership with other investors (most notably Mario Méndez Álvarez founder of Discos Victoria in Cali); iv) the sale of Discos Silver in 1963 to a independent record business player and a radio broadcasting man, who formed the new Sonomúsica (or Conmúsica) record factory; v) the involvement of Curro Fuentes as an A&R with Philips in Bogotá during the 1960s; vi) the increase of domestic recording business activities by Philips and the establishment of an overseas branch of Columbia Records in Bogotá during the 1960s; vii) the proliferation of licensing agreements with foreign labels evidenced in record catalogues of the 1960s; viii) and finally, the continuation of a technological race between domestic main companies as Sonolux, Codiscos, and Fuentes.

[1] This is certainly a risk considering this thesis's task is exploring an era which different kinds of commentators have posed as a Golden Age of Colombian Recoding Industries. [See Chapter 1]

1. Shifts in the geography of Colombian industrialization and mass media power

As has been evidenced up to this point in previous chapters, stronger players in both recording industries and in sound technology assembly industries operated under more favourable conditions after 1956, during a second moment in economic policy in which control of international commerce was tighter and the State's aim of import substitutions advanced. In this process, while Medellín established as the capital of recording industries, soon to come changes in the geography of industrialization and mass media in the country, gradually situated Bogotá in an analogous position of power.

With the development of national television, which started in mid1950s but unfolded properly during the 1960s with both State and private commercial channels, the country's capital rapidly acquired a leading role in mass media industries (which it maintains until today), at the same time that it acquired prominence in urbanization and population (which meant a gross market in one place), and as a financial centre and home of the central national State apparatus (Arias Trujillo, 2011, pp122-123,130). The process was also catalysed by the later expansion of the country's main radio networks Caracol and RCN originated in Medellín, which by late 1960s diversified their activities by venturing into commercial TV broadcasting industries centred in Bogotá.[2] Furthermore, Poveda Ramos (1988) underlines that one of the key characteristics of industrial growth during the 1950s was that Bogotá and the Cundinamarca region achieved a first national place in terms of number of factories, workforce, and value: therefore displacing Medellín to a second place in Colombian manufacturing industries (Ibid, p349).[3]

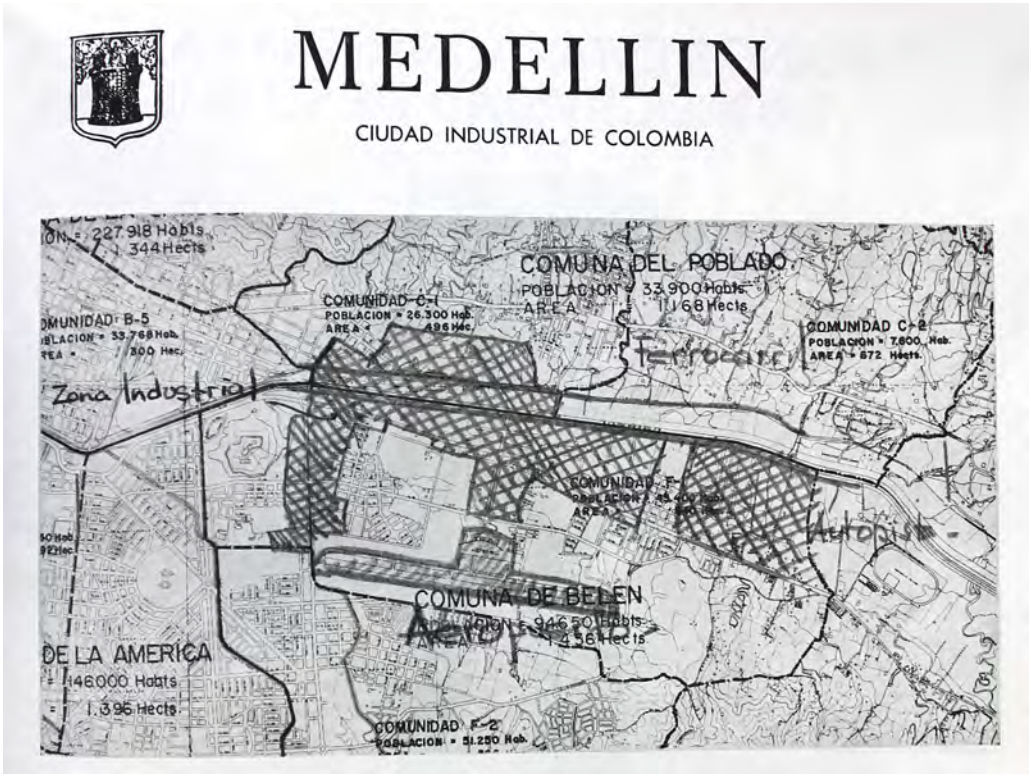
In other words, during the 1950s and in the turn to the 1960s, the nation's capital Bogotá, if not leader in the production of records, in fact became the country's main industrial city. The slogan “Medellín, Capital industrial de Colombia!” [Medellín, industrial capital of Colombia] was still common in the press in 1954.[4] [See Figure 8.1] Nevertheless, as Poveda Ramos notes, it would become reminiscent of the 1930s and 1940s era, when the city had the higher number of factories in the country, and contrasted with the changes that started taking place during the 1950s, and that kept the same course during the following decades (Ibid, p300). Arias Trujillo (2011, pp121-123) also notes how during the 1960s, and later, "the primacy of Bogotá became more evident" due to different factors as higher urbanization and population, greater dynamism in commerce and finances, better infrastructure, new mass national media, and the strengthening of central national State apparatus.

A peculiar evidence of Medellín downgraded position, is a 1966 full page advert in the State published *Economía Colombiana* magazine, with a map of the industrial district of the city, heralded with the aforementioned and by then questionable slogan. In fact, the

[2] See: Gil Bolivar (1992), Vizcaíno Gutiérrez (1994), Zapata and Ospina (2005).
[3] The author's argument is based on data from the sector survey "Censo Industrial de 1956".
[4] *La República*, Bogotá, December 7, 1954, p7.

aim of the advert commissioned by the municipal government of Medellín, was to attract new investors to the city's industrial sector, with the marketing catch phrase "Medellín is the more suitable place for your industry", an idea backed by tax incentives offered for a period of five years to new entrepreneurs.[5]

Figure 8.1 – Adv. "Medellín, Ciudad Industrial de Colombia" (1966).



Source: *Economía Colombiana*, 27 (84), May 1966, p61.

Based on the evidence accrued in Chapter 7, to this picture of change and rise in primacy of Bogotá, one should add that also during the 1950s the country's capital established as the national leader in domestic assembly of audio technology hardware as radios, radio-phonographs, record players and TVs. That is to say, at the same time that an idea of *Medellín capital of Colombian recording industries* was constructed, the parallel development and role of the country's political capital suggests an idea of *Bogotá capital of sound hardware assembly industries*. Even more, as its participation in domestic recording production increased and national TV broadcasting was developed there during the 1960s, Bogotá certainly achieved a leading role in overall recording and sound technology industries.

Interestingly, a challenge to the idea of Medellín as the primary hub of Colombian recording industries appeared a decade later. In a sector overview of 1979 by radio broadcasting insider Manolo Bellon, Medellín's leading role was questioned citing estimates of retail turnover of recording companies in both cities. These suggested they

[5] *Economía Colombiana*, 27 (84), May 1966, p61. In Spanish: "Medellín es el lugar más indicado para su industria". [My translation]

were by then operating at least in equal terms of economic productivity.[6] As the journalist put it back then: "[Medellín is] the second record centre of the nation and possibly equal in output than Bogotá. Although, some in Medellin, where five productive companies are located, are loud in claiming they are 'numero uno'. They really are when it comes to a solid line-up of independents." [7] In his analysis, "[a]t $40 million for the overall retail turnover, the best estimates are that Medellín companies account for a good half of this sum." [8] Stretching further his argument about Bogotá as an at least equally important centre of recording industries, Bellon remarked that "[o]ne of the basic problems Medellin has is holding its talent... Many would rather move to the more cosmopolitan Bogota." [9]

This argument makes sense in the light of different sorts of changes that took place from late 1950s and during the 1960s, and which I will highlight in the next section of this chapter. Central to the tension between the two cities, is that this period of time was marked by the novelty of inland operation of major transnational recording companies in Colombia. Few years after the alliance of RCA Victor with Sonolux records from Medellín in 1958, the 1960s expansion of Philips Colombiana, S.A. into recording business activities within the country, based in Bogotá, was a determinant event, as was the later creation of a branch of CBS records, also in the country's capital. It is worth noting then, that the use of the term "independents" in the cited *Billboard* article from late 1970s, is significantly different from the sense in which it was used during the 1950s (see Chapter 6). The earlier sense, involved the tensions between different kinds of players conformed from Colombian capital, established record "factories" with full technological capacity, and small players that depended on them to press or distribute their releases. In contrast, the later sense, involved the tensions between players conformed from Colombian capital (of any kind), and the branches of transnational record companies as Philips and CBS.

[6] Bellon (1979), "Colombia: musical patchwork mirrors regional variation", *Billboard*, November 3, p LA24-LA29. Note: Among players mentioned in the article, those that paid for advertising space in the magazine edition were CBS, Discos Philips (PolyGram), Codiscos (who has a Bogotá office), Fuentes, Sonolux, INS (Instituto Nacional del Sonido), Industrias Fonográficas Victoria (IFS), Discos Tropical. Also mentioned: Orbe, Discomoda de Colombia, IFS - Industrias Fonográficas Victoria Ltda. **-** Discos Victoria (Medellín, Otoniel Cardona U - Gerente General).
[7] Ibid, LA28.
[8] Ibid, LA29.
[9] Ibid, LA28.

2. Recording industries in Colombia towards the 1960s: key events, changes, continuities and patterns

In the following pages I will provide information about a series of events that marked the later years of the period studied in this thesis, and that suggest the beginning of a new era in Colombian recording and sound technology industries, and perhaps signal, to some extent, the end of a so-called "Golden Age". The events include changes in relations between domestic players and between these and foreign companies, changes in ownership of some companies, as well as the formation of new Colombian recording companies by people that had previously worked in different spheres of the business, and significantly, the establishment of in-country music business branches of big players in international recording and sound technology industries as Philips and Columbia. Most events presented here took place during the 1960s, and by bringing them together I intend to briefly sketch the situation that followed the 1950s era in which I have focused mostly so far.

A first fundamental event that exemplifies change, involves a process that by 1958 conformed an affiliation between the firm DeBedout a Hijos, the RCA Victor company, and Medellín's recording company Industria Electro-Sonora Ltda., commonly known for its Sonolux and Lyra labels. For DeBedout a Hijos, long term agents for RCA Victor records and sound technology hardware in the Antioquia region and Medellín (and also entrepreneurs in domestic recordings during the 1940s), the new international commerce conditions particularly since the end of 1956, certainly imposed changes in their operation.

Since 1952, in the occasion of the arrival of a high executive from RCA Victor, the company's intentions of setting up a branch in the country were discussed by music journalist Hernán Restrepo Duque, a key player in the business with multiple acquaintances in its different levels. As he reported, the company was examining the industry in the different cities of the country in order to take a decision about where to set-up "recorders and presses" in order to start the "RCA Víctor Colombiana". It was expected to "operate in a similar way as branches in Argentina, Mexico and Brazil, with full autonomy for doing recordings in the country with national artists", and by pressing records by "using 'stampers' from the United States and other nations", competing in such manner with "las grabadoras nacionales" [national recorders].[10] It took a bit more than six years though for such plans to materialize. In an end-of-the-year review, the press in Bogotá celebrated "the arrival of [RCA Victor] the first phonographic company of the world to Colombia" as the most cherished event in the sphere of entertainment during 1958.[11]

[10] "Es Muy Probable Que Se Hagan En El País Dicos [sic] RCA Víctor", *El Diario*, Medellín, February 20, 1952, p2. [My translation]
[11] "La llegada de los Discos RCA Victor a Colombia es Hit para los Discómanos", *La República*, Bogotá, December 30, 1958, p12. [My translation]

The press initially celebrated the coming event as the creation of "the R.C.A. Victor of Medellín".[12] Yet, as Restrepo Gil (2012, p74) explains, the matter involved changes in long term agreements between RCA Victor and the DeBedout firm in its new position as recording company partner. During late 1957, executives from the powerful US company travelled to Medellín in order to settle a new agreement with the Félix de Bedout e hijos, in order to press their records domestically. Their new business arrangement was formalized in July 1958 and the first inland pressed RCA Victor records appeared in the market by the end of the year. Since by that time the Medellín firm held shares in the Sonolux recording company, the license was included in Sonolux, which would distribute and press records using matrixes from RCA Victors' subsidiaries in US, Argentina, Chile, Cuba and Mexico (Restrepo Gil, 2012, p74). Later in 1963, only a few years later after this agreement, "don Antonio Botero Pelaez" founder of the company in 1949 announced his retirement as president, warning he would continue as share holder and member of the directive board, while he developed other projects. Jaime Moreno Aristizabal was then designated as a transitional president,[13] and only two months later the press reported that Guillermo de Bedout "the distinguished industrial took possession" of his new charge as president of Sonolux, Industria Electro Sonora, Ltda.[14] The reviewed events, established a long term licensing relation between RCA Victor and Sonolux, which still stood in 1979 under "general manager" Sergio Berdugo,[15] and that continued in the following decades.[16]

A second event that marks the latest years of my period of study is the conformation in 1963 of the Association of Phonographic Producers and Industrials of Colombia, ASINCOL, which was presented from the outset of this text as a key event in the *rationale* of the 1949 to 1963 temporality framework [See Chapter 1]. The event was brought up earlier, when I explored the tensions between two blocks of record companies that had strong differences about the prices for domestic records and those for imported records [See Chapter 6]. In that analysis it was interpreted as the accomplishment of a long term search for some sort of *union* between players in the sector that I traced back to 1950. That year, the first attempts were made at establishing a joint body that would represent record companies and help them deal strategically with matters as the need for importing raw materials in a context of strict and complex regulation of imports by the State, or as copyright and intellectual property matters that were raised by the operation of bodies as SAYCO, a domestic collecting society of authors and composers. Further research that can dig up more detail about events surrounding the creation of ASINCOL in 1963 is necessary, as well as previous events interlaced in a diachronic process in which

[12] *La República*, Bogotá, July 16, 1960, p18. [My translation]
[13] *Pantalla*, Medellín, March 22, 1963, p4. [My translation]
[14] *Pantalla*, Medellín, May 3, 1963, p1. [My translation]
[15] "A Billboard Spotlight: LATIN AMERICA. A $1 BILLION MARKET BREAKOUT", *Billboard*, November 3, 1979, pp LA1 - LA96.
[16] The ownership history of Sonolux is complex after the 1970s though, when bought completely by a Ardila Lulle a major economic group of the country in 1974, who also owned RCN radio and TV networks, and the Postobón soft drinks company (Alvarez Morales, 2003, p215); and later in 1991 it moved headquarters to Bogotá (Wade, 2000, p276]. Through this path, in 2007 Sonolux was transformed into the network's music division: RCN Music.

companies in the Colombian record business went from a situation of overt conflict, chronicled by the press as "the record wars", to one of alliance in order to defend common interests.

Initial ASINCOL affiliates in 1963 added up to a group of thirteen [13] companies, with an equal number of players from Medellín and Bogotá conforming the majority, i.e. five [5] record companies from each city.[17] [See Figure 8.2] Among main players based in Medellín discussed in previous chapters—Sonolux, Codiscos, Fuentes, and Ondina—sit Discos Metropoli Ltda., which had been identified earlier as a small independent venture during the 1950s [See Chapter 6], but now played a protagonist role.[18] Remarkably, while Sello Vergara had been the most visible player operating in Bogotá during the 1950s according to evidence accrued so far, the country's capital counted with four new important players during the 1960s: Fonotón and Discos Philips (on which I will expand on later pages), as well as Discos Daro and Industrias Ajover. On the one hand, Discos Daro was a record distributor and retailer based in Bogotá, which by 1955 had only two shops in the city.[19] Its record retail activities were started three decades earlier by Simón Daro Dawidowikz and had grown substantially since then: they also involved sound hardware distribution, a broad strategy of record clubs (subscription services), shops in other Latin American countries and offices in New York, and parallel record production activities, through its position as a majority share holder in the Fonotón record factory.[20] On the other hand, Industrias Ajover was a recent entrant in recording business, about which I have recorded little evidence. By 1957 it featured as an exclusive distributor in Colombia of the UK label Decca, as well as the labels Montilla (US) and Vox.[21] Other sources point out Ajover is an acronym of Alberto José Verswyvel, a Colombian citizen of Belgian origin who started a PVC plant in Bogotá during 1961.[22] Also, additional

[17] "Unida la industria fonográfica Colombiana", *Pantalla*, no. 471, May 5, 1963, p1,16. Note: Fernando Mora Mora was designated as President, and Ignacio Arboleda as Secretary. Noteworthy, only seven [7] companies contributed executives to the main directive board, which was composed by Emilio Fortou (Tropical), Guillermo de Bedout (Sonolux), Horacio Díez (Codiscos), Pedro Fuentes (Discos Fuentes), and Juan Reinbold (Fonotón); and as substitute members, by José María Fuentes (Discos Fuentes), Antonio Botero (Sonolux), Alfredo Díez (Codiscos), Rafael Acosta (Ondina), and Alberto Verswyvel (Ajover).

[18] Discos Metropoli Ltda. announced its first LP releases with Colombian artists in 1963, and was highly visible as an active advertiser in Medellín's Pantalla magazine during the whole year (see: *Pantalla*, Medellín, no, 490, October 11, 1963, p4; *Pantalla*, Medellín, no. 499, December 13, 1963, p4).

[19] *La República*, Bogotá, December 10, 1955, p17.

[20] *Pantalla*, Medellín, no, 474, June 21, 1963, p5. In Spanish for the reference: "Discos Daro es una de las más antiguas tiendas de discos de Bogotá, fundada hace 30 años por Simón Daro Dawidowikz, y desde entonces ha crecido hasta convertirse en establecimiento completo de equipos de alta fidelidad, a más de gran firma distribuidora y productora de discos, con tiendas en otras países de latinoamericanos y oficinas principales—la Daro Export, Ltda.—hoy en Nueva York. La Daro de Bogotá posee un excelente sistema de Clubes... Por último agreguemos que Daro... tiene un interés mayoritario en la fábrica de discos Fonotón".

[21] *Pantalla*, Medellín, November 8, 1957, p15. Note: I presume Vox is the US label started during the 1940s in New York.

[22] "Verde que lo quiero verde" *Semana*, Bogotá, 5/2/2009. Available from https://www.semana.com/economia/articulo/verde-quiero-verde/102609-3 [Accessed 3 January 2019]. The source focuses on the expansion of Ajover as a plastic materials producer and its expansion in Colombia during the 1980s and 1990s, but makes no mention of ventures in phonographic business. It dates the initiation of Ajover's activities in 1961, which is at odds with references from other sources cited here, yet, the date might refer to the specific activity of plastic production, or might simply be wrong. The case needs further research indeed.

information found in record inner sleeves, labels and covers, evidence links between "Manufacturas Ajover" and "Discos Orbe Ltda" circa 1970s.[23]

Figure 8.2 - Record companies in the initial formation of ASINCOL (1963).

City/Region	Companies	No.
Atlantic Coast	Industrias Fonográficas Tropical (Bquilla). Discos Curro (Ctgena).	2
Medellín	Industria Electro-Sonora Ltda., Sonolux. Colombiana de Discos, Codiscos. Fábrica de Discos Fuentes. Ondina Fonográfica Medellín. Discos Metropoli.	5
Bogotá	Fonotón. Industrias Ajover. Discos Daro. Sello Vergara. Discos Philips.	5
Cali	Discos Victoria.	1

Source: *Pantalla*, Medellín, no. 471, May 5, 1963, p1,16.

Regarding the alliances that crystalized into ASINCOL, the questions of why in 1963? and why not earlier or later? remain unanswered. While early concerns of record producers gravitated around the crucial topic of record imports prohibition and their parallel push for lower tariffs and flexibility with imports of raw materials, there is evidence that these matters were resolved in favour of record companies in the absence of a sector wide association, and in the midst of their quarrels about record prices. While import restrictions toughened up in late 1956, it took some seven years for ASINCOL to be formally created. International commerce regulation during the time was indeed a complex bureaucratic machine of diverse mechanisms, handled by different State departments, and with rules that were continuously changing. The matter may have created new problems that served as incentives for relating as allies through the

[23] Undated LP release of the operetta "Los Gavilanes" by Montilla Records (originally 1953), features "Propiedad de Manufacturas Ajover" on the inner record centre label, and "Fabricado en Colombia por Discos Orbe Ltda" on the back cover. Additionally, Mayor Mora (2005, p546) recorded a patent for a "Funda para discos" [Record jacket], registered to Alberto J. Verswyvel in 1962 in the *Gaceta de la Propiedad Industrial*.

association in 1963, but the seven year lag after stronger regulations were imposed raises doubt. Considering those concerns, one would have expected the establishment of the association way sooner, perhaps right after 1956. But it took a considerable long time after that.

Other possible explanations might be related to the fact that the constitution of ASINCOL coincides with Columbia Records world expansion plans made public through *Billboard* magazine in 1963. Since record executives had intense relations with an international recording industries through multiple licensing agreements, and regular travels to the US to buy phonographic technology, one would expect that domestic companies were aware of the situation before hand. One would expect they had access to insider knowledge about the dynamics, and that the topic was a source of considerable anxiety. Other possible motivation for the association's consolidation might be related to matters related with copyright and intellectual property, and the operation of the SAYCO collecting society. This has not been a topic of focus in this present work, yet it certainly needs further dedicated research that explores these hypotheses and others, and contributes with solid substantiated answers.[24]

A third outstanding event that marks the progression of recording industries in Medellín into the 1960s, is the establishment of Industrias Fonográficas Victoria Ltda. in Medellín, by the hand of Otoniel Cardona Urán in 1964, in partnership with Mario Méndez Álvarez who previously owned and ran the company Discos Victoria in Cali. This case adds up to those of De Bedout firm in Medellín and Discos Daro in Bogotá, which together suggest a pattern in which record distributors and retailers started to expand activities into record production. Cardona started out as a merchant of clothes and different kinds of commodities in the 1920s joining the trade of his father, with whom he began to travel to several towns in the Cauca river region to the west of Medellín. The family established later in Medellín but continued working those rural markets, to which Otoniel started selling records he obtained from main importers-distributors of the time in Medellín, as De Bedout hnos., and Jesús Ramirez Johns (Arias Calle, 2011, pp108-109),[25] who in the time was agent for several foreign labels, record shop owner, and record distributor [See Chapter 6]. The river side town Bolombolo was an important trade center in their area of influence, in which Otoniel's father operated a "Vitrola" (perhaps a jukebox) in a "cantina" [bar] through which they promoted the records they handled (Ibid). Since 1947, Otoniel

[24] Those, I am sure, lie somewhere in the yellowed pages of newspapers, magazines, institutional documents and other forms of primary sources from the 1950s and 1960s that can be scrutinized in the various historical archives in which I spent long and pleasurable hours. So far, this research has given me good reasons to come back to these silent places with the aim of digging up relevant *parts and pieces* for the assembly of answers, a task in which one normally comes with a bag full of new questions, new topics, uncharted events or players, and hints about other forms of *tension* that characterized the relations between myriad players that conformed the social constellation of recording and sound technology industries of the *recent past*.

[25] Arias Calle (2011) quotes this information from Torres De Marín and Escobar Vieco (2005) a chronicle of family businesses in Antioquia, that includes a testimony by Otoniel Cardona himself. Note: The firm Julio y Jose Ramirez Johns & Co. S.A., a partnership of brothers, was also a national distributor of "Billares Champion" [Champion Billiards], covering Medellín, Manizales, Barranquilla, Bogotá, and Cali. See: *El Diario*, Medellín, July 9, 1949, p7.

conformed his own record shop and distribution business in Medellín, named "Distribuidora de Discos", and since early 1950s he figured as an exclusive agent for the recently conformed Sonolux record company and their Lyra label, covering the Antioquia region.[26] In 1953, when Rafael Acosta ended his partnership in Sonolux, Otoniel Cardona joined as a new share holder of the company in partnership with founder Antonio Botero, chief executive, and his brother Samuel Botero, technical director.[27] Cardona assumed the role of "artistic director" [A&R],[28] due to his celebrated "keen vision of popular taste, with special faculties to judge, within his terrain, the music that sells well and that should be recorded".[29]

His partnership in Sonolux continued until 1963, when he sold his shares and left to establish Industrias Fonográficas Victoria Limitada also in Medellín (Arias Calle, 2011, pp108-109; Wade, 2000, p151). The record factory was constituted by Otoniel as its main share holder, with his brother Saúl Cardona Urán, and Mario Méndez Álvarez. The latter, had been running the label Discos Victoria in Cali since early 1950s, and by 1955 also pressed and distributed his records in Medellín through Ondina.[30] His business eventually grew into "Fábrica de Discos Victoria" in Cali, but later moved his operation to Medellín through the new partnership, to which he contributed with "machinery and its accessories and spare parts; office equipment; his catalogue of recordings, tapes and their [associated] copy rights; an automobile and diverse raw materials" (Arias Calle, 2011, pp108-109).[31] The record company played since 1964 an important role in the diffusion of "música caliente, guasca... [or] parrandera" (Ibid), and established as one of most remembered Colombian record companies of the second half of the 20th century, which continued to exist until the 21st century, when it faded into a mysterious low profile.[32]

It is worth adding that as Arias Calle (2011, pp108-109) remarks, the partnership did not include distribution and retail activities, as those aspects would be handled by Otoniel Cardona on his own, through his record shop and distribution business.[33] During 1963, these activities are highly visible in *Pantalla* magazine, with frequent ads for "Distribuidora y Agencia de Discos de Otoniel Cardona U.", offering distribution and retail of records by "all national and foreign brands", as well as radios, record players, torches,

[26] *El Diario*, Medellín, April 19, 1950, p2.
[27] *El Diario*, Medellín, May 6, 1953, p2.
[28] *El Diario*, Medellín, August 19, 1953, p5.
[29] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 1, 1954, p2. [My translation]
[30] *El Diario*, Medellín, June 15, 1955, p7.
[31] [My translation]
[32] During visits to Medellín around mid 2010s in the course of this research, I tried to get in touch with Otoniel Cardona or other members of his family through executives from Discos Fuentes and Codiscos I met. Nevertheless I was strongly advised not to carry on with my plans, due to family conflicts regarding the ownership of a company which by then, was said to have transformed into a video production business. I have little certainty about these things, and the actual situation of the company remains a mystery fed by gossip.
[33] As Arias Calle (2011, pp108-109) annotates, in his distribution outlet during the 1950s, Otoniel's five brothers started collaborating as sales men in their record shops, and by travelling to other regions of the country.

batteries, and "musical and electric goods in general".[34] With him, among several other record shops operating in Medellín during the time, La Guitarra as well as Foto Electro stand out.[35]

Figure 8.3 - Fotoelectro, record and sound hardware retail shop, Medellín (1963).


Medellín, Diciembre 13 de 1963 — PANTALLA —

"Fotoelectro", gran centro disquero

Source: *Pantalla*, Medellín, December 13, 1963, p13.

A fourth event that marks the later years of my period of study relates to the case of Jesús Ramirez Johns, also an early merchant of records and sound technology active in the 1940s, and who by the end of the decade formed the Silver record company in Medellín. Ramirez Johns was a recognised business man of multiple investments and activities, co-founder of ANDI big industrial's association in Medellín, who during the 1950s also acted as president of the "Fábrica de Galletas y Confites Noel" [Factory of Biscuits and Sweets Noel], one of the earliest industries of the city which still operates today (Poveda Ramos, 1984, p15).[36] In October of 1963, Ramirez Johns sold Discos Silver.[37] The company was

[34] *Pantalla*, Medellín, no. 499, December 13, 1963, p8. [My translation] In Spanish: "Discos en todas las marcas nacionales y extranjeras - Radios Transistores - Tocadiscos Automáticos y Manuales - Distribuidor 'Eveready': Pilas - Linternas - Bombillas - Baterias - Artículos Musicales y Eléctricos en General. Ventas al por mayor y detal".

[35] *Pantalla*, Medellín, December 13, 1963, p13.

[36] Noel, is one of the few early 20th century pioneer companies that survived the rough neoliberal policies that started progressing since the 1970s and climaxed by the end of the century.

bought by Alberto Toro Montoya, a recognised name in Caracol radio network, and by Orlando Posada, which had recently left Sonolux, for which he had worked for several years as sales director.[38] Posada had been running his own umbrella independent company, known as "Velvet Colombiana" or as "Producciones Gema Colombiana", dedicated to pressing records by a broad range of foreign labels.[39] The two partners announced "ambitious plans" after buying Silver records, which certainly involved pressing all international record labels Posada had been handling. Their new record company was named Sonomúsica, but two months later they announced a change of name to "Compañía Nacional de Música, CONMÚSICA", and that they would press the labels Silver, Sonomúsica, Preludio, Velvet, Gema, Serenata, Puchito, Discomoda, and Girón;[40] and probably others also licenced by Posada earlier, as Tizoc, Sondor, Onix, Disc-Jockey.[41]

A fifth notable event which significantly marks the later years of our period of study is the move of Discos Curro from Cartagena in the Atlantic Coast to Bogotá in the eastern Andes region during the 1960s. It happened several years after 1954, when his brother's Discos Fuentes moved from Cartagena to Medellín, and as in the latter case, it was in part a consequence of a general crisis of industrial and electrical infrastructure in their city of origin. In Bogotá, José María Fuentes, also known as "Curro Fuentes", along with developing his company, also worked as an A&R for Philips during the decade, "recording mostly costeño artists" that played Atlantic coast tropical dance music (Wade, 2000, p151). Outstanding among his work for the trans-national, was the compilation series "Candelazos Curro" which can be found listed in a 1969 Philips catalogue.[42] This end of the year compilation of hits, followed the tradition established by Discos Fuentes with "14 Cañonazos bailables", an LP release for the December season with the main tropical dance hits of the year, which accommodated seven songs on each side (Peláez and Jaramillo, 1996, pp56-57).

A sixth and fundamental set of events that importantly characterises change towards the end of my period of study, is the entrance of Bogotá based branches of transnational recording companies originated in US and Europe into the Colombian market of records. By the year 1960, Philips de Colombia, S.A., who had developed technology enterprises of different kinds in Colombia, claimed to be "the first in records" in the country. They started out by pressing records domestically from their PolyGram catalogue (and plenty others they owned by then) through Fonotón, a company in the municipality of Bosa in the outskirts of Bogotá (and later related with Discos Daro), that Philips considered able enough to provide the same sound quality that characterised their imported records.[43] By

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[37] *Pantalla*, Medellín, October 18, 1963, p1); *Pantalla*, Medellín, Oct 15, 1963, p4.
[38] *Pantalla*, Medellín, October 25, 1963, p1. [My translation]
[39] *Pantalla*, Medellín, October 10, 1963, p2)
[40] *Pantalla*, Medellín, December 20, 1963, p9. [My translation] Note: another player highly visible during 1963 through ads for their releases is **Discos Colombia**, even though I have no detail about its mode of operation (see: *Pantalla*, Medellín, no 467, May 3, 1963, p10).
[41] *Pantalla*, Medellín, August 11, 1963, p4. [My translation]
[42] "Philips Colombiana SA - Catálogo Clásico y Popular 1969" [Philips Colombia catalogue, 1969].
[43] Philips Adv. "La responsabilidad de ser los 1os en DISCOS", *La República*, Bogotá, March 24, 1960, p7; "Principales industrias de Bosa", Ibid, 4 Sept, 1960, p8. Note: "Fonotón" is listed among the main industrial

1966 "Philips Colombiana S.A. 'División Discos' Bogotá", was one among six branches owned in Latin America by the Netherlands originated conglomerate.[44] As company executive Hans Schrade claimed, there were "Philips factories in Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Peru, Colombia and Chile and a outlet in every Latin American country."[45] Philips recording industry activities in Bogotá gradually involved Colombian artists as well, which comprised competing for stars established through Colombian companies: by late 1960s Philips' catalogue came to include the likes of porro music composer and orchestra leader Lucho Bermúdez, the star guitar duo Los Tolimenses, and José María "Curro" Fuentes in the role of A&R, among others.[46]

The case of Philips is the earliest event in a trend in which branches or headquarters of transnational major recording companies were established in Bogotá, and not in Medellín, which continued without exceptions until the present (see Zuleta and Jaramillo, 2003).[47] Philips strategy of setting up a domestic branch was followed by the US originated major recording company Columbia, which in 1965 started CBS de Colombia. S.A. based in Bogotá (Wade, 2000, p277), changing in this way its previous strategy of signing licensing agreements with domestic companies.

In early 1954 the press announced that Sello Vergara from Bogotá would press records from the Columbia catalogue through agreements facilitated by Daro, who was their Colombian agent and an important distributor and retailer in the capital.[48] Nevertheless, news were different in later that year: Tropical records from Barranquilla, who had recently lost the Musart licence to Codiscos in Medellín, was reported as the Colombian licensee for the major US label. Among early releases by Tropical from the Columbia catalogue, was the bolero guitar and vocal trio Los Panchos, as well as Mexican ranchera star singer and composer José Alfredo Jiménez.[49]

Notwithstanding, ten years later the character of the US major company in Colombian record business changed from a role of ally through licencing agreements that benefit both parties (at least to some extent), to a role of a direct competitor operating within the country. Columbia records launched a strong world expansion strategy in 1962-63 using the CBS label, which depending on the country would imply either establishing branches, buying out local companies or doing licensing agreements with them. Its first step in 1962 was Great Britain and Ireland, where they made distribution and marketing deals, while in Europe they operated through subsidiaries in France and Germany, as they did in

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settings in Bosa. Also, as Wade (2000, p277) annotates "Philips, previously confined to selling electrical equipment, began to distribute records in 1960 and in 1976 bought out a local record company, Fonotón, formed originally by Hans Reinbold, a German Colombian. It began its own recording activities in the capital in the 1960s, starting up La Hora Philips (The Philips Hour) a radio talent show".

[44] "Trust in Philips Is World Wide" [Adv], *Billboard*, December 3, 1966, p49.

[45] *Billboard*, December 17, 1966, p53.

[46] *Philips Colombiana SA - Catálogo Clásico y Popular 1969.*

[47] Zuleta and Jaramillo (2003) evidences a particular proliferation of international major labels based in Bogotá during the 1990s, that were responsible for a considerable portion of the market share.

[48] *El Diario*, Medellín, January 13, 1954, p2, 6.

[49] *El Diario*, Medellín, March 31, 1954, p2.

Australia, Canada, and certainly in Latin America. In this region Columbia Records founded several branches of full recording capacities under the CBS brand: "[by] August, 1962, Columbia Records wholly owned subsidiaries in Argentina, Orfeo, I.C.F.S.S.; in Brazil, Discos CBS S.A., Rio de Janeiro; and Mexico, Discos CBS, S.A.".[50] As the quoted *Billboard* magazine explained:

> Important locally produced repertoire as well as repertoire produced by Columbia, U.S.A., is marketed in Latin America on the CBS label, as is the case in other countries as well. The company's Latin American activities were further enhanced with the completion of the construction of new studios in Buenos Aires. Thus, three major stereo recording centres built by Columbia Records, U.S.A., exist in Latin America. Large studios featuring the most advanced recording techniques have been in operation in Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro for some time.[51]

The Columbia world expansion strategy was profusely displayed and presented in a generous section of the trade magazine's March 16 of 1963 number [See Figure 8.4 for a sample page], using slogans as: "THE SOUND OF CBS RECORDS IS A MULTIFOLD, MULTILINGUAL SOUND. MANY COMPANIES IN MANY LANDS MAKE UP THE IMPRESSIVE CBS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION". Latin American licensees included a company in Chile, Goluboff Industries Fonográficas, another in Perú, Industrial Sono-Radio S.A, and Uruguay's Sondor Limitada (operating in association with Argentina, Orfeo I.C.F.S.A), Venezuela's La Discoteca (in association with Mexico's branch Discos CBS S.A) and certainly Discos Tropical from Barranquilla.[52] The latter, formally named as "Industrias Fonográficas Discos Tropical", was presented as "THE SOUND OF CBS RECORDS IN COLOMBIA" in a whole page advert.[53] Interestingly, the company was not presented as a mere business partner, but as a part of the Columbia Records organization: a small gear in their colossal plan for world market domination.[54]

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[50] "Artists Help in CBS O'Seas Bows - History in the Making as CBS Expands." *Billboard*, March 16, 1963, p40.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid, p41. Other countries in the licensees international network: Benelux (The Netherlands), Denmark, Ecuador, England, Finland, Greece, Hong Kong, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, New Zeland, Norway, Philippines, Republic of South Africa, Spain, Sweden (Ibid, p43).
[53] "THE SOUND OF CBS RECORDS IN COLOMBIA" [Whole Page Advertisement of CBS Records and Disco Tropical Partnership, with synopsis of Discos Tropical], *Billboard*, March 16, 1963, p53. Note: there are images of: Staff of Discos Tropical among CBS's "international licensees": Emilio Fortou (President) and Hernando D. Vergara Martelo (Commercial director) (Ibid, p43).
[54] "Industrias Fonograficas [Tropical] was founded in 1948 by... Emilio Fortou P. Today, 15 years later, the organization holds a place among the leaders of the Colombian record industry, with an impressive list of achievements to its credit... [It] was the first local company to produce its own 45 and 33 1/3 RPM records, and the first to launch stereo records on the Colombian market. The company's extensive catalogue, consisting of both monoaural and stereo product... Now, in conjunction with the introduction of the CBS trademark, a new sales organization is to be created in Bogota, capital of the republic and the largest single record market in the country. The result will bring an even greater degree of effectiveness to the distribution operation of Industrias Fonógraficas. 1963 will also include other advances such as an increase in production coinciding with the installation of new machinery and an ambitious expansion program covering all areas of Colombia" (Ibid, p53).

Figure 8.4 – CBS Records and Discos Tropical partnership advert (1963).

Source: "The sound of CBS Records in Colombia", *Billboard*, March 16, 1963, p 53.

Nonetheless, the US company changed its strategy in Colombia three years later. In 1965 "Manuel Villarreal, vice-president of Columbia Records in charge of Latin American operations, assisted at the inauguration of the new CBS factory in Bogota, Colombia."[55] The new Discos CBS, S.A. of Colombia started up that year, and as Harvey Schein, "vice-president and general manager of CBS Records" annotated, "the new subsidiary, headed by Stefan Riess" was conceived as "a fully integrated record company with recording, manufacturing and distribution facilities."[56] As the foreign branches' strategy advanced in the region, by 1979 the CBS world label had six subsidiaries in Latin America: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, México, Venezuela; and had licensing agreements with

[55] *Billboard*, April 3, 1965, p 22.
[56] "CBS Spreads to Colombia", *Billboard*, April 3, 1965, p8.

companies in other six countries in the region: Bolivia, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay.[57]

In seventh place, a point I want to highlight about the later moment of the period studied, is a distinctive trait of main Colombian recording companies of the recent past. The chart in Figure 8.5 gathers information about the labels licenced by seven main record companies in Colombia between the years 1963 and 1969, and also about their own labels.[58] Considering the same kind of information was collected in Figure 6.7 [Chapter 6] for the 1949 to 1956 earlier moment, I will point out a couple of features made evident by comparative analysis.

On the one hand, both charts underline the continuity of a domestic recording industries strategy of doing numerous international licensing agreements with record companies from Latin America and the Caribbean, US, Europe and UK. In fact, comparing the two moments shows a sharp increase in the number of foreign labels involved. For example, in the case of Discos Fuentes I registered five [5] foreign labels that granted licences to the record company between 1949 and 1956. Contrasting sharply, by 1968 Discos Fuentes had eighteen [18] foreign labels in its catalogue, situating it as the company with more licensing agreements. Similarly, in the case of the Codiscos (Zeida) company from Medellín, I registered only three [3] foreign licences between 1949 and 1956, but by 1966 its catalogue counted with fourteen [14]. Roughly, these two cases suggest a four-fold increase in the intensity of foreign label licences strategies, and in the number of international players involved.

On the other hand, both the comparison of the two moments and the analysis of information for each of them, evidences changes in the domestic-foreign alliances involved in these strategies. This hints at a significant feature of intense dynamics of competition for foreign labels between main domestic record producers. For example, Figure 6.7 [Chapter 6] evidences that several foreign labels that established licensing agreements with Discos Fuentes between 1949 and 1956, had also done the same with other domestic players during those years: Pampa (Argentina) with Atlantic from Barranquilla in 1952, and later in 1955 with Sonolux from Medellín; Seeco (US) with Barranquilla's Tropical in 1952; Peerless (México) in 1954 with Ondina from Medellín; Panart (Cuba) with Sonolux in 1955; and Ansonia (US) in 1956 with Discos Curro in Cartagena. Again, a similar example is that of Musart (Mexico), for which I registered licencing agreements during 1953 both with Discos Tropical in Barranquilla, and with Codiscos in Medellín.

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[57] "CBS Record International - Latin American Operations", in "A Billboard Spotlight: LATIN AMERICA. A $1 BILLION MARKET BREAKOUT", *Billboard*, November 3, 1979, pp LA92-LA93. Note: In 1979 the company's chief executive or "Gerente General" was Sr. Carlos A. Gutierrez.

[58] Its construction involved using record label catalogues published between those years, complemented with a couple of ads from *Pantalla* magazine, that displayed visual information on the matter. Figures 8.6 and 8.7 (next pages) present examples of these sources used to build the chart: the front cover of a Discos Fuentes catalogue for the years 1968-1969, and a Sonomúsica ad from 1963. Also see Apendices 8.1 and 8.2 for the back cover of a Codiscos catalogue (circa mid1960s), the first inner page of a Sonolux catalogue for 1967.

Figure 8.5 - International licensing agreements and own labels (1964-1969).

Year	Company	City	Own labels	Foreign labels licenced	no.
1963	**Sonomúsica**	Medellín	Silver, Sonomusica	Preludio(Col), Velvet(Venez), Gema(P.Ric/Cuba), Serenata(Fran), Puchito(Cuba), Discomoda(Venez), Girón, Tizoc(Mex), Sondor(Urug), Onix(Ecuador), DiscJockey(Argentina).	13
1964	**Sonolux**	Medellín	Sonolux, Lyra	RCA Victor, Orfeón(Mex), Real(Mex), Hi-Fi Musidisc(Braz), Liberty(US), Seeco(US).	8
1967	**Sonolux**	Medellín	Sonolux, Lyra	RCA Victor, Orfeón(México), Real(Mex), Hi-Fi Musidisc(Braz), Velvet(Venez), Nilser(Braz), Producciones Fermata Colombia.	9
1964	**Tropical**	B-quilla	Tropical	Kubaney(Cuba/US), Discomoda(Venez).	3
1966	**Codiscos**	Medellín	Zeida, CODISCOS, Codiscos, Serie de Oro	Musart(Mex), Capitol Records, Angel, Odeon-EMI, Capitol-EMI, Warner Brothers, Reprise, Sonus(Venez), SonoRadio(Perú), CAN AM(Canada), Discuba(US).	14
1968	**Fuentes**	Medellín	Fuentes	Gema(P.Ric/Cuba), Fania Records(US), Dorium 33, Seeco(US), Virrey(Perú), Palacio(Venez), Alegre(US), Pampa(Argentina), Peerless(Mex), Hispavox(Spain), Panart(Cuba), Tico(US), Fonseca(US), United Artists, Roulette(US), Discomoda(Venez).	18
1969	**Philips**	Bogotá	Philips	Polydor, Metro Goldwyn Mayer, Verve, Mercury, Atlantic, Ansonia; Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft, Archiv Produktion, Philips and Mercury (Classical line).	11

Sources (following rows top to bottom): a) Pantalla, Medellín, December 20, 1963, p9; Pantalla, Medellín, August 11, 1963, p4; b) Catálogo L.P. Industria Electro-Sonora Ltda. RCA Victor (1964); c) "TROPICAL. 78 Y 45 R.P.M. CATALOGO GENERAL NUMERICO." (1964); d) "Codiscos. CATALOGO GENERAL. DISCOS DE LARGA DURACION> 33 1/3 R.P.M. Monofónicos y Estereofónicos. DISCOS COMPACTOS 33 1/3 R.P.M. NOVIEMBRE 1966"; e) Catálogo General L.P. Sonolux (1967); f) Catálogo Discos Fuentes, 78 r.p.m. (1968 - 1969); g) "Philips Colombiana SA - Catálogo Clásico y Popular 1969". Notes: Tropical label 82% of catalogue; Philips label 29% of titles, Polydor 17% of titles; Philips catalogue is divided in two parts, popular music with 69% of titles, and classical music with 31%.

Data from different years during the 1960s for each company presented in the Figure 8.5, also evidences changes in the domestic-foreign alliances and suggests the same dynamics of competition between the Colombian record companies for several foreign labels. For example, the US label Seeco was registered as a label licenced to Sonolux in 1964, but in 1968 it was listed among those licenced to Discos Fuentes. The same happens with the Gema label (originally from Cuba and later established in Puerto Rico), a licence granted to Sonomúsica in 1963 which later in 1968 sits among several held by Discos Fuentes; also with Velvet (a label from Venezuela), evidenced as well within Sonomúsica's foreign catalogue in 1963, while by 1967 it sits among those held by Sonolux; and with the Discomoda label (also from Venezuela), with licensing agreements with Sonomúsica in 1963, Tropical in 1964, and with Discos Fuentes in 1968.

Furthermore, the comparison of the two moments represented by Figure 6.7 [Chapter 6], from 1949 to 1956, and by Figure 8.5, between 1963 and 1969, evidences the same sort of changes in foreign-domestic licencing alliances as the strategy increased intensity and number of foreign players involved. Its broader picture of the dynamics of competition between domestic companies points out Discos Fuentes as a particularly strong and fierce competitor for foreign licences, with a total of eighteen [18] by 1968: the highest number in comparison to data for other companies as Codiscos (1966), Sonomúsica-Conmúsica(1963), Philips (1969), Sonolux (1964, 1967) and Tropical (1964).

In its 1968 company catalogue, Discos Fuentes includes repertoire from early 1950s long standing allies Peerless (México) and Panart (Cuba), even though not from Ansonia which forms part of Philips catalogue by 1969.[59] There is also repertoire from labels that had previously been licenced to other companies. This suggests that by then Fuentes had snatched several licences: Seeco (US) earlier with Tropical (1952), Pampa (Argentina) earlier with Atlantic (1952) and then with Sonolux (1963), and also Gema (Cuba/Puerto Rico) and Discomoda (Venezuela), earlier with Sonomúsica (1963). Additionally, Fuentes had added repertoire from the New York labels Fania, Alegre, Tico, Roulette and Fonseca, associated with the by then effervescent salsa phenomenon, as well as from Hispavox (Spain), Virrey (Peru), Palacio (Venezuela), and the US film studios derived United Artists.

Judging on the evidence collected in Figure 8.5, Codiscos held a close second place in number of foreign labels licenced during the 1960s, with a total of fourteen [14] in its 1966 catalogue. The latter includes repertoire from labels of long term relation Musart (1953) and Capitol Records (1953), and in contrast to the 1949-1956 period, considerably more from long-standing transnational players in recording and sound technology industries as Angel, Odeon-EMI, and Capitol-EMI, as well recordings from the US film studio derived Warner Brothers and Frank Sinatra's 1960s formed Reprise label (by then owned by the former). It is worth noting that this implies that Codiscos had by then snatched the Odeon license held in 1954 by Barranquilla's Discos Tropical, a company that in contrast to the two cases examined so far, had decreased in number of licensing agreements from six [6] between 1949 and 1956, which situated it in a leading position, to only three [3] in 1964, the least number of licences in a group of six companies examined. Tropical's decreased position in a dynamics of competition for international label licences, characterises the 1960s situation, as well as Codiscos's concentration of deals with the Capitol-EMI-Odeon complex of interrelated major international companies. In parallel, the 1960s are characterised by Sonolux's role as exclusive licensee for RCA Victor in Colombia, by the appearance of Sonomúsica (established after buying out Silver Records) a new main player with thirteen [13] foreign licences in 1963 (several snatched by Discos Fuentes later), and by the operation of Columbia and Philips through their own domestic branches.

[59] See sources in Figure 8.5

Labels from Mexico, US, Venezuela, and Cuba predominate in the licensing deals discussed so far, a pattern which one could argue is a reflection of the diverse taste for foreign music characteristic of Colombian audiences in the central Andean regions since the 1930s [See Chapter 4]. licensing deals with foreign labels evidenced between 1949 to 1956, apart from those with big transnational players as Odeon, Columbia, and Capitol (RCA Victor was still the domain of importers), included: 5 labels from México, 5 from US, 3 from Venezuela, 2 from Argentina, and one each from Cuba, Puerto Rico, Ecuador, Tahiti and India. [See Figure 6.7 in Chapter 6] Later, those evidenced between 1964 and 1969, apart from RCA Victor, Capitol, Angel, Odeon-EMI, Capitol-EMI, Warner Brothers, Reprise, United Artists, and those held by Philips (Columbia now with its local branch), included: 9 labels from US, 5 from Mexico, 4 from Cuba, 4 from Venezuela, 2 from Argentina, 2 from Brazil, 2 from Perú, and one each from Ecuador, Canada, France and Spain. [See Figure 8.5]

Figure 8.6 – Discos Fuentes' licencing deals (1968-1969).

Source: Discos Fuentes 78 r.p.m. catalogue, 1968.

Figure 8.7 - Sonomúsica's licensing deals (1963).

Source: *Pantalla*, Medellín, no 500, December 20, 1963, p9.

In eight and final place, a significant landmark that characterized the late days of my period of study is the continuation of a technological competition between main record companies in Medellín, that in previous chapters was traced in detail for the first half of the 1950s. During 1963, three of the leading recording companies in Medellín announced further technological actualizations of their recording capacities. Sonolux expressively celebrated the "culmination of a technological effort" by inaugurating new impressive *state of the art* studios in their head quarters in the industrial district, which they named after Luis Uribe Bueno, an arranger, composer and musician that had worked from an early stage as musical director of the record company.[60] [See Figure 8.10] Joining the competition for updated technology, Codiscos announced the opening of new studios with actualized technology in a building in the El Poblado sector, apart from their main plant in the Guayabal area;[61] and Fuentes, which a year earlier had "held its first national sales convention in Medellin to plan 1962-1963 material and programs",[62] reported in 1963 that it would "spend three million pesos to modify recording studio and pressing plant".[63]

It is fair to point out that Sonolux, Codiscos and Discos Fuentes, along with the recently established Industrias Fonográficas Victoria in Medellín, conformed a small group of Colombian companies based in Medellín that endured in the long run, in spite of the technological and economic challenges of the coming decades and the turn of the 21st century. These companies that continued to operate during the 20th century, surely never reached any form of *culmination* in the race of technology updating, considering that a

[60] *Pantalla*, Medellín, July 19, 1963, p15.
[61] *Pantalla*, Medellín, December 20, 1963, p16.
[62] *Billboard*, June 9, 1962, p16.
[63] *Billboard*, June 22, 1963, p35.

fundamental particularity of the history of recording and sound technology industries is precisely a constant drive towards new technologies of sound recording, reproduction, storage and transmission [See Chapter 1]. It is noteworthy that also in 1963, Philips released the tape cassette format through a patent free scheme, intended to establish the magneto-phonic carrier as the industry standard, even though it took until the late 1970s and 1980s for it to become popular in the recorded music market (Millard, 2005, pp313-327). The new format surely represented challenges in terms of investment for Colombian companies as the 1980s unfolded, and in regards to the well known tensions with the practice of home taping which international phonographic industries fought aggressively, many times criminalizing music audiences as "pirates".[64]

Figure 8.18 - Sonolux records "Culmination of a technological effort" (1963).

Source: *Pantalla*, Medellín, July 19, 1963, p15.

Colombian record companies certainly also faced the challenges of a domestic market in which branches of foreign and strong transnational companies as Philips and CBS started to compete since the 1960s, a trend that increased towards the end of the 20th century (see Zuleta and Jaramillo, 2003). Furthermore, they certainly dealt as well with the challenges of a new crisis in Colombian economy that was strongly felt in 1980, specially

[64] See: "Unite Against Latin Pirates", *Billboard*, 27 September, 1980, p57. "Record companies, music publishers and composer' societies will unite in Latin America to wage war on record and tape pirates". The statement emerged from a meeting in Panama with participation of the "newly formed Latin American Federation of Music Publishers, the coordinating committee of the Latin American Federation of Phonogram Producers, and the Panamerican council of the International Confederation of Authors and Composers Societies" (Ibid).

affecting manufacturing industries (Poveda Ramos, 1984, p125); and with those of an economic policy climate opposed to that which catalyzed their emergence and consolidation in the 1950s and 1960s. The country's economic policies started to shift towards neoliberalism and *free trade*, starting in late 1970s and advancing intensely during the 1990s (Kalmanovitz, 2010, pp179-195).

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This chapter has highlighted a series of significant events that took place during the second moment of the period of study in which this research has concentrated, many of them centred around the year 1963, while others happened later during the 1960s. After the excursion deployed through these historical events evidenced using mostly primary sources, it is possible to abstract some conclusions in terms of patterns of change and/or continuity in the structure and strategies of recording and sound technology industries. Contrasting with the situation described for the first moment studied, 1949 to 1956, the patterns I will sketch in these last pages, could be interpreted as effects (to different extents) of the radical change in national State policies of international commerce instated during late 1956.

An overall pattern of geographical change represents challenges to the idea of Medellín capital of recording industries. Firstly, a challenge is posed by the leadership acquired by Bogotá in sound hardware assembly industries after Philips established a mighty plant for such purposes in mid1950s, which suggest a complementary idea of Bogotá capital of sound technology industries. Secondly, another challenge is represented by Philips' expansion into recording business activities since early 1960s, based in Bogotá, where Columbia also established its recording branch Discos CBS, S.A. in 1965. The transnational companies represent a central change, in which these new players of colossal capital and a long history of achievements in sound technology research and development, start competing for market share, snatch executives and artists from domestic record companies, and buy out other companies. Additionally, when the Colombian phonographic association ASINCOL was formalized in 1963 (as evidenced in previous pages), an equal number of companies from Medellín and Bogotá formed the core of its members (five from each city, out of a total of thirteen). Under such circumstances, it can be argued that at least since mid 1950s both cities competed for prominence in Colombian recording and sound technology industries, and that Bogotá, leader in sound hardware assembly industry since then, and host of powerful new entrants in domestic recording business during the 1960s, eventually played a central role of growing dominance.

Another pattern of change can be abstracted from cases in which players initially involved in distribution and retail of records and/or sound hardware, start venturing into the production sphere of recording business. Early examples are Rafael Acosta, co-founder of Sonolux in 1949 when import restrictions were initially instated, and who previously

operated as a records and hardware merchant (a continued to do after venturing in record production), as well as the Ramirez Johns firm, domestic agents for Columbia that started Silver Records in Medellín that same year [See Chapter 7]. As noted in previous chapters, Alfredo Díez founder of Codiscos in 1950 was also involved in domestic commerce of records (even though to an extent not clear). Even more, the Atlantic record company started that year as well in Barranquila, involved Emigdeo Velazco an RCA Victor agent in partnership with several other regional record distributors. Later cases are those of the firm De Bedout hnos. from Medellín which becomes majority share holder in Sonolux in 1958. Some years after, record and hardware distributor Otoniel Cardona established the record factory Industrias Fonográficas Victoria, Ltda (1964) also in Medellín, as its main share holder; and Discos Daro, a long term record distributor in Bogotá, expanded its activities and figured as an important player in record production during the 1960s. These two players in record production, kept operating in distribution of records and hardware as well.

Additionally, it is worth noting that the case of Philips represents a pattern in which technology industries expanded into recording business, and continued to operate in both sides of the business. And also noting that in cases as that of the firm Mora Hnos., prominent import-distributors of German Blaupunkt between 1954 and 1956, the change was from international commerce to domestic assembly of sound hardware (evidenced in their case by 1958) [See Chapter 7].

Also, even though I don't have enough evidence to firmly substantiate the statement, a pattern of change in which independent small players progressed into record factories is suggested the case of Sonomúsica. The record factory was formed in 1963 by Orlando Posada, who had been previously operating as an independent player (outsourcing pressing services from other companies), and who bought Discos Silver in order to establish as a fully equipped record company. The case of Discos Metropoli from Medellín is apparently the same, as I have evidenced its operation as an independent player in the 1950s, and also that it was counted among the main record companies that formed part of ASINCOL in 1963. Further research should better explore this type of pattern, as well as the appearance of new small players during the 1960s, and the integration of others of the same kind into bigger companies through buy outs or partnerships.

Finally, patterns of continuity in strategies of main Colombian record companies during the whole period of study can also be abstracted. As evidenced in Chapter 6 as well as in previous pages of the present chapter, licensing the catalogues of foreign labels in order to press and commercialize their recordings in the Colombian record market, was a foundational strategy in Colombian recording business. I would argue that it stems from the fact that, as evidenced in different chapters of this thesis, distribution of imported records and sound hardware was a markedly active and perhaps booming business sector in Colombia since the 1930s—when commercial radio, sound film exhibition, and jukebox exploitation industries took off in the country—and until the sector faced the challenges of mid1950s economic contingencies and their subsequent changes in State policies on

international commerce. This meant that, from the 1930s, Colombian audiences for recorded music, both in the cities and in some rural areas [at least Atlantic Coast and Andean region], listened mostly to music recorded by foreign labels, as records distributed by agents for the likes of RCA Victor, Columbia, Odeon or EMI composed the bulk of those accessible. [See Chapter 4]

Production of recordings of Colombian artists started to increase since the 1930s as well, with the incipient production of players in what I have described as a proto-domestic industry, and since 1949 with the overproduction practices of record factories in the Atlantic Coast, Medellín, Cali, Bogotá, and a few more cities in the central Andean region [See Chapter 6]. Nevertheless, as I have evidenced, commercializing recordings by a plethora of foreign labels—previously a business structured around the activities of record importers—was a foundational strategy since the first record factories were established in late 1940s and early 1950s, which continued during the following decades with a sharp tendency of increase.

Finally, a continuous pattern of competition for technological updating between Colombian companies can be inferred from the description of the unfolding of recording industries in Medellín and other cities from 1949 to 1956 presented in Chapter 6, and from the events of the 1960s discussed in recent pages. In this matter, I should underline, there are still many questions that need in depth exploration through further research. For instance, a detailed study of recording studios, the equipment they used, the emergence of recording engineers, their techniques and the particular ways in which they exercised their craft or solved problems, is certainly an interesting and important future task. As is producing more detail about the specifics of pressing plants, the particular techniques involved in their use, the production and uses of different record formats, and so on.

Chapter 9. Conclusions: social tensions and patterns of change and continuity in Colombian recording and sound technology industries, 1949-1963.

An attempt at coming back to ideas and theories discussed in Part One of this text (Chapters 1 to 3), will be deployed in this final chapter in order to establish a conversation between them and the different kinds of archival evidence and analyses presented in Part Two (Chapters 4 to 8), in this way arriving at a set of overall research conclusions. Firstly, I will return to aims-objectives-questions established in Chapter 1 (section 5), by providing a set of charts that list the different sort of players identified through the research, and by arguing that an overall appraisal of Colombian recording and sound technology industries of mid 20th century allows the abstraction of a set of distinctive change/continuity patterns. This sets foot for deploying an extended dedicated answer to a question at the core of Hobsbawm's model for social history analysis: What were the main tensions between different players involved, and what was their nature? Secondly, this chapter returns to the notion of *recording and sound technology industries* discussed in Chapter 1 (section 6), in order to argue that this account of the phenomenon during mid20th century Colombia constitutes a *hardware/software understanding* of music industrialization, in which its dual cultural/technological character guides approach and analysis. Thirdly, I come back to the critique of an idea of Golden Age in Chapter 1 (section 1) and expand the discussion raised in Chapter 3 (section 2.2), through a meditation on the present situation of main recording companies established during the 1950s, and the role of this text in today's public sphere.

It seems fair to begin by acknowledging that, as discussed in Chapter 3, this social history of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia from 1949 to 1963 resonates with different branches of academic inquiry about the past, including economic history, business history, media history, cultural history, global history, and contemporary or history of the recent past. With the last of these in particular—roughly a field defined by the study of the 20th century—this work shares essential methodological implications, as well as a set of ethical matters discussed in last section of this chapter. In general terms, from the "post-empiricist" perspective of Munslow (2006, p9) the way in which this social history was produced gives grounds for being tagged as a "constructionist historian" that joins the crowd of "conceptually informed empiricism". Fair enough: I do work under the assumption that there is some valid referential correspondence between events evidenced through written primary sources and the past, and have aimed at *constructing* the best analyses and narrative possible by the method of inference; in spite of being familiar with the historical discipline's limitations, ready to debate "referentiality" and "representationalism", and not unfriendly with relativism, to some extent. [1]

[1] In terms of Hesse (2004, p209), this account of the past might fit within a "new empiricism", "self-reflexive" and willing "to reconstitute a dialogue between realist and anti-realist practitioners" (Ibid, p202), yet in disagreement with the latter's total condemnation of objectivity in the historical discipline. This account is also in harmony with Cannadine's (2008) reflection on the effects of postmodernist critique on historiography which confronts us with the question "Is history fiction by another name, in which the

Epistemological and ontological warnings given, i.e. assuming the archival evidence and analyses presented in the chapters of this text have a defensively representational relation with *what actually happened* in the past, through them one could *construct* the following summarising narrative (which is of course open to revision by other historiographers):

> The development of commercial radiobroadcasting and film exhibition industries took off during late 1920s in Colombia, at least two decades before the era some commentators of nostalgic inclinations consider a Golden Age of recording industry in the country (roughly 1950s to 1970s). These mass media developed rapidly during the 1930s and 1940s backed by a complex and strong economic group from Medellín, in which trade and industry interests were interlaced. In parallel, and at least since mid1930s, a sector of jukebox operators developed, composed mostly by owners of cantinas, cafés, and bars, who bought their "traníqueles" from domestic import-distributors of mostly US machines, as Wurlitzer, Seeburg and AMI. Notably, their activities positioned Colombia as the fourth largest world market for that kind of coin operated machine by mid1950s (according to *Billboard* magazine). All these mass media developments ignited an explosion in circulation of recorded music in Colombia, during an era in which records started to be produced using electricity, and, through the electricity driven speakers of different forms of radio sets and phonographs, sounded much louder than earlier "acoustic" technology ones.
>
> Colombian soundscape since then was increasingly occupied by music of diverse kinds. From bambuco and related genres that identified the Andean region, to *música tropical* of different styles characteristic of the Atlantic Coast region, and a wide diversity of foreign music genre. From Mexican iconic Ranchera and Corridos, Tango in the sung style by then developed in Argentina, and Pasillo in the Ecuadorian contemporary style; to Bolero in its various inflexions—including the Cuban style, the different forms developed from Yucatán to México City, and its sound by trios of guitar, maracas and polyphonic singing—and different forms of Afro Caribbean dance music, along with diverse music genres from Europe and US.
>
> In the context of these phenomena, from the mid 1930s to the 1940s by few entrepreneurs started an early stage of development of Colombian recording and sound technology industries I have called a *proto domestic recording business*: most of them commercial agents for companies as RCA Victor and Columbia also involved with radio broadcasting in different ways. Nevertheless, most recordings by Colombian artists during those decades were made and pressed abroad by major transnational record companies, generally in US but also in México and Argentina, at the same time that domestic recordings faced cost and time barriers due to their dependence on foreign pressing services.[2] This situation started to change in the

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author makes it all up, or is it about fact, truth and certainty?". As the historian remarked: "Trevelyan rightly noted that the very essence of history was not 'the imagination roaming at large, but pursuing the fact and fastening upon it'" (Ibid, p32).

[2] Those that managed to produce recordings of Colombian artists within the country, nevertheless, had to send these abroad for the production of the actual records which then came back as imports, adding to a series of barriers and the disadvantage of a prolonged time-consuming process of production that involved the transatlantic or transcontinental movement of different sorts of stuff: from the diverse letters involved in doing business with a foreign party, and the electricity that travels through telegrams, wire transactions and phone calls; to the master copies of recordings made by local players (mostly in the studios of radio stations), and all the way to the actual records that were shipped back to a country in which they entered

second half of the 1940s, when Atlantic Coast pioneer recording companies Discos Fuentes and Tropical imported record presses and established "fábricas de discos" [record factories], and particularly after 1949, when the State imposed bans on record imports in the country, catalysing the formation of new companies as Atlantic (not the US label] in Barranquilla, and particularly of several others in the Andean region. Among them: Silver, Sonolux, Ondina, and Zeyda in Medellín; and Sello Vergara in Bogotá.

These main companies, along with a growing parallel sector of small independent labels, heralded a 1950s explosion in recording business in Colombia, in the context of an advanced stage of manufacturing industries in Colombia. Their process of unfolding from late 1940s to the 1950s involved a gradual change from a previous mode of production—recording in radio stations and sent abroad for producing the actual records—to a new mode through the 1950s. It progressively decreased dependence from foreign outsourcing: up to the level of having their own recording studios, stamper production facilities, and their own pressing plants. Even though, they remained dependant on foreign professional recording technology hardware, magnetic tape, and certain raw materials unavailable domestically that formed part of the ingredients of the plastic composite records were made of.

In late 1953, Alfredo Díez founder of Codiscos claimed that total record sales had grown from 600 hundred thousand units in early 1950 to the ground-breaking level of 2.5 million annual units. A few years later, a group of around fourteen main domestic recording companies was celebrated by media specialized in economics, acknowledging them as an important contribution to the country's growing and qualitatively expanding industrial sector. In parallel, the same media celebrated the emergence of "la industria del ensamble" [assembly industry] after tight import restrictions were reinstated in late 1956 (following some five years of relaxation), which included both records and phonographs in the prohibited import list (among a broad range of commodities regulated). The expansion of Philips de Colombia S.A in 1956 through a big plant in Bogotá dedicated to the mass assembly of radios, radio-phonographs and record players (among other electro domestics) was received with enthusiasm by some journalists. At the same time, a parallel sector of small businesses unfolded, assembling radios and phonographs from imported parts and pieces (and other elements available domestically), and mostly formed by record and sound hardware traders and by owners of radio repair shops.

With Philips leading the assembly of sound hardware, domestic recording companies operated under intense competition for licencing agreements that allowed them to press and commercialize recordings from the catalogues of foreign labels. Sonolux established as the exclusive associate of RCA Victor since 1958, while Fuentes was a strong competitor with a broad catalogue of international music by late 1960s, followed by Codiscos who secured the licencing agreement of the EMI-Capitol-Odeon block, and by Sonomúsica (Conmúsica) a new

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under the category of imports. The latter had the potential of generating problems with the customs authorities, and certainly of increasing production costs with import taxes. I have no clear data for the 1930s-1940s period on the frequency and size of production of entrant domestic players, nor on the proportions between sales of recordings made in Colombia and those of foreign labels within a domestic market for records dominated by importers. Yet, my hypothesis for future research is without optimistic inclinations: considering the technological, economic, production time, and bureaucratic barriers under which they operated, it seems more feasible to expect that their competition strength was rather mild (if not weak), and that their productivity was limited (if not incipient).

entrant in the business (who had bought the Silver company). At the same time, they developed Colombian artists through which they competed in three broad genres: Andean popular music in the style of bambuco and pasillo, Atlantic Coast tropical music in the style of porro, vallenato and cumbia, and particularly with new recording artists whose sound disrupted hegemonic conceptions of Andean, Atlantic Coast, and Latin American popular music. The latter included: from 1950s recordings by guitar, vocals and percussion trios and other artists from the central Andean region that pioneered what came to be known as "música de carrilera", "músic guasca" and "música parrandera"; to 1960s bands from Medellín and their take on Atlantic Coasts tropical dance music, in the lines of what came to be known as "chucu-chucu".

The recording business was marked by the formation of ASINCOL in 1963, a national association of phonographic producers, with thirteen main companies operating back then in Colombia. It included several new entrants as Discos Metrópoli and Discos Victoria in Medellín, which in 1964 was re-established from Cali to this city in a venture led by Otoniel Cardona (an old timer in the distribution and retail of records and sound hardware). And also counted with several companies from Bogotá, as Fonotón, Industrias Ajover, Discos Daro, and Discos Philips. The latter transnational company, had also expanded its domestic activities into recording production, and was followed by a branch of Columbia Records also established in Bogotá by 1965 (under the CBS trademark). Since then, these companies continued a dynamics of technological updating and competition on different levels, in which players as Ondina, Atlantic, Discos Curro and Tropical lost prominence (and eventually disappeared at different points in time). All these changes posed Bogotá as a leading city in recording and sound technology industries, in parallel to its leading place in overall manufacturing industry size, and its role as the hub for the development of TV broadcasting.

The above summarizing narrative is the result of hard work collecting a copious amount of primary sources in different historical archives,[3] and of analyses backed by relevant secondary sources (ranging from social, economic and cultural historians to musicologists that have produced knowledge about the Colombian 20th century) organized around Eric Hobsbawn's (2005a [1972]) model for writing social history. Following his terms,[4] Chapters 4 to 8 have complied with research aims and specific objectives established in Chapter 1, and have answered the following research questions that articulate them: How did the process of unfolding of recording industries actually happen from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, and why did Medellín consolidate as its capital? Who were the leading players involved in recording and sound technology industries, how did they operate, and how did this operation change over time?[5] What were the main tensions between these

[3] See Appendices 3.1 to 3.4.

[4] I have produced an account of the "shape" or structure of a specific "relational complex", with detail about the "material and historical environment", "demography", and "the forces and techniques of production". And have also analysed "social relations arising" from the structure sketched, which I have "seen in its historical movement": firstly from a 1930s-40s situation to that of the 1950s; and secondly, during the transition from a first economic moment (1949-1956) to a second (1956-1963) [See Chapter 5]. Evidently, these tasks have been carried forward with a "tendency... to treat economic movements (in the broadest sense) as the backbone of such an analysis" (Hobsbawn, 2005a, pp108-109).

[5] It is worth noting that broad topics as players, relations and operation of the sphere of copyright and intellectual rights were not among my specific research aims, yet I do briefly mention later situations of tension involving different players and their relation with the SAYCO collecting society of author's public

and other players, and what was their nature? [6] Analyses attentive to "forms and patterns of historical change" (Ibid, p108), yet, "trying to establish a balance between continuity and change", and "seeking simultaneously to animate structure and contextualize narrative", as well trying to draw "connections between the particular and the general" (Cannadine, 2008, pp29-30).

The diagrams in Figures 9.1a to 9.1c offer an extensive inventorial answer to the initial part of the second research question, through a broad picture of the different kinds of players involved in or with different important relations with the production sphere of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia from late 1940s to the 1960s. I present these as a preparatory step towards an extended answer to the last of the listed research questions, *What were the main tensions and what was their nature?* which articulates answers to the whole set of questions and research objectives provided in previous chapters. Significantly, the exercise that follows also articulates different kinds of patterns abstracted in the analysis of primary sources.[7]

On the one hand, among those features that represent patterns of change (some of which I interpret as effects or strategic responses to shifts in the economy and related State policies), are: i) an increasing concentration of a growing population in main urban centres, particularly in main cities with an advance stage in manufacturing industry; ii) changes in the cities and regions that dominated industrial production at large and in the sphere that concerns this research; iii) gradual change in the mode of domestic record production, to some extent less dependant on international outsourcing; iv) a radical change from international commerce of records and sound hardware, to domestic recording production and local assembly of sound hardware using imported parts and pieces; v) a pattern of change in the activities of previously established importers-distributors-retailers of records and sound hardware, several of which expanded into the sphere of production; vi) the disruption of hegemonic popular music repertoires in Colombia.

On the other hand, among features referenced and evidenced through the different chapters of this text that conform patterns of continuity, are: i) political tensions between

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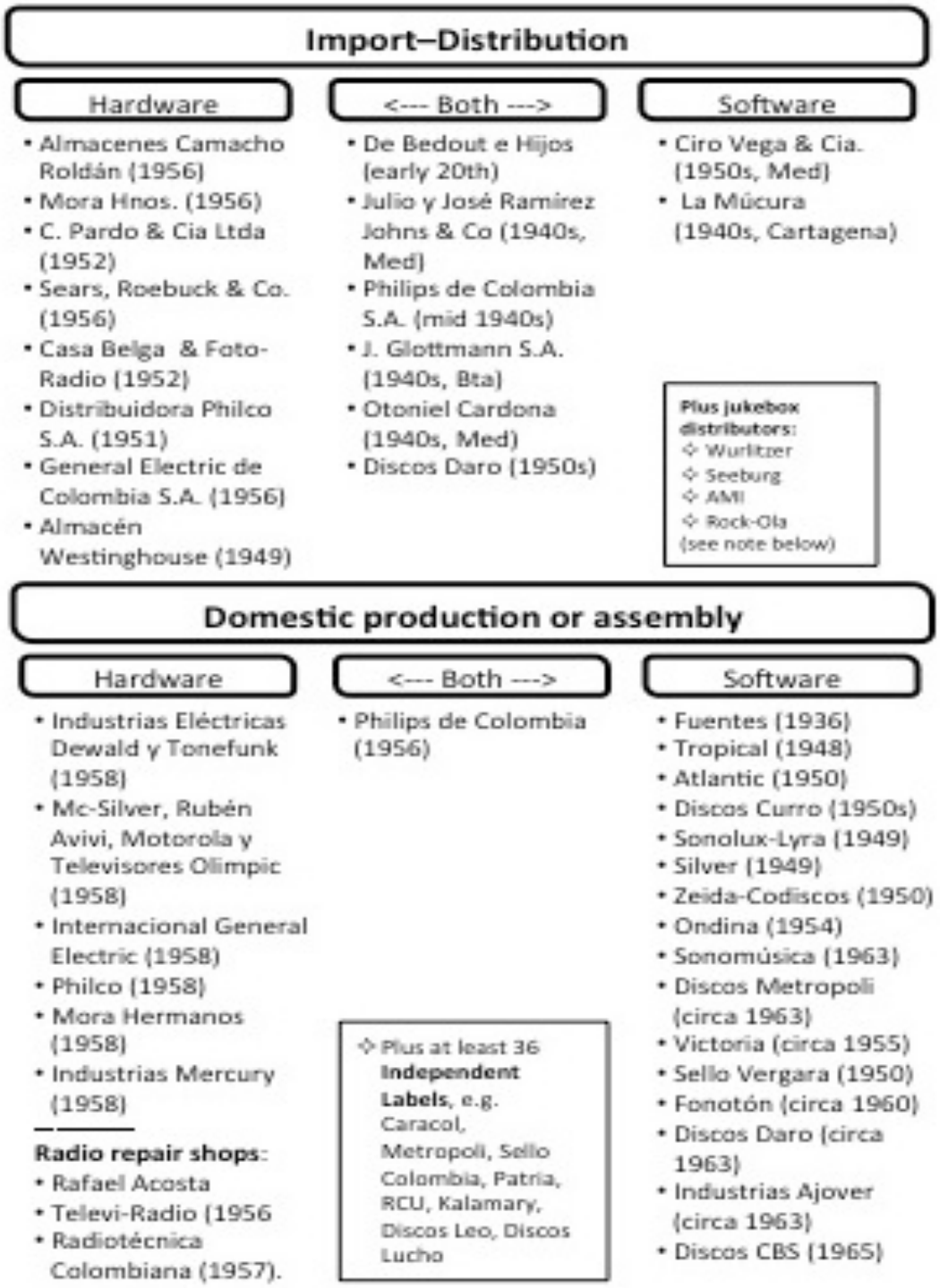
reproduction royalties, which should be explore by future research. Also, see Appendix 6.2 for information on publishers active in Colombia between 1949 and 1963. Analysing the topic of record exports also fell outside of my objectives, mostly due to its significantly smaller size compared to imports and licencing. Yet, I offer copious data on Appendices 5.16 to 5.24 about record exports during the years 1958, 1964, 1970 and 1974.

[6] Four specific research objectives were set in Chapter 1: i) Identifying key players, voices, practices, debates and events during this period of emergence and consolidation of recording industries in Colombia; ii) Understanding the structure and organization of recording industry in Colombia, in a diachronic perspective that includes players in cultural industries *vis-à-vis* those in sound technology industries; iii) Understanding the changes in mode of production that took place from the 1940s to the 1950s in those industries; and iv) Identifying the different forms of social tension involved in this process, and analysing those at the base level between players in recording and sound technology industries, and among interests groups within Colombian economy.

[7] See Appendix 9.2 for chart of patterns of change/continuity in Colombian recording and sound technology industries, 1949-1963.

leaders and passionate followers the Conservative and Liberal parties, which sparked a phenomenon of intense violence particularly in the Andean regions of the country; ii) associated tensions between different interest groups regarding industry protectionist policies and import restrictions; iii) overall growth of the recording industries sector and its sales, with the gradual entrance of new main players and a parallel sector of independent labels; iv) overproduction of records and success rates involving many unsuccessful releases before achieving a hit; v) an incessant process of technological updating and competition, based on imports of professional sound recording and record production technology; vi) participation of transnational main recording and sound technology corporations in different forms, and adapting to changes in economic and State policy conditions; vii) foreign label licensing and a dynamics of competition between domestic players for some of them; viii) diversity in the popular music repertoire found in Colombian soundscape, and in that of mass media and domestic recording industries; ix) and imports of sound related hardware, as completely assembled objects mostly during a first moment of the 1950s, and increasingly in the form of parts and pieces to be assembled domestically.

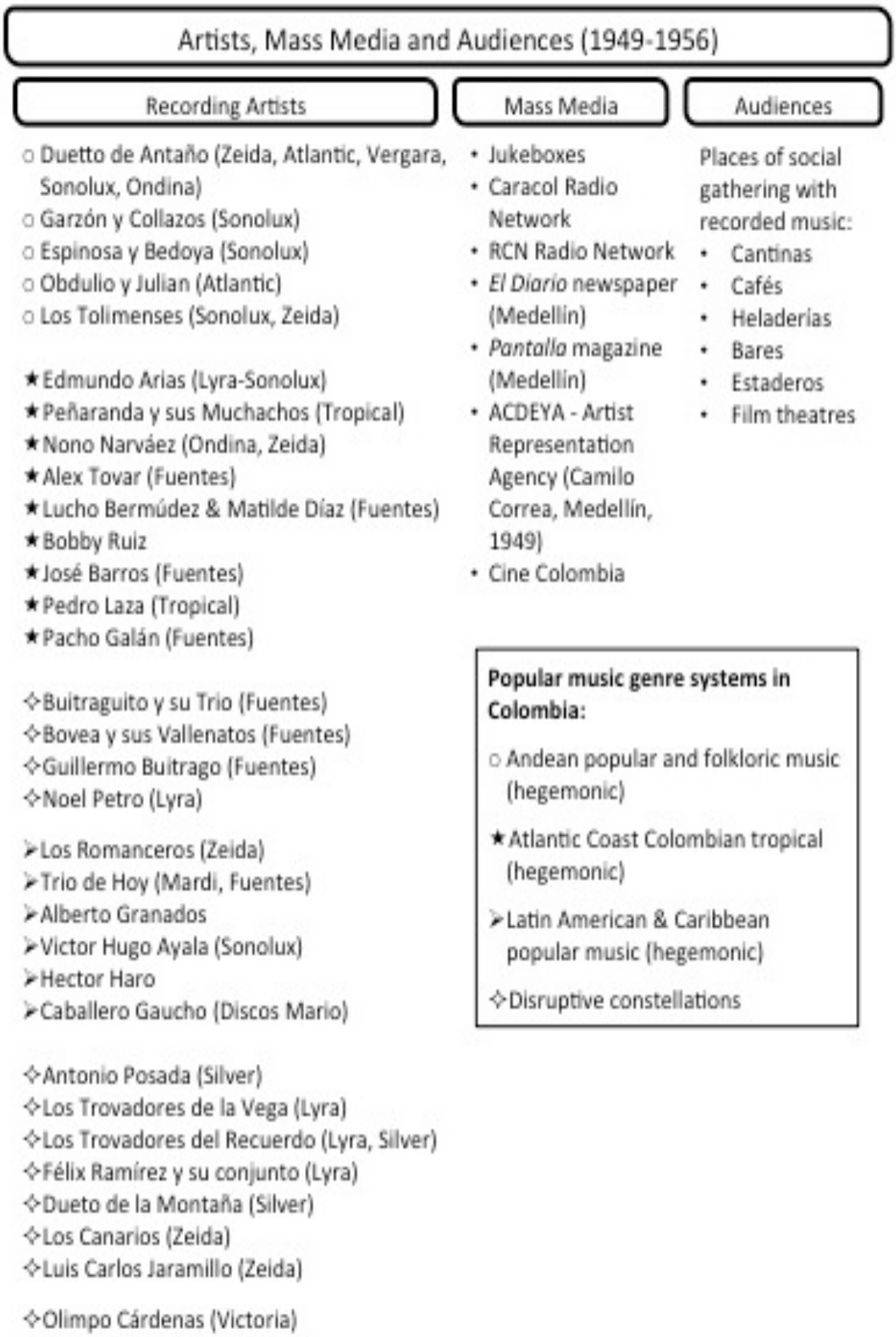
Figure 9.1a - Constellation of main players in Import-Distribution and Production-Assembly sound hardware and software: Colombia, 1949 - 1960s.[8]



[8] **Jukebox import-distribution: Wurlitzer**: Felix de Bedout e Hijos (Med), Foto Velasco (Bquilla), Importaciones Cabo, Ltda. (Bogotá), Importadores Aliados Ltda. (Cali); **Seeburg**: Alejandro Garces Ltda. (Cali), Patiño & Patiño Ltda. (Bta), Guillermo Zuluaga-Laserna (Bta), Radiolaboratories Mohen (Bta); **AMI**: Importaciones Extra Ltda. (Bta), Fidel Duque Isaza (Med), Nicolas Echeverria & Cia. (Mzales), Central Fonotecnica (Cali), H. Echevarria and Cia. Ltda. (Bquilla), Hugo Gaviria B. (Ibagué), Jaime Londoño A. (Pereira); **Rock-Ola**: Simon Velasco & Co. (Pereira).

Figure 9.1b - Constellation of other main players in recording and sound technology industries: Colombia, 1949 - 1960s.

Figure 9.1c - Constellation of recording artists, mass media and audiences: Colombia, 1949 - 1956.



1. Main *tensions* between players in Colombian recording and sound technology industries, 1949 to 1963

In the light of the arguments developed in Chapter 1, the analytical core of this research is guided by the hypothesis that tensions, conflicts of interest, and their negotiations lie at the centre of the social relations encompassed by complex entities as recording and sound technology industries. On the one hand, the proposition is based on 1959 remarks by Heinrich Landis president of the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry: "In the past certain conflicting interests have arisen... not only with musicians but also with authors, composers, publishers and the associations representing them, as well as with many users of gramophone records, for instance broadcasting institutions and film companies, and these conflicts will be unavoidable in the future".[9] As well as in Barfe's (2004) study of the history of the recording industries from UK, Europe and US since late 19th century. The author underlines two main patterns of continuity: the great power of "a few companies" since an early stage" (Ibid, p xiii); and different forms of tensions, "between the businessmen who backed the schemes, the scientists who developed the various advances in recording and playback technology and the artists who created the music", as well as between phonographic companies, musicians, authors, composers, publishers and their associations, broadcasters, film industry and several other interrelated players (Ibid, p xix).

On the other hand, the hypothesis is based on Eric Hobsbawn's (2005a [1972], p109) model of social history analysis, which ultimately leads to identifying the "*tensions* to which the society is exposed in the process of historical change and transformation" which produce pressure on social "structures [that] simultaneously tend to lose and re-establish their equilibria". The notion of *tensions* is specified through Denis Bouget (2008, pp7-8), who notes that: it "is wider than that of conflict", because it involves "both elements of potential or overt conflicts, with actions of cooperation and peaceful objectives"; and that at their core is "force and movement", as they imply the possibilities of either conflict or resolution, and can operate either in a *latent* or a *manifest* state.[10] Their overall analysis articulates as well the political economy line of questioning "*cui bono*? who benefits, who complains about the fact and how can we learn from them?" (Miller, 2006, p xxiii).

Therefore, the following pages present nine [9] interrelated situations of tension, of different *natures* and between diverse players in the unfolding dynamics of a broad sector of recording and sound technology industries during the 1949 to 1963 period in Colombia.[11] These characterise and to various extents interlace social relations between

[9] IFPI (1959), *The industry of human happiness.* London: International Federation of the Phonographic Industry, p8.

[10] *Latent or underlying tensions* are related to broader forms of power associated to class, age, gender, race or ethnicity; and *manifest tensions* take the shape of friction or conflict between differentiable groups in society, involves explicit violence of different sorts—from heated argument, to quarrels and all the way to wars and collective confrontation (Denis Bouget, 2008, pp7-8).

[11] See Appendix 9.1 for chart with situations of tension analyzed and other for future research.

the State, advocates of industry protectionism, domestic record *factories,* independent labels, transnational major records and hardware companies, small assembly entrepreneurs, advocates of free-trade, players in software and hardware import-distribution-retail businesses, society, recorded music audiences and users, and society at large.

Firstly, as explained in Chapter 5, a fundamental tension between powerful free-trade advocates and those in favour of industry protectionism characterizes the period studied and its dynamics in different ways. The conflict of interests of strong economic groups, interlaced with bi-partisan politics characteristic of Colombia, expressed socially with cruel and obscene violence. Sáenz Rovner (1990) and Palacios (2006) underline how the contradictions between free-trade and industrialization intensely permeated the phenomenon remembered as *La Violencia*, a bloody phase of severe political violence between leaders and followers of the Conservative and the Liberal parties, which concentrated in the Andean region. It particularly intensified since populist Liberal leader and presidential candidate Jorge Eliécer Gaitán was assassinated in Bogotá during a public speech in 1948, and progressed afterwards when Conservatives gained back presidential power, ending the *Liberal Republic* political period of the 1930s and 1940s.

Figure 9.2 - Andean sympathizers of Conservative Party in Colombia (circa 1949).

Source: https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/de-chulavitas-gao-historia-de-los-eufemismos-de-guerra-galeria-632398

This was a main feature of the social context in which recording and sound technology industries unfolded since 1949 until the 1960s, about the world their audiences lived in, and particularly an important incentive for rural to urban migrations during the time, hand in hand with work opportunities offered by an advanced industrial sector in main cities as Medellín, Bogotá and Cali. This unrecognized civil war between political parties intensified its crudeness during the governments of Mariano Ospina Perez (who instated

an import prohibition of records in 1949), during that of his extreme right successor Laureano Gomez, and later during the military dictatorship of General Rojas Pinilla (both of whom repealed import restrictions including records and sound hardware) [See Figure 9.3].

Tensions between free-trade and industry protectionism advocates were resolved mostly by a contingency, when the coffee business (backbone of the country's participation in a global economy since early 20th century) drastically collapsed in mid 1950s. The effects of the decreasing international price of coffee were intensely felt as a long phase of economic recession, and the economic and political power of coffee traders was jeopardized, at the same time that domestic manufacturing industry grew and expanded under favourable import-substitution policy conditions. After the successful 1957 coup d'état against the dictatorship of General Rojas Pinilla, and the following instatement of the "Frente Nacional" coalition, [12] which resolved to some extent bi-partisan antagonisms, the intensity of violence started decreasing and by mid 1960s had lost prominence (Kalmanovitz, 1985, pp408-411).

Figure 9.3 - Two economic moments of analysis vs. Colombian presidents.

	Years	Political Party	Presidents
1st moment 1949-1956	1946-50	Conservative	Mariano Ospina
	1950-53	Conservative	Laureano Gómez
	1953-57	Conservative /Liberal	General Rojas Pinilla
2nd moment 1956-1963	1957-58	Transitional period	Junta Militar
	1958-62	Liberal	Alberto Lleras Camargo
	1962-66	Conservative	Guillermo León Valencia

These features of Colombian economy render the period 1949 to 1963 as a Braudelian *conjuncture* or *intercycle:* notions related to economic cycles of boom-decay-and-boom, involving economic or demographic gradual changes and whose time span ranges from decades to half a century (Cheng, 2012, p114; Braudel, 1958, in: Bud, 2009, p254). If one frames this conjuncture within what economic historians denominate "the Kondratiev long waves", or "long swings of twenty to thirty years of economic boom followed by a much more problematic period of about the same length" (Hobsbawm, 2005, p312), it can be argued that its breaking point takes place in 1956, a year after which coffee and overall Colombian exports start a drastic tendency of decline. Therefore, the 1960s represent a phase of "great restrictions, during which imports were meticulously controlled and

[12] An agreement that also consolidated in 1957 between leading Conservative and Liberal parties on taking turns in the presidential seat, among other elements.

reduced as successive governments struggled to manage foreign currency scarcity and disarray in the balance of payments" (Villar and Esguerra, 2007, p103).[13] This allowed a distinction between two economic moments during the period studied: during the first, 1949 to 1956, tensions between free-trade and industry protectionism were manifest in the sense of Bouget (2008, pp7-8); and during the second, 1956 to 1963, they reduced their intensity, and manufacturing industry developed under stable protectionist policies. [See Figure 9.3]

Secondly, during the first moment and particularly after 1949's record import ban was repealed by the government of Laureano Gómez, tensions between record companies and the State arose out of the contradictory character of protective measures that boosted industrial development during the following decade (Poveda Ramos, 1984, p47). As evidenced in Chapter 6, record companies claimed for protection against imported records, at the same time that asked for looser conditions for imports of raw materials not available in the country.[14] Their claim was the same of ANDI's, the association of industrials based in Medellín, a key and powerful player in advocacy for State policies that increased protection for industrials during the 1950s (Saénz Rovner, 2002, p105). After economic events of mid 1950s, and during the second moment of analysis, this kind of tensions relaxed, judging on a 1958 statement by Codiscos record company founder Alfredo Díez: "It is a prosperous industry. We don't have insuperable difficulties. Demand is bigger every day. The Government has protected us by prohibiting imports of foreign records, because it understood fully that our industry is of equal and even superior quality. We are in sum, very optimistic."[15]

Thirdly, during the early years of the 1950s tensions between record companies over the price of a record domestically pressed, reached a *manifest* state in the cited terms of Bouget (2008, pp7-8), and eventually took the shape of friction and conflict between differentiable groups. As evidenced in Chapter 6 (section 3), related events came to be known as "La Guerra de los Discos" [The Record Wars], which followed a failed attempt at unifying record producers in different cities of the country under a common body that would defend their interests—Oficina Coordinadora de la Industria Fonográfica en Colombia" [Coordinating Office of Phonographic Industry].[16] The tensions emanating from disagreement about either keeping the standard price of $4.5 pesos established for a foreign record, or lowering the price of domestic records to $3.5: generated a schism within Colombian recording companies that conformed two opposed blocks. Those in favour of lowering prices, known as "los bajistas", and those against, called "los alcistas" by the press. [See Figure 9.4]

[13] This implied exchange control, quantitative restriction to imports (including high tariffs and both lists of prohibited and licence conditioned goods), as well as unusual element for reducing foreign currency demand as a barter system [sistema de trueque] established with specific countries (Villar and Esguerra, 2007, p103).
[14] *El Diario*, Medellín, October 10, 1951, p2.
[15] "Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos" (1958), Ibid, p615.
[16] *El Diario*, Medellín, February 21, 1951, p2.

Figure 9.4 - Two opposed antagonistic blocks of record companies in Colombia, 1951-1952: "The record war" or "price war".

"Los alcistas": retail price **$4.5 pesos** for a 75 r.p.m. record **pressed domestically**.	**"Los bajistas":** lower retail price **$3.5 pesos** for a 75 r.p.m. record **pressed domestically**.
Atlantic Coast (Cartagena and Barranquilla)	
• Fuentes • Atlantic (Ciro Vega distrib.) • Tropical (joined late 1952)	• *Tropical* (changed sides late 1952)
Medellín	
• Caracol (Ciro Vega distrib.) • Silver (changed sides mid 1951)	• Lyra • Zeida • Silver (joined mid 1951)
Bogotá	
• Sello Vergara (changed sides mid 1951) • "Mr. Barker" [Philips?] • Francisco Ramírez [unidentified]	• J. Glottmann (Tropical's distributor) • Sello Vergara (joined mid 1951)

Sources: *El Diario*, Medellín, March 21, 1951, p2; Ibid, March 28, 1951, p2. Note: the Marango company from Pereira is reported as a future possible member of the left side block. *El Diario*, Medellín, March 7, 1951, p2; Ibid, Medellín, June 6, 1951, p7; Ibid, November 8, 1950, p2. Note: Tropical was distributed nationally by J. Glottmann S.A. who had shares in the company since late 1950s. *El Diario*, Medellín, September 27, 1952, p2. Note: Tropical changed sides later and joined others in the Atlantic Coast led by Fuentes.

As Chapter 6 argues, these tensions took place under conditions of overproduction and intense competition between new record companies, and were an effect of the first situation of tension presented: between powerful advocates of either free-trade or industry protectionism. The prohibition of record imports instated in 1949 under president Mariano Ospina, was revoked after president Laureano Gómez assumed power in August 1950, regulations were relaxed way further under Rojas Pinilla, and were not reinstated until the post-1956 second economic moment of the period studied. This meant that new record companies in Medellín and Bogotá, and those previously formed in the Cartagena and Barranquilla, operated as two antagonist blocks while competing in a market where a group of agents for foreign companies—as Columbia, RCA Victor, Odeon, Verne, and Seeco—fed a business of imported records. At the same time, most companies had foreign licensing agreements, which in practice meant that in some cases one could have been able to buy either the foreign made record or the domestically pressed one of a release by Verne (Argentina), Seeco (US), Peerless (Mexico), or Musart (Mexico) for example. Furthermore, companies as Silver were founded by firms that also played in the import-distribution business, as was the case with Atlantic, J. Glottmann (Tropical's distributor by then), and certainly with Philips (Lyra's and Sonolux's distributor by then).

The complexity this feature adds to the picture resonates with Alvarez's (2002, pp237-238) depiction of "interlaced" capital as characteristic of social relations in Medellín,

which made industrial capital part of a complex net of businessmen, associations, companies, and financial institutions [See Chapter 5]. A detailed reading of the chart in Figure 9.4 [previous page] evidences all record companies from the Atlantic Coast eventually united in favour of the $4.5 price. As evidenced in Chapter 6, the press reported a significant success for Lyra and Zeida leaders of the strategy of lowering prices for releases of their own recordings, who by mid 1951 reportedly had tripled their sales and doubled their profits; in contrast, Discos Fuentes, speaking on behalf of other companies from the Atlantic Coast, was highly critical of such strategy and depicted it as *voracious* business practice. Qui bono? Judging on the evidence provided in Chapter 6, certainly main companies from Medellín that lowered prices, but also import-distributors, and ultimately foreign record companies. Now, considering the base of the manifest tensions between opposed block were changes in State imports regulations, they should have relaxed after 1956 when foreign records were once more included in the prohibited imports list, and when eventually leaders of the two sides—as Fuentes and Sonolux—along with other main record companies from the main cities, came to conform a union in 1963 as ASINCOL, acronym for the association of phonographic producers of Colombia.

Fourthly, as evidenced and analysed in Chapter 8, the period studied evidences a pattern of continuity in domestic record companies' strategy of licencing foreign labels, mostly from US, México, Venezuela, Cuba and Argentina. Evidence analysed also suggested an intense dynamics of competition for the exclusivity of major companies as Columbia, RCA Victor, Capitol-EMI-Odeon, and other labels as Seeco (US), Pampa (Argentina), Gema (Cuba/Puerto Rico), and Discomoda (Venezuela). While the highest number of licencing agreements during the 1960s was registered in the case of Fuentes in 1968, other two main companies had already secured exclusivity deals with important majors: Sonolux with RCA Victor in 1958, Codiscos with Capitol-EMI-Odeon by 1966 (in particular, snatching the Odeon exclusivity from Discos Tropical in Barranquilla, whose agreement went back at least to 1954). Chapter 8 analyses those dynamics in a way that a pattern could be abstracted, nevertheless the specifics about the tensions involved in them require further research and analysis.

The same happens with other kinds of competition, in which the particularities of the tensions they encompassed need further exploration. One is the continuous race for technological updating: associated in Chapter 6 to the gradual increase in recording and phonographic technological capacity of main companies during the 1950s (through buying machines from foreign companies); and in Chapter 8 posed as a continuous pattern evident in the operation of main recording companies during the first half of the 1960s. Deeper insight on the tensions involved in this technological competition—commonly addressed through anecdotic questions of the likes of Who was the first in releasing a record completely made in Colombia? Who was the first to release an LP? Who was the first the release a 45 rpm? Who was the first to release a Stereo record? Who was the first in using sound certain sound effects?—is still necessary.

Other dynamics of competition requiring dedicated future research to understand the tensions that drove them, are those related to hits and record sales, suggested by a pattern of overproduction evidenced in Chapter 6 and 7. Firstly, as an early phenomenon that produced several concerned discussions in Medellín's music journalism about its damaging effects for the nascent sector and their audiences.[17] As those by Hernán Restrepo Duque, which attributed overproduction and a drop in sales experienced during 1950 to "absurd" competition practices among record companies which threatened their own existence: most records released actually failed commercially, because in his view, the public could not cope with their excessive rate of production. [18] Secondly, overproduction practices were suggested by the reportedly high uncertainty of commercial success of releases during 1958, expressed by Alfredo Díez from Codiscos citing statistics that revealed how only one out of fifty records put in the Colombian market would make a hit.[19] Judging on a 1951 estimate by the press of "one out of ten at least",[20] the change considering Diez' 1958 claim is of enormous proportions. At the same time, his rate of one out of fifty records seems incredibly high compared to those registered in 1950s US in the context of numerous new independent labels with records in the charts: there, from one out of twenty three records that would make a hit in 1952, the rate changed to one out of thirty some years later as competition increased (Sanjek and Sanjek, 1996, p326).[21]

It is worth reminding the reader here of one of the features of recording companies and cultural industries in general highlighted in Chapter 1 (section 6), from the work of different authors in popular music and cultural studies. Negus (2009, pp32-35) explains overproduction in late 20th century corporate recording companies, a practice commonly called *throwing mud against the wall*, as a response to a fundamental uncertainty and anxiety about the commercial result of record releases. In analogous sense, Hesmondhalgh (2007) identifies overproduction as one among other key "distinctive features of the cultural industries, as compared with other forms of capitalist production" (Ibid, 17) of evident continuity at least from the 1950s to late 20th century.[22] As he puts it: [c]ultural industry companies deal with risk and the need to ensure audience maximization by using strategies" (Ibid, p22), therefore they "tend to offset misses against hits by means of 'overproduction'... attempting to put together a large catalogue or 'cultural repertoire' " (Ibid). In the case of recording industries he cites rates of "one

[17] *El Diario*, Medellín, June 14, 1950, p 2, 6; Ibid, July 5, 1950, p2, 6; Ibid, July 7 1950, p5; Ibid, September 20, 1950, p2; Ibid, October 20, 1950, p9.; Ibid, December 20, 1950, p2,7.
[18] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 20, 1950, p2,7.
[19] "Música de América y de Europa en Codiscos" (1958), Ibid, p613.
[20] *El Diario*, Medellín, June 6, 1951, p7. [My translation]
[21] During the 1950s US major companies faced "smaller output" which caused their "success rate" to rise "from 1952's 2.3 to 3.3, or one hit out of every thirty releases" (Sanjek and Sanjek, 1996, p326).
[22] These he organizes in a system of two corresponding sets: "the distinctive problems faced by the cultural industries" and "the most common responses, or attempted solutions, undertaken by the cultural industry businesses" (Hesmondhalgh, 2007 p18). The recurrent problems are: risky business; creativity vs. commerce; high production costs and low reproduction costs; semi-public goods; and the need to create scarcity. And their consequent responses: misses are offset against hits by building a repertoire; concentration, integration and co-opting publicity; artificial scarcity; formatting stars, genres and serials; loose control of symbol creators; and tight control of distribution and marketing (Ibid, pp17-25, pp31-35).

record in every nine is a hit and the other eight are misses", and points out that small companies, that can actually *throw less mud against the wall* might have a disadvantageous position (Ibid).[23]

Among other dynamics of competition not within the aims of this research that future research should explore (and to which our guiding hypothesis of tensions also applies), are those for recording artists and stars, for company staff, and also for regional markets. On the latter it is worth noting that maps presented in Chapters 6 and 7, showing the geography of an explosion of record companies during the first half of the 1950s, as well as that of the internal destination of several imported goods—including records, needles and cartridges, and record players—indicate two broad regional markets at play during the era studied: the Atlantic Coast cities and its rural areas, and the vast regions of central and eastern Andes, also with its main cities and rural areas. As the press noted in 1951, there was an "enormous competition" between domestic record companies, in which those from the Atlantic Coast were recording music from the Andean interior, and those from the latter region were correspondingly doing the same, by recording *tropical costeño* music.[24]

Fifthly, among the main patterns of continuity observed in Colombian recording and sound technology industries from 1949 to 1963, this text has pointed out the consolidation of a sector of small players in the record business, running in parallel to the gradual establishment of main players commonly denominated "fábricas de discos" [record factories]. *Record factories*, according to the use of the term in primary sources scrutinized and in the light of the analysis deployed in Chapter 6, could de defined as those players that represented a change in mode of production in contrast to the 1930s and 1940s period characterized by the ownership of pressing plants as a minimum level of phonographic technology capacity, and that counted as participants in competition for technological updating. Along with at least sixteen [16] players of this kind operating in different parts of the country in 1956, I counted thirty [30] small players that during 1949-1956 released their own records by pressing them and distributing them through other companies (either foreign or domestic). While this mode of operation—dependence on third parties for access to phonographic processes and distribution implied—is suitable for objectively defining this parallel sector of small players, their relations with "record factories" during the time were characterised by *tensions* of the kind theorized by Bouget (2008, pp7-8). These involved "both elements of potential or overt conflicts, with actions of cooperation and peaceful objectives", while the former element of manifest tensions encompassed explicit violence (in terms of business competition).

Discourse in music journalism of the 1950s understood relations between established record factories and small players during through a dialectics of *independent/pirates,*

[23] Hesmondhalgh (2007, p22), citing Hirsch (1972) and Garnham (1990, p161).
[24] *El Diario*, Medellín.June 6, 1951, p2. [My translation]

translatable as their dual role as allies/enemies depending on specific cases. During early associating attempts by main record producers in 1951, "the companies that assisted committed to not pressing in their machines, records for entities different to those known, or to persons or companies that don't constitute established brands".[25] The term "marcas 'piratas'" [pirate brands] was used to sentence small players that were considered a "real chaos for national phonographic industry".[26] Price decreases instated by some record companies in Medellín during 1952, had the overt aim of putting "pirate" labels out of business.[27] The following year the Silver record company was stigmatized by the press as "the factory that presses the pirate labels",[28] and its A&R Orlando Posada asked if they would continue pressing "everyone".[29]

In contrast, the term "marcas independientes" [independent brands] had a different connotation, not charged with the discursive violence of the other. The label Discos Caracol, was known to operate without pressing plants in Medellín using the services of Silver for that matter, yet never identified as a pirate.[30] Earliest direct uses of the term "marcas independientes" registered, made reference to the Medellín labels Nacional, owned by Abel Diaz, and Castillo owned by Arturo Ruiz del Castillo, both musicians and composers from the Antioquia region.[31] Additionally, Ondina from Medellín was known for providing services to Cartagena's Discos Curro,[32] and in general for an orientation that involved "pressing and distributing various national labels, even interchanging matrixes with factories in other cities of the country".[33] The record factory also pressed and distributed records for Pereira's Marango, and for the domestic label Victoria formed in the city of Cali.[34] By late 1956, the press claimed that what maintained Ondina in business (along with its success with Edmundo Arias porro music composer), was their practice of "pressing independent labels".[35]

While a precise definition of the nature of "marcas piratas" was not found in primary sources scrutinized, nor the specific reasons why they were considered a threat to the nascent industries, I dare to leave the topic at the level of hypothesis. It is possible that some cases involved people that informally, or perhaps illegally, obtained stampers of recordings made by domestic factories, or stampers of recordings by foreign labels that had licencing agreements with other domestic players. In that sense, their *piracy-ness* could be understood as counterfeiting. In second place, I would also like to underline the underlying social and cultural *nature* of a term that discriminates between two kinds of

[25] *El Diario*, Medellín, February 21, 1951, p6. [My Translation]
[26] *El Diario*. Medellín, August 20, 1952, p2.
[27] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 3, 1952, p2, 6; *El Diario*, Medellín, August 20, 1952, p2. [My translation]
[28] *El Diario*, Medellín, July 15, 1953, p7.
[29] *El Diario*, Medellín, January 21, 1953, p2. In Spanish: "seguirán prensando a todo el mundo[?]" (Ibid).
[30] *El Diario*, Medellín, August 9, 1950, p5.
[31] *El Diario*, Medellín, September 16, 1953, p5.
[32] *El Diario*, Medellín, February 24, 1954, p2, 6.
[33] *El Diario*, Medellín, November 16, 1955, p2. [My translation]
[34] "Lo que nos cuentan por las grabadoras", *El Diario*, Medellín, June 15, 1955, p2, 7; Ibid, December 14, 1955, p2.
[35] *El Diario*, Medellín, December 19, 1956, p2. [My translation]

players, out of *latent or underlying tensions* that as Bouget (2008, pp7-8) theorized, can be related to broader forms of power that involve relations of class, age, gender, race or ethnicity.

As discussed in Chapter 1 (section 6), Hesmondhalgh (2007, pp159-188) lists the provision of services between both big and small companies (or independents and majors) among other 20th century continuous patterns in the structure of recording business in the Western World. In his analysis relations between big or "major", and small or "independent" record companies, prove to be complex and ambivalent: they might involve antagonism as much as relations of alliance to the level of conforming networks (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, pp174-176). On the topic, Negus (1999, pp57-60) importantly studied how what he called "distribution struggles" characterised the relations of some small independent labels in 1990s US, particularly those that established deals with the distribution branches of major companies. His analysis of those struggles concluded that asymmetries of power and economic muscle that characterized such relations, tended to put smaller players at risk of being unable to respond timely to spontaneous, and in many cases at risk of bankruptcy.

These theoretical elements in Hesmondhalgh (2007) and Negus (1999), are consistent with the case of Colombian recording industries studied here, with emphasis on the 1950s. In the light of the change in modes of production analysed in Chapter 6, I argued that asymmetries in ownership of technology and distribution networks, played a central role in relations between leading big capital record companies or "fábricas de discos", and a group of smaller and less equipped players. Power concentrated on the former as they increased their technological capacity and enlarged their distribution networks, and when an import prohibition of stampers and records instated in 1956.[36] This gave a *de facto* technological monopoly to a set of well developed companies—Silver, Ondina, Codiscos (Zeida), Fuentes, Tropical, or Atlantic—because the State measure blocked small players' access to foreign outsourcing of stampers or pressing. Those who had been operating through such mode of production had to rely since then exclusively on domestic companies, as was the case of Cartagena's Discos Curro who initially pressed its records with Ansonia (US), but later gave the job to Ondina: after "the factories did the impossible for prohibiting the importation of matrixes".[37]

Additionally, it should not go without mention that out of thirty six [30] small *independent* players identified operating in Colombia from 1949 to 1963, only a few cases evidenced a progression into "fábricas de discos". Namely: Metropoli by 1963 formed part of founding companies in the ASINCOL association of main recording companies; Orlando Posada (ex-Silver A&R and ex-sales director for Sonolux) that ran the umbrella independent operation as "Velvet Colombiana" or "Producciones Gema Colombiana" based on licences

[36] *La República*, Bogotá, November 4, 1956, p1.
[37] Radio interview with José María Fuentes 'El Curro' by Álvaro Ruiz Hernández with no date, provided by Discos Fuentes' press office as an audio file and a transcript. See: p16, and pp24-25 of the transcript. [My translation]

from the Venezuelan labels, and that in 1963 bought the Silver record factory to form his own Sonomúsica (Conmúsica); and Sello Colombia, identified as an independent label from Medellín in 1954, and possibly conforming later as the 1963 record factory Discos Colombia Ltda. [See Chapters 6 and 8].[38]

In sixth place, tensions between the A&R orientation of labels as Zeyda, Lyra and Silver during the 1950s, and a *cultured* elite were posed in Chapter 4 (section 3) as a topic for future research. As evidenced using primary sources they involved social and particularly *discursive* relations between recording companies (musical texts), staff and music programmers in certain radio stations as Radio Reloj, music journalists in *El Diario*, and different commentators on the contemporary musical landscape (written texts); as well as social relations with a mass audience for new music styles as "parranda" or "carrilera", associated to cantinas, cafés and bars serving a lower class public where jukeboxes were commonly found. Tensions between A&R orientation of these labels vs. a *cultured* elite in Medellín are specifically suggested by primary sources that evidence how charts of best sold records during 1953 in Medellín (based on record company, retailers and jukebox activity, a key circulation media for hit recordings), were completely different from charts of most requested records via telephone to Radio Reloj radio station, and from charts of best "artistic" records produced under the criteria of *El Diario* newspaper music journalists (also different from the second kind).

Furthermore, social tensions in question (certainly of *latent or underlying* in the sense of Bouget (2008, pp7-8), i.e. related to broader forms of power that involve relations of class, age, gender, race or ethnicity) are also suggested by abundant music journalism pieces, regular record reviews, and interviews with notable personalities in the music world published in the above cited source. For example, Anibal Conde, an executive from Odeon in Argentina that visited Medellín several times during the time, offered his humble (and rather *Adornian*) opinions about Colombian record business and its cultural landscape.[39] As did Gabriel Escobar Casas, a formally trained Colombian musician that after living in US for some years, returned to the country in 1951 in order to work as A&R for the Atlantic record company in Barranquilla. After rapidly quitting the job "when I knew... their rather twisted concept of what Art means for us musicians", he wrote a piece for *El Diario*, expressing moral panic and nostalgic about the loss of *true* Colombian music, associated in his discourse to artists as Lira Antioqueña, Pelón y Marín, and Blumen, and to bambuco and other musical forms within the Colombian Andean popular and folkloric music genre system sketched in Chapter 4 (section 2).[40] His text summoned the people of Colombia, civil and cleric authorities, and the highest powers of the nation for starting a "crusade" against:

[38] Due to scarce information found on the Sello Colombia - Discos Colombia Ltda. case it should remain hypothetical in the mean time.
[39] See Chapter 4, section 3.
[40] Escobar Casas, G. "Es indispensable una revaluación del concepto musical del pueblo colombiano", *El Diario*, Medellín, March 12, 1952, p2, 7.

> the perverse delight of some manufacturers of records for talking machines that have launched to the market a thousand of those productions that debase and deprave the people's heart... [Against] these traffickers of musical marihuana, whose commercial aims should be watched by a Censorship Board that guarantees the safeguard of our traditions... Because in these companies one finds musically illiterate individuals as artistic directors [A&R], without artistic culture of any kind, and with an ethical concept less than negative. [Against] these musical criminals, this sinful avalanche called commercial music. This heroic drug denominated "música de combate" [combat music], that lowers the moral concepts of our people, that corrupts and debases them, that delivers them to vice and makes them easy prey of scandal and depravation.[41]

An in-depth understanding of the tensions between A&R orientation of recording companies during the 1950s and a cultured elite defending *true* Art (with a capital A indeed), was pointed out as a nodal topic for future research due to three mains reasons: the substantial economic significance of the music released under their direction and of their audiences for the unfolding of recording companies in Medellín; the *thick* socio-cultural significance of these tensions in the dynamics of a continuous pattern of population growth and concentration in main industrial centres via rural migrations, during an era of intense political violence mostly happening in Andean rural areas; and due to their potential for illuminating the past social and cultural contexts in which related new artists and people that listened, enjoyed and danced to the sound of their records lived. Beneath them are the tensions of social change in Medellín, and those between a *cultured* elite and a new urban population (a new class formation fed by rural migrants), which took the shape of cultural discursive wars: those that wrote expressed moral panic about imminent cultural regression; while those that listened and danced, perhaps experienced some form of cultural emancipation.

Underlying are also tensions between hegemonic popular music genre systems (as Andean popular and folkloric music, *tropical costeño* music from the Atlantic Coast, and Latin American and Afro Caribbean genres), and disruptive popular musical styles released by labels as Zeida, Lyra or Silver: of the likes of Antonio Posada's "El Grillo" a hit record during December 1950 in Medellín, or releases by Los Trovadores de la Vega and Felix Ramírez y su Conjunto among the top ten best sold records of 1953. For music journalists of the time, these tensions created the need for differentiating between: *música popular selecta* [selected popular music] to which they attributed high *artistic value*; and *música popular carrileruda*, of low class audiences in cantinas with jukeboxes, and considered of low artistic value in spite of its huge commercial success.

Deeper understanding of these interlaced tensions, will surely benefit from sociological conceptions of music genre, that have moved from an aesthetic formal definition, to one related to the people and social relations involved in their production, circulation and consumption. Negus (1999, pp29-30) speaks of *genre cultures* resulting from: "the complex intersection and interplay between commercial organizational structures and promotional labels; the activities of fans, listeners and audiences; networks of musicians;

[41] Ibid. [My translation] Note: I use "the people" for the term "pueblo" which in Latin America commonly refers to the lower working classes.

and historical legacies that come to us within broader social formations". Similarly, Frith (1996, p88) outlined a notion of *genre world*: "A new 'genre world'… is first constructed and then articulated through a complex interplay of musicians, listeners, and mediating ideologues, and this process is much more confused than the marketing process that follows, as the wider industry begins to make sense of the new sounds and markets and to exploit both genre worlds and genre discourses in the orderly routines of mass marketing".[42] Finally, for a study of carrilera music it is worth remembering Negus' (1999, p30) remark that music genre can not be detached from socio-cultural phenomena, as, for example, "rap cannot be separated from the politics of blackness, nor salsa from Latin-ness, nor country from whiteness and the enigma of the 'South'".[43] For that matter, it is pertinent to pose the hypothesis that music genre as carrilera or música parrandera, can not be detached from the politics of class and cultural identity of rural migrants to industrial cities as 1950s Medellín.

Seventhly**,** while this thesis has examined the tensions between recording companies and the State that took place as overall industrial sector in Colombia pushed for better conditions and protectionist policies, those on the other end of the protectionism vs. free trade axis of economic interests have not been directly addressed. Considering this work is defined as a social history of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia focused on the sphere of production, it is worth noting that in the different chapters the parallel participation of players involved in the business of import-distribution of records and sound hardware strikes the eye. Considering the background and description of their unfolding extended in the chapters of this text, it is fair to state that importers-distributors-retailers of *hardware* and *software* commodities played a protagonist role since late 19th century and early 20h, during the 1930s-1940s period, as well as during the 1949 to 1963 period of focus.

From Chapter 6 (section 1), which explores 19th century activities of "agents" or players involved in imports and distribution for companies as Victor Talking Machine, Columbia, and Brunswick (which produced both hardware and the software to play in their machines), to Chapter 8, those kind of players have been evidenced as continuous participants in the market for such commodities in Colombia, in different ways. During the first two decades of the 20th century, local agents for these companies were involved in arrangements for Colombian musicians to travel abroad and record with foreign companies in US, Mexico and Argentina (Arias Calle, 2001, p66). As Chapter 6 progresses, I evidence that during the 1930s and 1940s several agents for transnational companies were involved in starting up radio stations, and notably in promoting musicians and pioneering domestic recordings. During this early period I have called proto-domestic record business, after Discos Fuentes initial steps in mid 1930s, two long standing agents for RCA Victor were also key pioneers in producing recordings in Colombia: the Félix de

[42] Cited in Negus, 1999, p29.
[43] Such ideas follow the understanding of how music works as a social category by Steve Neale (1980, p19): "not… as forms of textual codifications, but as *systems of orientations, expectations and conventions that circulate between industry, text and subject*".

Bedout firm in Medellín in association with Hernando Téllez, and the firm J. Glottmann S.A. in Bogotá, both import-distributors of records and sound hardware, along with different kinds of goods.

By late 1940s, these two players along with Philips de Colombia, S.A. which had started importing its foreign products since early 1940s [See Chapter 7] were dominant in the domestic market for records and sound hardware, and continued to have a protagonist role during the 1950s to 1960s period explored [See Chapter 6 to 8]. The point I want to stress then, is that along with those players we have identified as producers of recordings of an industrial kind, this kind of merchants also played a central role (as they had since late 19th century). As evidenced in Chapter 5, by late 1940s manufacturing industry had reached an advanced stage and vast national distribution networks had been developed. Yet, in the absence of a strong sector of domestic record producers, one can expect that those concerning records and sound technology were the domain of an old and strong sector of merchants, who sold imported products from the likes of Columbia, RCA Victor, Odeón, Capitol, Decca, EMI and so on.

Judging on theories of cultural and recording industries reviewed in Chapter 1 (section 6), the picture of the outset of the 1950s explosion of record companies in Colombia traced in Chapter 6 (section 2) is one in which a sector of import-distributors hold a prominent position of power. As Garnham (1990, p162) put it: "cultural distribution, not cultural production, that is the key locus of power and profit." In the same vein, through decades of study on how cultural industries of the second half of the 20th century worked, Hirsch (2000, p356) understands "the key roles of gatekeeper and distributor organizations as critical in connecting the artist/creators to audience/consumers of mass, or 'popular' culture". Furthermore, Negus (1999, pp55-60) describes distribution divisions of major companies in the 1990s as players with a special power in recording industry, emanating from their position in the intersection between production (record companies or labels) and retail outlets (in which they have the power to excerpt particular influence on the amount of units to be pressed of a specific release judging on what they *think* they might be able to sell to retailers).

This brings us to the point that since 1949, when the first import prohibitions of records were imposed, an established sector of sound hardware and software was also navigating the fundamental tensions between advocates of protectionism and those of free-trade, and certainly operated under tensions between their business interests and the State's regulation of international commerce. In such context, the relations and involvement of this previously established sector with that of new domestic record factories, had a particular dynamics of change and rearrangement of roles. These, exhibited a pattern in which import-distribution-retail players increasingly expand into domestic record production.

In Figure 9.5, I collected information that in the light of evidence presented in previous chapters substantiates the following argument. Most record companies in Colombia, were

formed by people involved at different levels in the import-distribution-retail business of records and sound hardware. Some as Alfredo Díez (Zeida) and Antonio Botero (Sonolux) concentrated in record production after forming their companies, while others as the Ramirez Johns firm, Rafael Acosta, Otoniel Cardona, Discos Daro, and Philips operated in both areas in parallel since they established record companies. Hesmondhalgh (2007, pp159-188) notes that a continuous pattern in Western cultural industries during the 20th century, was modifying company structures through different forms of mergers, synergies and integrations (but also through demerging and disintegrating) and also through coordinated work, alliances and provision of services between both big and small companies. In particular, he underlines that while "[f]or decades, the major companies have owned pressing and distribution facilities", in contrast, they "have rarely attempted to own retail outlets – in part because of the complexity and multiplicity of the markets for music" (Ibid, p170). The pattern observable in the Colombian case during 1950s an 1960s Colombia appears to be the other way around: leading companies as Sonolux, Fuentes or Codiscos did not own distribution branches; while import-distributors started forming their own record companies since 1940 and kept doing the same during the following decades. In this sense, it could be argued that the tensions surrounding economic policy and a push for industry protectionism that dominated since mid 1950s, generated a pattern in which import-distribution-retail players increasingly expanded into domestic record production.

Figure 9.5 - Players initially in import-distribution-retail of records and sound hardware that conformed record companies, 1949 - 1963.

1949-1956			
Antonio Botero	Sonolux	**1949**	Formerly agent for Discos Fuentes in Medellín: starts Sonolux (1949).
Ramirez Johns bros.	Silver	**1949**	Both merchants and industrials since 1940s, and distributors for Columbia and Odeon in Medellín; form Discos Silver (1949), and continue with distribution-retail.
Alfredo Díez	Zeida-Codiscos	**1950**	Previously a record shop owner; son-in-law of Ramirez Johns; initially partner in Silver; forms Zeida (1950).
Rafael Acosta	Ondina	**1952**	Previously a records and radio retailer; co-founds Sonolux (1949); forms Ondina (1952).
Emigdeo Velasco	Atlantic	**1949-1950**	Venezuelan consul and RCA Victor agent in Barranquilla 1930s, starts radio stations; formed record company Atlantic (1949-50) in Barranquilla, with shares of several regional distributors.
Ciro Vega	Patria	**1952**	Chief of recordings with DeBedout for RCA Victor; agent and distributor for Atlantic, Caracol, Vergara; forms Sello Patria (1952).
Curro Fuentes	Discos Curro	**mid 1950s**	Owner of "La Mucura" chain of record shops since 1940s; sells them to form Discos Curro (mid 1950s).
1956-1963			
De Bedout e hijos	Sonolux	**1958**	Victor (and RCA Victor) agents from early 20th century; venture in domestic recording during 1940s; in 1958 become majority share holder in Sonolux (keeping RCA Victor representation).
Otoniel Cardona	Disco Victoria	**1964**	Record retailer and regional distributor from 1940s to late 1960s; joins Sonolux as A&R (mid1950s); forms Discos Victoria (1964) in Medellín.
Discos Daro	Discos Daro	**circa 1960**	Record and hardware retail-distributor in Bogotá 1950s; buys shares in Fonotón to establish his record company (1963).
Philips Colombiana S.A.	Philips	**circa 1960**	Importing electro-domestics 1940s; importing records as Philips "Sección Discos" (1951); sound hardware assembly plant (1956); domestic recording (circa 1960).

Antonio Botero (Wade, 2000, p149); Alfredo Díez (Wade, 2000, p50); Julio & José Ramirez Johns (Wade, 2000, p150). Atlantic: Wade (2000, pp92-94), *El Diario*, Medellín, November 8, 1950, p3; Ciro Vega: *El Diario*, Medellín, February 9, 1949, p2; Ibid, August 8, 1951, p2; Ibid, December 17, 1952, p2. Otoniel Cardona: *El Diario*, Medellín August 19, 1953, p5; Arias Calle (2011, pp108-109). Discos Daro: *La República*, December 10, 1955, p17; *Pantalla*, Medellín, June 21, 1963, p5. Philips: Industria Colombiana, no. 22, November 1955, p29; *La República*, March 15, 1956, p3; *Billboard*, March 15, 1952, p117; *La República*, March 24, 1960, p7.

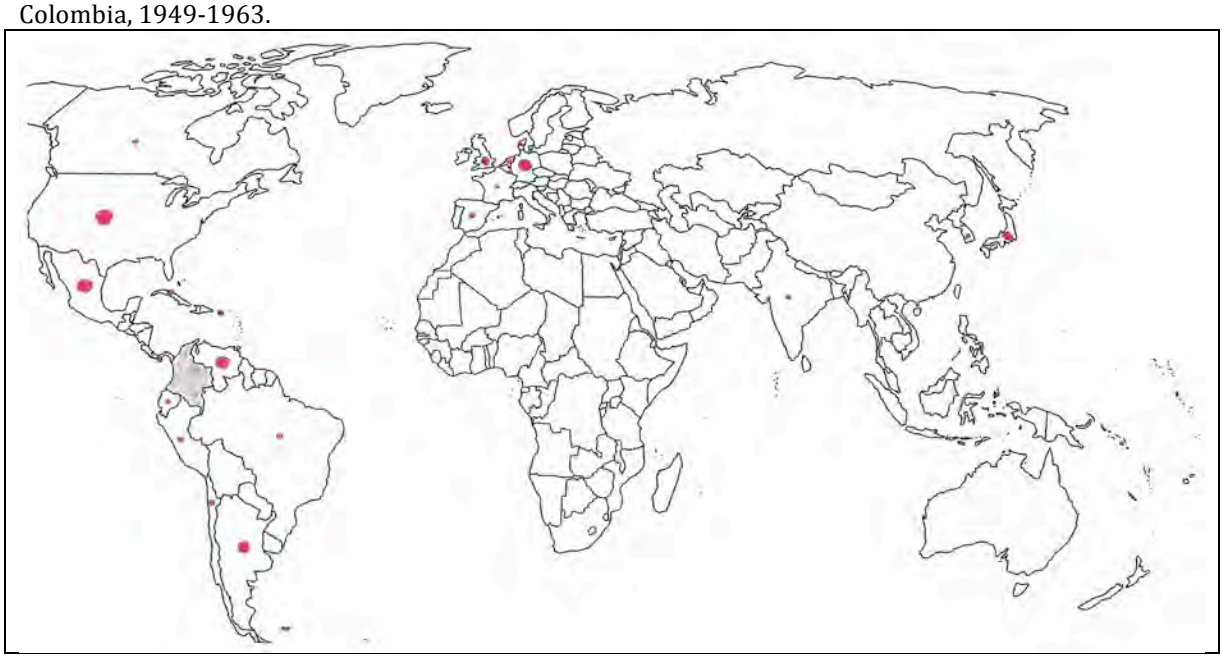
Finally, even though the time span of my scrutiny and analysis of primary sources is mostly limited to 1963, I would like to give some thought in relation to the tensions that the establishment of a Columbia recording branch as Disco CBS S.A. in Bogotá may have caused during the following decades between domestic and foreign players. Details on events beyond my period of study are of course a matter for future research, and I certainly do not intend an exercise of prognosis. Yet, it is worth making some points on the subject.

Based on the evidence presented in the different chapters of this text, a central pattern of continuity in Colombian recording and sound technology industries is the participation of transnational main recording and sound technology corporations in different forms, and adapting to changes in economic and State policy conditions. This pattern is foundational, and goes back to the late 19th and early 20th century operation of local agents for companies as Victor Talking Machine, Columbia, Odeon and Brunswick (and also goes back to the few early 20th century recording expeditions registered for the Colombian case). Considering the argument in Chapter 4, an explosion in the circulation of recorded sound took place in Colombia since the 1930s, with the development of commercial radio, a film exhibition industry mostly screening US and Mexican productions, and the activities of jukebox operators. This meant an explosion of foreign music repertoires in the country, including Latin American popular music genres as rancheras, corridos, bolero, and tango, as well as Afro Caribbean music from Cuba among others. In parallel, as Chapter 6 evidences, the activities of local agents for foreign companies blossomed during those decades, diversifying in several cases into radio broadcasting and in others into producing music recordings (as previously mentioned).

Now, at the same time that the participation of foreign players is continuous, the pattern also involves changes, judging on this text's analysis of the 1949 to 1963 period, against the two previous decades. A first significant change starts during the 1940s and consolidates during the 1950s through the explosion of record companies explored in Chapter 6. The involvement of foreign companies had been mediated through local agents, and since late 1940s it increasingly starts to involve record companies as new associates. Under the international commerce restrictions that consolidated by mid 1950s, the main mediators in the relations with international recording industries ceased to be a sector of importers and local distributors, as domestic recording companies achieved the protagonist role. On the one hand, foreign companies provided recording and phonographic technology, and on the other hand (as evidenced in Chapters 6 and 8), international licensing agreements were a continuous practice by domestic recording companies since late 1940s until late 1960s. During the 1950s domestic recording companies had a powerful position in mediating the participation of foreign labels, by domestically pressing their releases in deals that of course involved royalties for those abroad, as well as earnings for locals. The situation started changing during the 1960s, when Philips de Colombia S.A. started recording activities in Bogotá, and when the CBS branch was established in 1965, the picture had a different shape.

In other words, during our period of focus the participation of foreign recording and sound technology companies in Colombia grows in breadth and strength. Firstly through increasing and numerous licencing agreements, and since the 1960s through in country branches. Philips, a company that had established a leading role in domestic assembly of sound hardware since mid 1950s, was also counted among the founding members of the Colombian association of phonographic producers ASINCOL in 1963, and two years later Discos CBS started operating in Bogotá. In broad view at the 1949 to 1963 period, foreign interests are generally well off, since even under strict control of international commerce, they find different ways of jumping State policy barriers. Foreign players do not appear to have been significantly affected by protectionism.

Figure 9.6 - International relations in the unfolding of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia, 1949-1963.



Includes countries related to: foreign labels licenced by domestic companies (Chapter 6 and 8), foreign sound hardware manufacturers, and related parts & pieces companies (Chapter 7 and 8, Appendices 5.25 to 5.62, 7.3 to 7.21) and origin of imported records (Appendices 5.6 to 5.24).

Additionally, it is worth pointing out that a future study of the relation between domestic recording companies during the 1970s and 1980s, should explore how the tensions between domestic companies and branches of multinationals, are interlaced with the tensions between the two main industrial cities of the 20th century: Medellín and Bogotá, in their plight for economic and political supremacy. Considering the social and economic history secondary sources that back up arguments in Chapter 5, the reader that has managed to go through the myriad pages in this text, at this point will certainly be familiar with a pattern of geographic change that characterises the history of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia. It comprises changes in the cities and regions that dominated industrial production at large, mass media, and the financial sector. In the passing from the mid1930s-to-late1940s period of pioneers in domestic recording business, to the 1950s explosion of recording companies, the geography of recording industries expands. While Atlantic Coast companies were the first to operate their own pressing plants—Fuentes since 1945 in Cartagena, and Tropical since 1948 in

Barranquilla—new companies started between 1949 and 1956 concentrated in the Andean region, and particularly in Medellín. By 1954, Discos Fuentes had moved its headquarters to Medellín, at the same time that Cartagena's and Barranquilla's share in national industrial production had decreased. Paradoxically, by mid 1950s when Medellín was the leading city in domestic recording industry, its position in overall industrial production started falling to second place. As discussed in Chapter 8, in the passing from the 1950s to the 1960s, Bogotá became the country's main industrial city, a leader in mass media with the unfolding of TV broadcasting, and leader in sound hardware assembly industries through the mass industrial operation of Philips de Colombia, S.A. Furthermore, the latter company's expansion to domestic recording production by early 1960s, followed by Discos CBS in 1965, added crucial pieces to a dynamics of geographic change, that evoked the idea of *Bogotá capital of Colombian recording and sound technology industries*.[44]

[44] The process studied involved both internal and international geographic dynamics of different kinds. On the one hand: 1950s expansion of the geography of record factories; exchanges of regional repertoire; shifts in poles of industrial development; population migrations and urban concentration; shifts in the cities and regions where companies dominate the business (key players in Andean cities take the lead during 1950s); internal distribution of sound hardware commodities and parts and pieces, apparently dominated by Bogotá and the Cundinamarca region after mid1950s; concentration of branches of international majors in Bogotá. On the other hand, among international geographic dynamics are: international coffee business; an explosion in circulation of foreign popular music since the 1930s, mostly Mexican, Afro Caribbean, Argentinean; licencing agreements with foreign companies (mostly US, México, Argentina, Venezuela and Cuba); international commerce of software/hardware commodities since late 19th century; later international commerce of parts and pieces for assembling sound hardware; international outsourcing of phonographic processes (decreasing gradually), and international commerce of recording and phonographic technology (increasing gradually); international commerce of raw materials for making records; world expansion strategies of Philips and Columbia (CBS).

2. A *hardware/software* understanding of music industrialization

At the core of this attempt at writing a social history of a mid20th century phenomenon—of transnational character and with significant expression in Colombian society and culture—lies a particular understanding of an object of study defined as *recording and sound technology industries*, whose complexity was explored in Chapter 1. Using this term in plural stresses a vast inherent diversity of interlaced social relations in such kind of entity, pointed out by different scholars that have analysed notions related to music industrialization, such as "recording industry", "recording business", "music industry", or "cultural industries."[45] Sterne (2014) brings them all together by asserting that "[t]here is no 'music industry.' There are many industries with many relationships to music" (Ibid, p53). In those terms, this research's object of study is embedded within a "polymorphous set of relations among radically different industries and concerns", an awareness whose significance comes forward: "especially when we analyse economic activity around or through music" (Ibid).[46]

From this perspective, any single approach to the constellation of players and social relations denoted by the term *recording and sound technology industries*, is rendered incapable of exhausting the diverse interconnections between different spheres, and perhaps is always at risk of being reductionist. While the first condition is indeed the case with this research, I have made my best effort at avoiding the epistemological and ontological *crimes* implied in the second. With this aim I have deployed what can be called a *hardware/software understanding* of music industrialization, which stresses the dual cultural/technological character reflected by its history.[47] As Frith (2001, p232) explained, "[t]he history of the record industry is an aspect of the history of electrical goods industry, related to the development of radio, the cinema and television." Notably, during the late 19th and early 20th century, the business of recording music and machine

[45] See: Hirsch (1972, 2000) Frith (2001), Shuker (2005), Hesmondhalgh (2007), William and Cloonan (2007), Sterne (2014), and Negus (2003).

[46] The following expresses his expansive conceptualization, with a vast array of related parts, which go as far as considering the prices and mining activities related to neodymium, a material used in the production of contemporary speakers (Sterne, 2014, p53). In Sterne's words: "To begin with, defining "music" as a commodity is extremely limited considering the range of commodities sold through, with, or around music, ranging from musical instruments, to hardware and software, to smartphones, to speakers and room architectures. To understand music as an industrial phenomenon goes far beyond those industries directly involved with the sale of recordings. For instance, we need to consider the music instrument industries (manufacturing, sales, marketing, development, retail, etc.), which have consistently grown during the same years that sales in the so-called 'music industry' have been in decline. We need to consider rights-based work, such as soundtracks and music supervision, so central to the sound of modern television, film, and video games. We need to consider sound design in high-end automobiles, as well as sound insulation in trendy condo developments in gentrifying mixed-use urban districts. We need to consider the vast consumer electronics, computing, and bandwidth industries, not to mention companies like YouTube, which have used recorded music to market their products. Even though they don't sell music, they sell musical experiences. People pay their monthly internet bills, buy their smartphones, and visit internet sites to play music and have musical experiences" (Sterne, 2014, p52).

[47] In music industry terminology: "*hardware* is the equipment, the furniture, the 'permanent' capital of home entertainment", while "*software* is what the equipment plays – particular records and tapes" (Frith (2006 [1988], p233).

making was one and the same trade (Gronow, 1983), and in this sense its long run history has been characterised by "technological connections" (Negus, 2003, p629).[48] Early era leading examples are UK's The Gramophone Company, as well as Victor Talking Machine and Brunswick in US; followed by mergers in the axis of such *technological connections* that conformed big conglomerates during the 1930s-40s era as EMI (Electric and Musical Instruments Ltd.), RCA Victor (a merger between Radio Corporation of America and Victor Talking Machine), and Columbia Broadcasting Systems's take over of Columbia records; followed decades later by the expansion of companies as Philips and later Sony into the music recording business.

The above ideas and historical features substantiate this work's *hardware/software understanding* of music industrialization, also expressed in the term *recording and sound technology industries*, and in others as "audio industry" used by Millard (2005) to denote this complex entity of inseparable yet differentiable spheres. In the different chapters I have identified and described the operation of different players involved in recording production and business—or the *software side*—vis-à-vis those in production and commerce of sound hardware—or the *hardware side*. As one would expect, several of them operated in both sides in different ways. Such was the case of RCA Victor agents as Félix de Bedout importing and distributing records and phonographs, and later with Philips de Colombia S.A.: the company's activities in direct relation to our subject during the period studied, shifted from a business based on imports of records and technology, the establishing as a leading player in sound hardware assembly industries, at the same time that they expanded into domestic recording business.

Therefore, at the core of the present social history of a mid20th century recording and sound technology industries in Colombia are the relations between two intimately connected spheres, whose dynamics can also be understood in the social history terms of Hobsbawn (2005a [1972]). Judging on works of the likes of Garnham (1990), Negus (1999) and Hesmondhalgh (2007), relations between hardware and software production have been complementary as well as paradoxical. From their insight it can be argued that "tensions" to which that particular "relational complex" has been "exposed in the process of historical change and transformation", have exerted pressure on "structures [that] simultaneously tend to lose and re-establish their equilibria" (Hobsbawn, 2005a [1972], pp108-109), encompassing "both elements of potential or overt conflicts, with actions of cooperation and peaceful objectives" (Bouget, 2008, pp7-8).

On the one hand, hardware/software relations have been a fundamental axis in the interlacing of big music business corporations and in patterns of integration and conglomeration (or disintegration) characteristic of 20th century global cultural

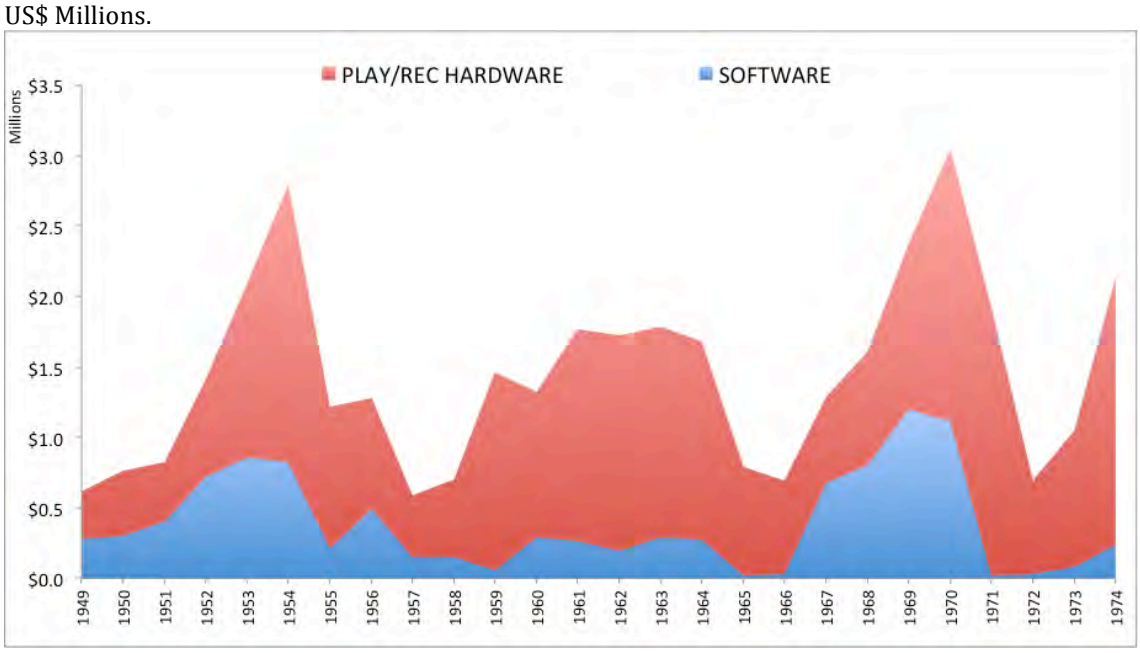
[48] Chanan (1995, pp32-33) refers to this relation as the "economic law.. [of] *technical linkage*, where the commodity takes on a double form – like record player and record – and the market for one is interdependent with that of the other." Attali (1985 [1977], p96) addresses it in terms of a "duality" or "*interdependence* of use-values," which expressed itself in other realms of economy in the form of "film and camera, light bulb and lamp, blade and razor, automobile and highway, detergent and washing machine."

industries. Industry strategies known as *hardware/software synergy*, are exemplified in history by the cases of big companies as: Philips, which established a recording branch after buying PolyGram in the 1960s; Sony, which took over the CBS record company in 1988 and Columbia Studios the following year; or MCA records' early 1990s buyout by Matsushita. On the other hand, contrastingly, concerns about "piracy" in recording industries have been well known situations of tension in hardware/software relations, particularly since late 20th century machines for home use made the recording function accessible to their users (again).[49] The matter certainly featured a "contradiction in the cultural sphere... between the producers of cultural hardware and software", in which "the development of a market in cheap reproduction technology" itself, made "piracy so difficult to control" (Garnham, 1990, p160).

Chapter 5 (section 3) presented an exercise of comparison between the economic sizes of hardware and software sides of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia, using official sources for imports data of many different kinds and categories, whose results are harmonious with Hesmondhalgh's (2007, pp164-168) argument that cultural industries were significantly smaller in contrast to mass media technology industries. From 1949 to mid1960s the value of software imports (including records, matrixes, and other magneto-phonic carriers) remained way below a peak of US$1 million registered in 1953-1954; while imports of all phonographic and tape hardware (including their parts and pieces) were of the order of US$2 million during the same peak, and particularly of an average of US$1.4 million between 1959 and 1964 [Figure 5.21 in Chapter 5]. Comparing the peaks of 1954-1955, when international commerce was under the most relaxed free-trade State policies of the period studied, the picture is that the hardware side's economic size is more than two times bigger compared to that of the software side. Even more, when comparing total related imports during the sub-periods 1949-1956, 1957-1967, and 1968-1974: the relative sizes of software/hardware imports, reveal a steady proportion of one third for the *software side* and two thirds for the *hardware side* [Figure 5.23 in Chapter 5].

[49] A function that had been stripped off in the passing from the 19th to the 20th century, when the Edisonian cylinder based "phonograph" lost markets to the Berliner derived "gramophone": "which no longer allowed consumers to make their own recordings" (Kittler, 1999, p94).

Figure 9.7 - Stacked comparative value of hardware/software imports in Colombia, 1949 - 1974 - US$ Millions.



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior* (1949-1974). Note: In this stacked graph, total imports for hardware for each year correspond to the highest value of the red areas, minus the highest of the blue area.

The same argument is reiterated in Figure 9.7, which shows the proportion of software is even smaller after mid1950s when record imports were heavily restricted. Additionally, considering that during the post mid 1950s second moment of study, the country entered an era of "great restrictions" on international commerce and specifically on imports, which lasted until mid1970s (Villar and Esguerra, 2007, p103), a fascinating finding of this quantitative exercise is that total hardware/software imports behaviour do not reflect such statement. As can be read in the graph: after 1949 initial import controls they exhibit a tendency of growth of five years [5]; then a tendency of decrease of three years [3] between 1954 and 1957; followed by again by a tendency of growth of seven years [7], which shifts to decrease between 1964 and 1966 [2 years], but changes again afterwards to a tendency of growth of four years [4] from 1966 until 1970. In other words, during the 1949 to 1964 period growth tendencies accrue for a total of twelve years [12], while downwards tendency is only registered during three [3] years during mid1950s: 80% of period is characterised by a tendency of growth in total hardware/software imports.[50]

An appraisal of the same pattern made using aggregated hardware/software total values for the 1949-1956 and 1957-1967 periods, show a four-fold increase from US$39.8 to US$164.9 million. Hardware imports behaved similarly, growing a bit more than four times from US$26 to US$109 when comparing the same periods; contrasting with the "phonographic records" category that decreased from US$8.8 million during 1949-1956,

[50] The analysis from 1940 to 1970, reveals the same pattern. Three moments evidence a tendency of growth: 1949-1954 (five years), 1957-1964 (seven years), and 1966-1970 (four years); while two short periods with a tendency of decrease are registered in between them: 1954-1957 (three years), and 1964-1966 (two years). In that perspective, between 1949 to 1970 imports experienced a tendency of growth during 76% of its time span [16 years], while a downwards tendency was only a characteristic of 24% of the time [5 years].

to US$2.3 in the next period (in harmony with policies of import prohibitions). Nevertheless, when one looks at the figures in the overall category of "software"—which aggregates phonographic records, with matrixes and stampers used in the production of records, and magnetic tape and other types of software for recording sound—a trend of growth is once more revealed: imports of sound recording software of different kinds increased from a 1949-1956 total US$12.2 million, to a 1957-1967 total of US$56 million [see Figure 5.22 in Chapter 5].

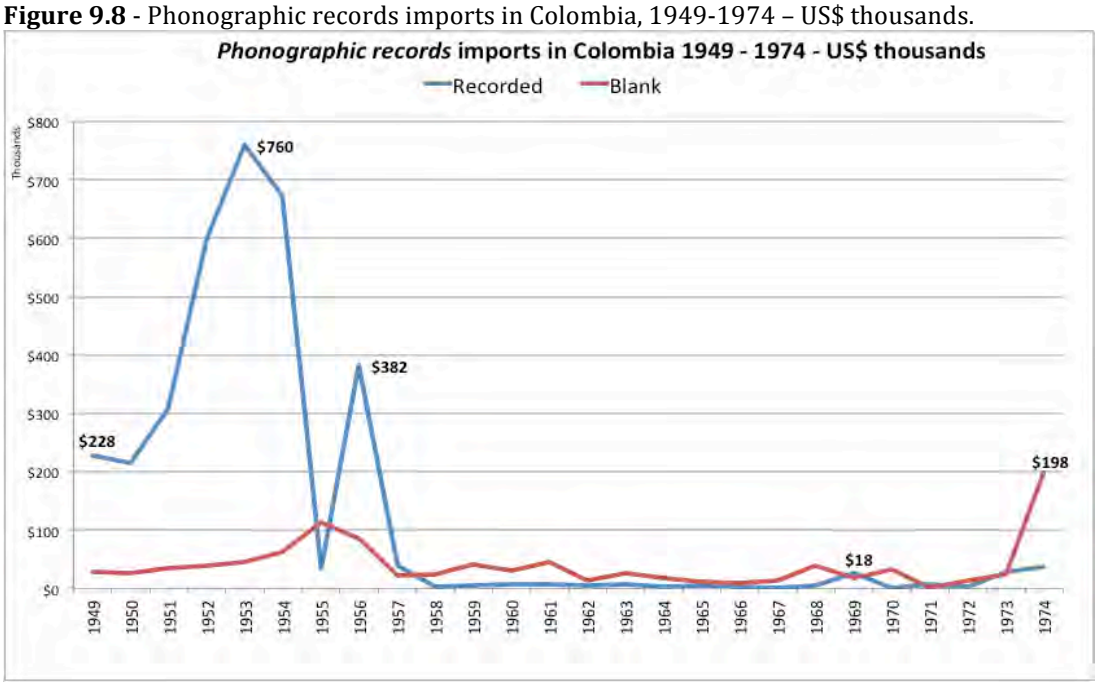
All these quantitative exercises suggest tensions between the hardware and software sides during the unfolding of Colombian recording and sound technology industries of the second half of the 20th century, and pose questions about who runs the show really, who has more power? And they particularly suggest tensions between the hardware side and State regulators, as well as singular economic and political influence on the side of the former, which leave a few more threads for future in depth research.

Perhaps more significantly, the suggested tensions between the hardware side of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia and State regulators, took place in the context of a radical change, i.e. the shift from international commerce of records and sound hardware, to domestic recording production and local assembly of sound hardware using imported parts and pieces (explored from Chapters 6 to 8). Which as the evidence above suggests, encompassed a contradictory pattern of continuity in imports of sound related software and particularly in hardware: as completely assembled objects mostly during a first moment—1949 to 1956, and increasingly in the form of parts and pieces to be assembled domestically during the second—1956 to the 1960s (see Chapter 7).

The contrast is also illustrated in the graphs in Figures 9.8 to 9.10, in which the behaviour of record imports from 1949 to 1974 (highly restricted after 1957), is markedly different from those of sound hardware parts and pieces. For example, those of different sorts of electric tubes and electronic transistors, even if they reflect mid1950s restrictions,[51] reveal an overall tendency of growth: from US$525 thousand in 1951 to a peak US$2 million in 1964, later reaching US$3.1 million in 1979. Imports of different sorts of parts for phonographic hardware, evidence a tendency of growth from $213 thousand in 1951 to US$636 thousand in 1959 (expressing restrictions in 1956-1957), followed by a downwards tendency that reaches US$193 thousand in 1967, yet changing direction again afterwards.

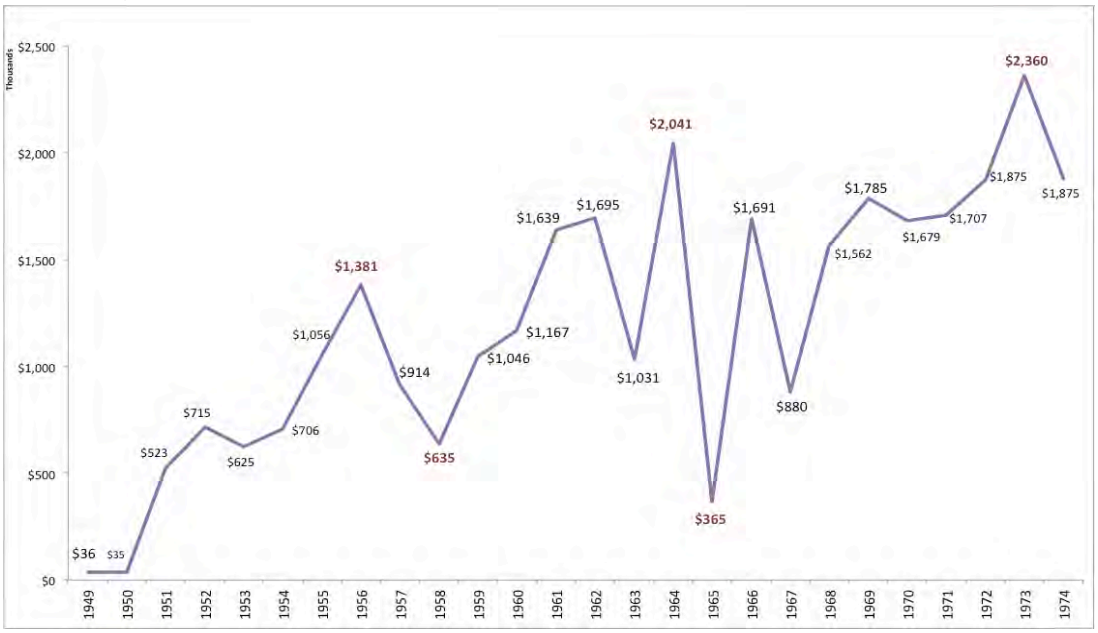
[51] As well as an atypical drop in 1965 which suggests events to be researched further.

Figure 9.8 - Phonographic records imports in Colombia, 1949-1974 – US$ thousands.



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior* (1949-1974).

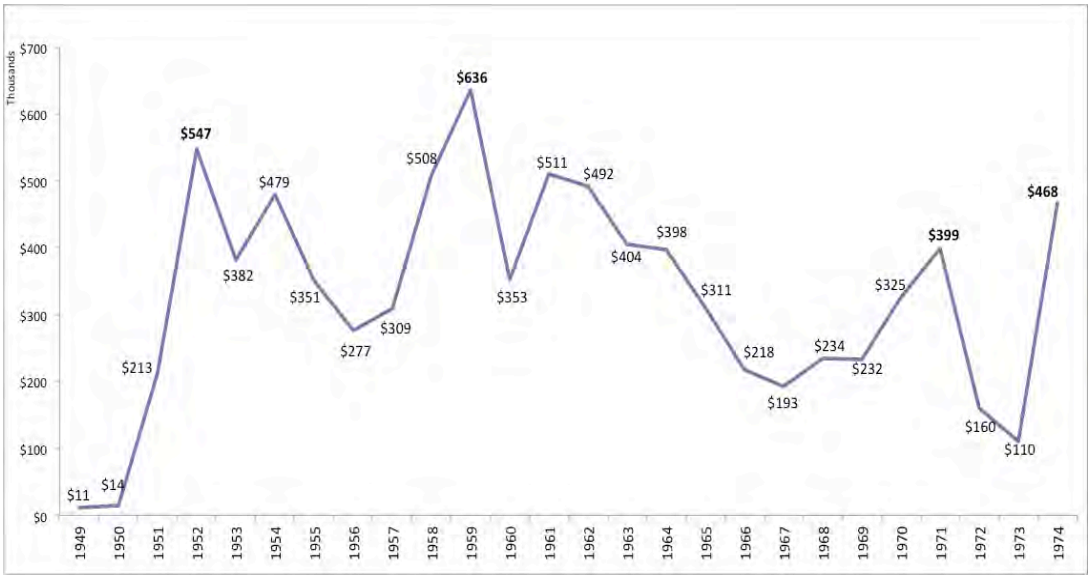
Figure 9.9 - Tubes and transistors for sound related hardware imports in Colombia, 1949-1980 – US$ thousands.[52]



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior* (1949-1974).

[52] Includes commodity categories from 1949-1951: "Tubos, válvulas o lámparas, para aparatos de radio-recepción". Commodity categories from 1952-1964: "Válvulas y tubos para aparatos radioeléctricos", "Válvulas y tubos para aparatos radioreceptores", "Tubos de recepción y amplificación", "Tubos de emisión", "Válvulas y tubos para aparatos receptores de televisión"; "Tubos-Pantallas para televisión", "Los demas tubos y valvulas, para aparatos de radiografía, telefonía y televisión", "Bobinas y circuitos prensados para aparatos receptores", "Valvulas o Tubos Transistores". Commodity categories from 1965-1980: "Tubos-pantallas para television", "Lamparas, valvulas y tubos electrónicos, n.e.p.", "Circuitos impresos para los aparatos de la posición 85.15", "Transistores", "Elementos similares semicondustores, montados, n.e.p.", "Cristales piezo-eléctricos montados", "Partes y piezas sueltas de los aparatos y materiales de la posición 85.21".

Figure 9.10 - All parts and pieces for phonographic hardware imports in Colombia, 1949-1974 – US$ thousands. [53]



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior* (1949-1974).

An analysis of the growth of parts and pieces imports for phonographic and tape based hardware was also made in Chapter 5. Data presented in Figure 5.22 revealed a dramatic increase from a total of US$8.7 million for the sub-period 1949-1956, to a 1957-1967 aggregate of US$39.3. This evidences that imports of that particular kind of commodities quadrupled comparing the two moments, following the same pattern exhibited by total imports of sound hardware and software related goods (to which they contributed with around 23% from 1949 to 1967). The matter brings forward Miege's (1989, p35) remark that, while "integrated [multinational] groups occupy dominant positions" in hardware business, and have the advantage (some times) of imposing their own technologies and formats, they are less interested in the "accessory market" (Ibid, p31), which is commonly occupied by mid and small size companies.

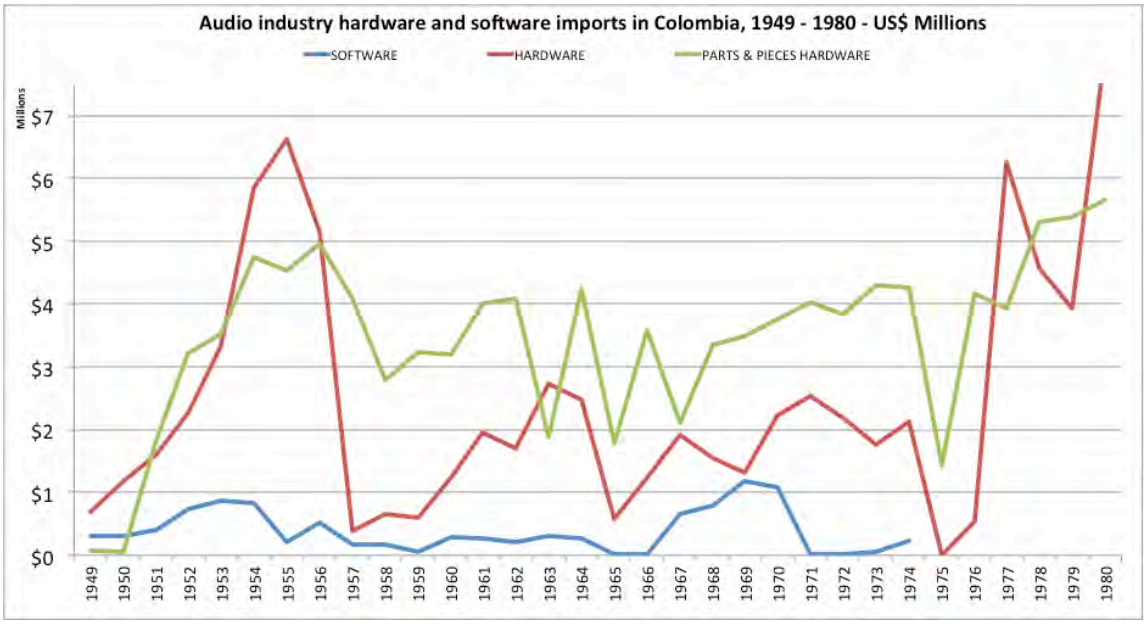
This points out another specific topic for further research that should dig into the foreign companies that supplied the different kinds of sound related technology parts and pieces as Colombian domestic assembly industries unfolded from the 1950s to mid 1970s.

[53] Includes commodity classifications from 1949-1951: "Partes y piezas para grafófonos y grafonolas". Commodity classifications from 1952-1964: "Partes y piezas sueltas para gramófonos y máquinas parlantes", "Las demás piezas sueltas para gramófonos y máquinas parlantes", "Muebles para tocadiscos (pick-up)", "Agujas para gramófonos y máquinas parlantes". Commodity classifications from 1959: "Agujas de cualquier tipo, aun con su cabeza, para gramofonos y maquinas parlantes", "Partes y piezas sueltas para tocadiscos y traganíqueles", "Mecanismos para mover o cambiar los discos, eléctricos, mecánicos o automáticos". Commodity classifications from 1965-1970s: "Muebles para tocadiscos"; "Muebles y cajas para los aparatos de la posicion 92.11", "Agujas de cualquier tipo aun con su cabeza, para los aparatos de la posición 92.11 (Fonógrafos, etc.)" [1974]; Fonocaptores [1975]; "Puntos de Zafiro o de Diamante para los aparatos de la posición 9211", "Agujas de metal para aparatos de la posición 9211", "Partes y piezas sueltas para tocadiscos y traganíqueles", "Mecanismos para mover o cambiar los discos, eléctricos, mecánicos o automáticos", "Partes, piezas sueltas y accesorios, n.e.p., para los aparatos de la posición 92.11 - fonografos, dictafonos, etc.-"; "Partes y piezas n.e.p. Para electrofonos, tocadiscos y fonografos", o "...para grabadores y reproductores de sonido, en disco", Piezas sueltas y accesorios de los aparatos comprendidos en la posición 92.11, n.e.p. [1974].

Appendices 7.3 to 7.21 offer valuable information about the countries of origin of speakers, electric tubes and transistors imports during those years, evidencing players from US, Netherlands and Japan dominated those markets, that will certainly help other researchers move into that direction. During 1956, 75% of speakers and electric tubes were imported from US, and around 15% from the Netherlands; the 1960s register Japan as a new leading competitor, with the Netherlands increasing their share, while the proportions of these commodities imported from US are considerably reduced. Japan provides 11% of electric tubes (1966), 25% of speakers (1964), and 62% of transistors (1962); the Netherlands 27% of electric tubes (1966), 22% of speakers (1964), and 35% of transistors; while US 15% of speakers (1964), 31% of electric tubes (1966), and 2% of transistors (1962). During the 1973-1974 US and Japan both provide around 33% of speakers and transistors, and the Netherlands 175 of speakers and 25% of transistors; later during 1979, US dominates electric tube imports with 55%, followed by 12% from Japan, while imports from the Netherlands accounts for less than 1%.

Finally, I would like to close this section with another graphic representation of the pattern of continuity that characterises the period studied in this text, i.e. imports of sound related hardware, either as assembled commodities or as parts and pieces. Both kinds grow hand by hand until 1956, and since then the predominance of parts and pieces continues until 1976 [See Figure 9.11].[54]

Figure 9.11 - Software, Hardware and Parts & Pieces (hardware) in Colombia, 1949-1980 – US$ millions.[55]



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior* (1949-1980).

[54] With an atypical behavior in 1963 that raises questions about related events for further research.

[55] Software includes: phonographic records, matrixes and stampers, magnetic tape, and other sound recording software. Hardware includes: phonographic and tape base machines, radios, TVs, as well as speakers, amps and microphones not classified as parts. Parts & pieces includes those commodities specified as such for all the previously mentioned types of hardware (phonographic and tape base machines, radios, TVs, speakers, amps and microphones), as well as tubes, transistors and other goods classified as electric and electronic parts.

3. Oswald Spengler, the present, and *speaking truth to power*

An early 20th century debate between German historian Oswald Spengler and English historian and archaeologist Robin George Collingwood, provides us with a suitable path for returning to the initial discussion of this long text, which, as I put it back then, aimed at *unpacking* the idea of a mid 20th century Golden Age of Colombian recording industry. This meant acknowledging the idea as a socio-cultural construction, in order arrange side-by-side, different yet interlaced discourses emanating from music journalists, recording company staff, musicians and musicologists. In their analysis, I pointed out the evident echoes of Hesiod's classical notion of Golden Age, the inherent nostalgia for the days of youth of some voices (with a corresponding anxiety about a perhaps intolerable present), and also the nostalgia for an idealized past expressed by people that did not live through the times themselves. The following pages will carry on with this *unpacking* exercise, by focusing on further problematic connotations of the term Golden Age that a "well tempered contemporary historian" should be aware of [See Chapter 3 (section 1.2)].

The epistemological and ontological tensions between Collingwood and Spengler derived from the latter's attempt at writing a universal world history in *The Decline of the West. Outlines of a Morphology of World History: Vol. 1 Form and Actuality* (1918), which for Collingwood implied the highly problematic assumption that "Every culture has its spring... Then follows its summer... [then comes] The Autumn of the culture... Last comes Winter".[56] Spengler's ideas, in the first place, were a rejection of Euro-centric World History. In his theoretical proposition "a system takes place in which antiquity and the West do not in any way occupy a privileged position next to India, Babylonia, China, Egypt, the Arabic and Mexican cultures" (p241). Furthermore, they were set against the historical model of "Antiquity–Middle Ages–Modern Times", which Spengler saw as "an unbelievably poor and senseless scheme" (p240) of "ensuing geographical restriction" (p243). During the first decades of the 20th century, Spengler set to challenge history conceived as "foolish linear progress",[57] underlining his idea that "mankind does not have an aim, an idea, a plan, just as any species of butterflies or orchids has an aim. Mankind is a zoological term or an empty word" (p241). As he explained, instead of the "poor and senseless scheme" assumed by most historians: "I see the image of eternal creation and alteration in World History, a marvellous genesis and decline of organic forms. But the proper historian sees it in the shape of a tapeworm, which tirelessly 'adds' on epochs".[58]

Infuriated, Collingwood responded with "Oswald Spengler and the Theory of Historical Cycles" (1927), describing Spengler's work as the result of poor methodological rigour and his theorization as the craft of a "bad philosopher".[59] In his book, Spengler had sketched a theory of human history through an analogy between: the development of

[56] Colingwood, R.G. "Oswald Spengler and the Theory of Historical Cycles", *Antiquity* (1927). Quoted in Budd, (2009, p245).
[57] Spengler, O. *The Decline of the West. Outlines of a Morphology of World* History: Vol. 1 Form and Actuality (1918). Quoted in Budd (2009, p240).
[58] Spengler (1918), quoted in Budd (2009, p242).
[59] Colingwood (1927), quoted in Budd (2009, p248).

biological entities, and the diachronic change experienced by human "high cultures" through history. From this analogy he extended the biological proposition that "[e]ach culture has its own new possibilities of expression, which appear, ripen, perish and do not return... like each species of plant has its own blossoms and fruits, its own type of growth and decline".[60] Upon finding this theory highly problematic, Collingwood described it as "a truly genetic narrative... a self-confessed morphology", which misguidedly understood "the world not as history but precisely as nature".[61]

Standing on Collingwood's analysis, the fundamental problem with Spengler's natural-cycles-based anti-evolutionist theory, is not only that it reduces the complexity of social dynamics to a pattern whose simplicity resembles the vital history of fruits. Even worse, Spengler's conception of fixed universal historical periods as "organic states in the terms of youth, rise, fullness, and decline",[62] makes human history predictable and reduces its incommensurable particularities to "a definite course of development through a sequence of phases that is identical for all".[63] As Collingwood put it back then: "The historical morphologist [namely Spengler] is concerned not to discover what happened, but, assuming that he knows what happened, to generalize about its structure as compared with the structure of other happenings". Upon the prognosis device constituted by Spengler's theory, he bluntly responded: "we can not know the future".[64]

This attempt at writing a social history of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia from 1949 to 1963, distanced it self form the out set from a nostalgic Hesiodian reading of this era in the recent past considered by different commentators as the core of a Golden Age, and certainly just did from the problems involved in understanding it as a Spenglerian long gone *spring* and *summer*. At the same time, in Chapter 1 (section 2) the insight of different kinds of historians was used to define a period of focus—by "fastening upon" it several "peculiarly luminous point[s]"—and also for sketching its historical context.[65] The task evidenced that the so-called Golden Age of recording industries in Colombia coincided with a post WWII period considered by different scholars also as a Golden Age in different senses: a boom in global economy, in international recording industries, in Colombian manufacturing industries, and in the country's urban population

[60] Spengler (1918), quoted in Budd (2009, p242).
[61] Colingwood (1927), quoted in Budd (2009, p247).
[62] Spengler (1918), quoted in Budd (2009, p244).
[63] Colingwood (1927), quoted in Budd (2009, p245).
[64] Ibid, p247.
[65] Collingwood's critique of Spengler arrives at significant reflections on the ontology of period models used by historians worth discussing here. Firstly, he agrees that while historians might infer from empirical observation the occurrence of different forms of cycles that appear to repeat themselves, "yet what reappears is never the same phase—nothing can happen twice—but only something homologous with it". (Colingwood (1927), quoted in Budd, 2009, p246). *Panta rhei*, if I may echo Heraclitus well know aphorism. Secondly, after discarding period models understood as universal fixed natural patterns, he brings forward their conception as methodological tools with a specific purpose in the historian's task. As he put it back then: "a 'period' of history is an arbitrary fabrication, a mere part torn from its context... And we fabricate periods of history by fastening upon them some, to us, *peculiarly luminous point* and trying to study how it actually came into being... the historian's highest task is to discover what developed, through what phases, into what" (Ibid, p249). [Italics mine]

growth. Contrastingly, the period has also been described as one of high tensions between Liberal and Conservative parties that took the shape of extreme rural violence, and also between *free-trade* and industry protectionism interests, whose balance of power was set by the contingent collapse of coffee export business during mid1950s, which catalysed changes in the structure of Colombian economy.

Notwithstanding, an inspection of the present in which I write this text, searching for those players that had protagonist roles during the period studied, reveals a bleak panorama and resembles a *wintery* sensation in the sense Collingwood criticized one hundred years ago from Spengler, whose ghost, along with those of several domestic record companies, lurks between the lines of this page. Out of eight main record factories active during mid 1950s identified in Chapter 6, only two remain in operation today. Codiscos, apparently kept solvent by its sister company Tronex (manufacturing energy batteries of different kinds since the 1970s), and by a parallel businesses in state-of-the-art sound systems importing; and Discos Fuentes, whose studios in Medellín were sold in the recent last years, whose operation consists of an office of around twenty people, with business related to exploiting their catalogue digitally (as in the case of Codiscos), but apparently in constant threat of disappearing.[66] While Philips and CBS, companies whose corporate structures and ownership patterns became increasingly more complex since the 1960s through different mergers and buy outs, remain in place in Bogotá in their new shapes along with other multinationals that joined them since the 1990s, establishing in the capital as well.[67]

This research will enter contemporary public sphere in a particularly advanced moment of what Andre Millard (2005, pp331-408) called the "Digital Age" of sound recording and reproduction technology: connectivity is at the centre of technological *needs and wants*, and the dominant global players are even more complex media conglomerates encompassing to a considerable extent what we have called "sound technology industries", and whose transformations have advanced at the rapid pace of expansion of global capitalism. For Mark Katz (2010), the early 21st century could be thought as a "post-fidelity age" in which music is "played through speakers or headphones of anything but the lowest quality" that come with laptop computers, tablets, or mobile phones, and "many of those hearing music in this way neither notice nor care". Portability and convenience, but "not quality", is what is "paramount for most listeners." This sharply contrasts with an Edisonian ethos of sound *fidelity* and good quality that has guided music recording technology since late 19th century, and is a long way from "the discourse of

[66] This appraisal is derived from meeting staff from those companies between 2012 and 2014, and from word of mouth in Medellín and Bogotá among acquaintances in the music business.
[67] During the second half of the 1990s the so-called "big five" of those days—BMG, Sony, EMI, Polygram-Universal, and Warner—were established in Bogotá (Zuleta and Jaramillo, 2003, p61).

realism... that has shaped the way people have conceived, characterized, and valued the technology of recording since its inception" (Ibid, p217).[68]

Furthermore, in the midst of this advanced stage of recording and sound technology's Digital Age led by the internet, this research will enter the Colombian public sphere in an era described by some voices as a moment of imminent crisis for long standing domestic record companies. A Spenglerian interpretation would perhaps pose this present as the final stage of decline in a natural life pattern in which those companies "appear, ripen, perish and do not return"; or as *Arcadia* magazine from Bogotá puts it, one in which 1950s recording companies are giving their "last breath".[69] In the event of the sale of Discos Fuentes's iconic recording studios set up in Medellín since the 1950s, the situation was interpreted as one more of State and cultural institution neglect for Colombian cultural patrimony, in the absence of a plan for preserving the studios and perhaps turning them into a cultural centre. Even if motivated by risk of extinction, a State policy debate in which record companies are discussed as a matter of *national cultural patrimony* and not as one of *simply* commerce, is certainly a long way from Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno's "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception" (1944).

A 2013 interview with Codisco's president Fernando López, draws a picture dissonant with a Spenglerian bleak scenario through an argument in the lines of *crisis means opportunities* in a context of technological change.[70] The record company executive is presented by a journalistic piece as a man of more than three decades of experience in the music business, starting as a promoter and ascending to the company's presidency in the 1990s through sheer merit. Somehow ironically, while the interview depicts the man as "the last president of a phonographic company", and was reportedly conducted after a "storm" in the industry, in the midst of high piracy, and after tens of record shops were closed, his central argument is blunt: "The industry did not end, it was reinvented." As López explained:

> Sales are now virtual and they now represent 40% of the company's income. ... I have witnessed change in formats, we went from vinyl records to the cassettes, and to CDs, and now with new technologies Mobile sales, Streaming, You Tube etc. ... [Sales have increased] vertiginously, our growth year after year of more than 40%. ... Digital [including ring-tones] is now 40% of income... and it will grow much more in the future due to the penetration of smart phones in the market and the increase in internet connections.[71]

[68] "In the world of recording, what has been valued above all else is sound quality—in terms of clarity, transparency, and verisimilitude, its ability to sound like live performance. ... In recent years, however, people no longer make such a fuss" (Katz, 2010, p217).
[69] Editorial "El último suspiro", *Arcadia*, Bogotá, no. 117, 2015, p3.
[70] "La industria discográfica no se acabó" [Interview with Fernando López, president of Codiscos] (2013), *Eje21*, December 8, 2013. Available from http://www.eje21.com.co/2013/12/qla-industria-discografica-no-se-acaboq-fernando-lopez/ [Accessed 8 February 2019].
[71] Ibid.

In the picture of the present situation drawn by Codisco's president, piracy is admitted as a difficult to fight problem on which they continue to work, at the same time that their back catalogue is stressed as their particular "strength... that which allows us to carry on forward". Even more, as he put it, their catalogue is "not solely the company's patrimony but also that of Colombia". When asked about music genre, he points out the emergence of styles by young artists as "urbano" and "pop", in a market dominated by reggeatón and contemporary vallenato. About the second last he is asked: "Why does reggaetón sound, but nobody can remember a single song?", and his answer is reminiscent of 1950s remarks by Hernán Restrepo Duque about the common practice of overproduction: "Due to the quantity of songs put in the market. The offer is bigger than the songs that consolidate". The analyses by Negus (1999) and Hesmondhalgh (2007) which explain overproduction as a characteristic pattern of operation in cultural industries also resonate here.

About vallenato the interviewer expresses concern about its loss of authenticity, but in López's view, "it has evolved according to generational needs, and thanks to this it is the best selling folkloric genre in Colombia". He also annotates a sales standard of 10 thousand units for a Gold Record recognition, and of 20 thousand for a Platinum, noting such achievements have been met by Peter Manajarrés, Martin Elías and Juancho de la Espriella (all contemporary vallenato artists). Contrasting with the interviewer's belief on a crisis of radio broadcasting, Lopéz states: "No, today it remains strong. It makes 90% of hits", even though agreeing its audiences have been reduced by new media. In his experience, the acceptance of records by radio has always been a decisive matter on their success (in the past and today), to which he adds that "more commitment by radio" would be welcome when developing new Colombian talent. As he notes, among channels for artist promotion: "radio remains in first place, TV and the press in second place, and now social networks and You Tube, the third most watched channel in Colombia". Finally, he explains how record promoters, who used to be company staff in the past, have not disappeared, but become external to them: "most artists have their own promotion teams, with another mentality, very different from the era in which I started out".[72]

François Hartog (2014) discusses how historians of the recent past tend to end up playing the role of "mediator[s] between the past and the present" (Ibid, p203), and their voices participating within a polyphonic public sphere. There they join those of academics from other fields, non-academic commentators, witnesses or participants of the times or events, as well as journalists, and in many cases politicians, lawmakers, lawyers and in particular cases even judges. The discussions in which they are brought into, are usually mediated by notions of memory, commemoration, patrimony, and identity (Ibid, p206).[73]

[72] Ibid.

[73] And if dealing with histories of violence, with matters of trauma, crimes against humanity, victims and witnesses. "Historians cannot ignore these terms any more than anyone else can. In fact, they must, more than others, question them; they must seize their histories, their uses and misuses, before taking them up as the categories that might organize meaningful inquiries into and narratives of the past" (Hartog, 2014, p206).

In this way, historians of the recent past might act as public intellectuals whose involvement in a politics of the present might overshadow or at least affect their principles as historiographers, when expected not to simply say *something* about the past, but to extend towards explaining *how things came to be today*, and move towards an explanation of the present condition. Concerned such participation seems a prerequisite for distinction within the public sphere and civil society, he asks: "Today, should historians place themselves only in the circle of the present, by which I mean this extended present, memory's new territory? (Ibid, p203).

Judging on cited arguments, this text will enter the Colombian public sphere during a present in which some voices lament an imminent crisis and suggest a situation of Spenglerian decay, while others speak of opportunity in the context of technological change (ironically, the perception of the president of one out of two companies from the 1950s that remain in place). What is then the role of a historiography of the kind this research represents in the present day? Is it useful to remind us that we had a significant role in the music business in the recent past, and that we ought to learn from it? Will it inspire curiosity about how recording and sound technology industries unfolded during the following decades? Will it induce commitment to understand how the situation came to be as it is today? Will some one ask the question: how is it possible that all that flourished then withered away in the passing from the 20th to the 21st century? This research arrives far from advocacy of specific players, or from a nostalgic celebration of *good old times*, and is certainly far from explaining the current situation, a matter that requires specific research. Nevertheless it might serve those concerned with understanding *how things came to be today*, by giving them elements to think in which ways the present condition is different from the past.

Firstly, since the 1990s there has been a growing interest in policymaking related to cultural and creative industries and to information and communication technologies, both at the national and main city levels, and it is worth noting funds for this research came from State institutions with such interests.[74] If this text speaks to policy makers, knowing most are commonly concerned with finding international models and experiences in the present, it seems reasonable to suggest that there might be some important lessons to learn from Colombia's past experiences. Nonetheless, if such use is given to this text, it is pertinent to remind the reader that for most historians "The past is another country. They do things differently there": in other words, "the beginning of historical understanding is an appreciation of the otherness of the past, and [the] worst sin of historians is anachronism" (Hobsbawm, 2005 [1993], p309).

Secondly, this work constitutes an important contribution to knowledge about recording and sound technology industries in Colombia, and fills an important gap. After a decade of

[74] Colciencias, Colfuturo, and Alcaldía de Medellín; Creative Economy Strategic Alliance (Americas) Meeting : Colombia, Medellin with the British Council (2013). *The CMCI Blog*. Available from https://lostincci.wordpress.com/2013/03/18/creative-economy-strategic-alliance-americas-meeting-colombia-medellin-with-the-british-council/ [Accessed 26 June 2017].

long experience researching popular music in Colombia, Peter Wade (2000) observed the lack of academic knowledge on the history of recording industry in Colombia. As he put it back then: the “history of the recording industry in Colombia is written up in only a very fragmentary way”, and relies on “scraps of information”, mostly from “oral sources” (Ibid, pg260), and “[u]nlike radio, there is virtually nothing substantial and coherent written on the [subject]” (Ibid, pg271). The situation described two decades ago has changed very little since then, at the same time that research on Colombian 20th century popular music has increased significantly, but their focus is rarely centred on the companies and the industrial aspect. Since then there has been very little research that focuses specifically in the production sphere, and previous works have not offered much detail and clarity about the process of establishment traced in this text. Furthermore, the hardware/software understanding at the core of this analysis, makes this work unique; and the same applies to its vast review of literature on the past of recording and sound technology industries, which draws a written map expressing the diversity of disciplines from which the topic has been approached [See Chapter 2].

Thirdly, in one of my visits to Colombia during the archival work phase of this research, an old friend expressed excitement about my PhD topic, and said he was certain I would produce the "definitive history" of Colombian recording industries. I replied with silence and a smile, yet his words kept echoing in my mind since then until today. I could not get the chance to talk to my friend when I was reading several works on historiography that lead to writing Chapter 3, so this is then my chance to explain two problems implied in his truly felt and encouraging remark. On the one hand, there are many ways of writing history, with different angles, approaches, and kinds of primary sources. The historian’s discipline is characterised by its diversity, its many branches and schools, its lack of a unifying paradigm, and also by ontological and epistemological dialectics of realists/anti-realists derived from its critique by post-modernist thinkers since late 20th century [see Chapter 3]. This text represents one way of approaching the subject, among a myriad more possible and valuable. Judging on the previously mentioned literature review [see Chapter 2], there are plenty different possibilities for exploring the Colombian case, still waiting for new researchers to devote time, archive work, and theory based analysis to them.

On the other hand, as historian Eileen Ka-May Cheng (2012) remarks, "the history of historical writing has been characterized by a constant process of change and conflict", and in such conditions, "[w]hat a study of historiography shows us, then, is that all history is in a sense revisionist history" (Ibid, p146). The point, substantiated by different historians cited below, is that historiography is a field whose methodological character (new evidence might surface at any time, complementing, clarifying, or controverting previous accounts), in parallel to its inherent politics of historical *truth*, do not allow for conceiving nor establishing a single version of the past. Historian of political thought John GA Pocock, remarks that "[t]here is a plurality of narratives because politics is a contested activity, in which actors have diverse goals, tell different stories, and, to some degree, live

in the narratives they succeed in relating" (Pocock, 2005, p9). Even more: "historians are likely to discover that there can be more than one history of events within the society, and that any event may be part of more histories than one" in this sense one finds that once more "history is contested, debatable and multiple" (Ibid, p8).

Alan Ford (2011) points out how in his field one may read "two parallel streams of historiography" (Ibid, 8':10'' - 8':50''), a protestant school of historiography, dissonant with a catholic school. Such critical historiographical thinking acknowledges that: "the biases and assumptions that [historians] bring to the writing of history" (Ibid, 0':55''); that people read and use history in processes in which identity is intertwined; that history is not simply about gathering and presenting 'the facts', but much more about interpretation (Ibid, 10':24''); and most significantly, "the overarching question" of "whether history tells the truth" (Ibid, p1, p27), and the point that different historians write different versions of the *truth*.[75] For Anna Green and Kathleen Troup (1999), in such cases in which politics, identity and the moral standing of historians overlap, it seems natural that "agreement among historians is remarkably difficult to achieve, and historical events are open to a multiplicity of interpretations. The same evidence can generate two quite different stories about the past, and problems arise when these are incompatible" (Green and Troup, 1999, p6).

Iggers and Wang (2008, p15) stress a daring commitment in these cases were historians necessarily embody their own "ethical and political commitments which colour... [their] perception of history", as for the authors "it is often possible to demonstrate the falsity of historical statements, the distortions which feed into political ideologies", so "an important task of the historian... [is] to dismantle distortions and myths".[76] Palmowski and Spohr Readman (2011) stress a significant moral and political dimension of studying the recent past. It implies "educating through empathy" with the expectation that people learn from the past, and avoid in the present certain mistakes recorded by history (Ibid, p490). And it also involves a "political mission" (Ibid, p486), considering that for them contemporary historians "must try to some extent to... 'speak truth to power'" (Ibid, p499), along with giving voice to victims, striving for justice, and debunking mythologies (Ibid, p498). Furthermore, when considering contemporary history as located "at the intersection between history and memory", what makes it more significant is not only its relation to the memories of individuals but to "social and cultural memory" and the fact that practitioners can have an effect on the formation of "collective memories" in the present by focusing on matters and moments that concern shared perceptions of the past, those "that politicians seek to affect or invoke in legitimizing future action" (Palmowski and Spohr Readman, 2011, p504).

[75] Why Study Historiography with Alan Ford (4 July 2011). Directed by University of Nottingham. Available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BCKW26Up9Dc [Accessed 25 January 2017].

[76] "Because this is only very partially possible, the history of historiography is a continuous dialogue, which does not tell a single story, but offers varying, often conflicting interpretations. These enrich our picture of the past, but nevertheless remain subject to critical examination [by academics]... as to their factual basis and their logical consistency" (Ibid, p16).

Considering the above, it is worth closing this chapter by asking: how can a study of the sphere of production of the particular kind this text represents engage in speaking truth to power? A first step in this direction was taken in Chapter 4, by pointing out the role of what I call popular music "disruptive constellations" (in opposition to hegemonic music genre systems), and particularly the nodal importance of audiences for recording artists whose style was described as "carrilerudo" or those labelled as "parranda" in the process of establishment and growth of new recording companies in 1950s Medellín. As I argued, the associated discursive class violence of music journalism examined in primary sources, evidenced a *cultural war* wielded by a *cultured* elite against a mass audience whose place in official history has not been allotted yet.

The matter poses questions that could conform the starting point for developing a *history from below* line of future research related to the topic of Colombian recording and sound technology industries. The tensions of social change in a city whose population was growing mostly via rural migrations are at the centre of the 1950s cultural wars, and this mass audience represents the emergence and configuration of new urban working class. Cited sources expressively denied them cultural citizenship in the 1950s, and since then the "genre cultures" or "genre worlds" (Negus, 1999; Frith 1996) of "música de carrilera", "música guasca", and "música parrandera" have existed outside of a national identity politics field, never included in representations of Colombian-ness: it could be argued then, that they represent what could be deemed as the social and cultural sphere of the *anti-national*.

A new *history from below* approach to the Colombian case, should continue by exploring the role jukebox operators and the related association of cantina, bar, and café owners FENACAR, and their tensions with performance rights collecting society SAYCO, local State authorities, Police forces, clerical institutions, and civilizing institutions (e.g. Sociedad de Mejoras Públicas de Medellín).[77] I came across plenty of evidence in the archives about the dynamics of these tensions, which derived in a municipal State plan of urban geographic restructuring, whose aim was to manage a saturation of cantinas with jukeboxes in the Guayaquil area (streets away from clerical and State buildings), by displacing them to Barrio Antioquia, instated as a tolerance area by decree. The matter should also be explored in connection to "campaigns against noise" promoted by civil society, side-by-side with temperance and alcoholism prevention. The topic of cantinas, is connected as well with debates during the 1950s regarding what was called the "Estado Cantinero": the paradox of temperance movements and a booming tobacco and alcoholic spirits industry, monopoly of regional State administration, and producing substantial incomes which went to fund education and health.

The tensions between record companies and musicians and authors on matters of royalties and intellectual rights (not within the specific objectives of this research), well

[77] Research focusing on factory workers, critical about working conditions and exploitation within the music industry, would also be welcomed.

known among music fans and popular in the press, is a matter waiting as well for future research, and it is worth annotating that events and complaints on this matter were commonly spotted during archival work. A particularly visible player during the era is ADECOL or "Asociación de Cantantes de Colombia",[78] an association of singers and musicians founded in Bogotá during 1953, and whose fiery tensions with different players including the State, SAYCO, recording companies, and radio stations are evident in primary sources from the time.[79] Among their different struggles, that for time space for Colombian musicians in radio broadcasting live shows dominated by foreign recording stars, is particularly interesting. The body demand establishing quotas, while radio staff and commentators from a *cultured* elite blamed their exclusion on their own technical deficiencies and lack of formal musical formation.

The aim of *speaking truth to power* would also benefit from a dedicated critical history of Colombian performance rights collecting society SAYCO formed in the 1940s. Tensions between record companies and this body were evidenced since early discussions towards a union of main players in 1951, in which SAYCO was pointed out as a matter of common concern.[80] As mentioned earlier, there is plenty of evidence about the very visible actions of SAYCO during the 1950s, as they were expanding their collection tasks, which were met with annoyance and suspicion by different players. Further research on this would be of high value, not least because in the present the organisation is well known for its efficiency in collecting royalties, but its deficiencies in distributing them. And has been under continuous scrutiny by the media during the last decades. In connection, the role of publishers is another topic outside my objectives that requires further research, noting active players during the 1950s were Peer International Corporation and Southern Music, as well as domestic publishing companies Eco and Rhyma.[81]

There is also a politics in different arguments in this text, which stress the foundational and continuous participation of foreign companies recording and sound technology companies since late 19th century, and their capacity to endure and adapt to changing policy and economic conditions in the country. Their presence and relevance progressed during the decades studied, particularly through increasing licencing agreements, and through Discos CBS S.A. and Philips de Colombia S.A. establishment in Bogotá. The latter, as Chapter 7 evidences, had business in Colombia since the 1940s which grew and diversified intensely during the 1950s and 1960s (from importing, to light bulb manufacturing, to sound hardware and other electro domestics assembly, as well as telecommunication technologies). Their political influence is implied in their economic muscle, and in the steady progression of their interests in Colombia, and has been implied

[78] *El Diario*, Medellín, July 7, 1953, p2,6.
[79] According to press reports, before ADECOL another syndicalist body operated: Sindicato de Músicos de Medellín" (*El Diario*, Medellín, March 17, 1954, p2).
[80] Tensions between players that made part of ASINCOL (phonographic association), and between them as a group and other players since 1963 (dialectics of allies/enemies) should also be explored by future research.
[81] See Appendix 6.2 with publishers active in Colombia 1949-1963.

by other researchers.[82] The matter is certainly one of significant importance for future interest.

There is a politics inscribed as well in the exercises of comparing the economic sizes of the software and the hardware sides of recording and sound technology industries. The significantly larger proportion of the latter to which the analysis of imports data arrives, suggests their interests might have been at the centre of running the show, and present us with the idea of a distinctive *hardware power*—for the Colombia case exemplified precisely by Philips. The idea is resonant with a present in which companies of the likes of Apple have increasingly made their way into a transforming business of music, which is now mostly played in the devices they produce. And this they do through strategies that incite users into participating in a vertiginous need for the continuous release of new models of phones, computer and others, which makes media hardware manufacturers directly responsible for the E-Waste crisis: one of the several threats to the ecosystem that characterise the present, and to a considerable extent handled with a colonialist spirit, by paying poor countries for receiving and handling a particularly problematic kind of rubish.[83]

Finally, this account of recording and sound technology in Colombia, while focusing considerably in the case of Medellín, from the outset distanced itself from nostalgic conceptions of the past which have fed collective memory. These have materialised discursively through the idea of *Medellín capital of Colombian recording industry*, in which the city's position as capital of a so-called Golden Age is implied as well, and whose share of objectivity we have acknowledged at the same time stressing its elements of socio-cultural construction. In the matter this text stands with historian Michael Bentley, whose position within debates about oral history and memory as a primary source is markedly critical. Ultimately, he calls for considering that "history is precisely non-memory, a systematic discipline which seeks to rely on mechanisms and controls quite different from those which memory triggers and often intend to give memory the lie" (Bentley, 2005, p156). This text is far from feeding this kind of collective memories, which in the city I grew up are generally interlaced with a fictional sense of greatness: for example, every new building, bridge, road or airport that represents a local landmark, is commonly declared by locals (without the benefit of objective data to substantiate their arguments), as "the greatest in Latin America". Without denying the social and cultural importance of recording and sound technology industries in Colombia during the 20th century, such statement certainly does not apply to their case.

[82] See Galvis and Donadio (2002).
[83] See: Gabrys (2013), Grossman (2006, 2012), Maxwell and Miller (2012), and Slade (2006).

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Every single social policy aimed at "mitigating" poverty during the first decade of this century in Colombia, started with an explanation of such phenomenon as the "effects of the economic crisis of the late 1990s", which was exemplified by figures showing a massive drop in GDP between 1998 and 1999. I met those documents by accident. I never planned for the job in the National Planning Department where I learned about such things. After a career in the cultural industries since 1989, including being a recording artist for domestic record company Codiscos in Medellín, and a cultural journalist for a couple of newspapers and magazines in Bogotá: I ended up there. In the guise of an anthropologist and journalist, I was hired in early 2000s to help a team of economists, production engineers, and public administration and MBA graduates, in the task of writing reports that "citizens could understand".

I managed to escape the premises of that office in Bogotá some years later and was granted a couple of scholarships to pursue post-graduate studies that brought me to the UK in 2008. With an ocean in between I came to understand that the same social policy documents explained as well why I had landed in that strange office, and what had happened to *us*: a generation of young musicians that blossomed during the 1980s and 1990s in Colombia, a healthy scene of alternative, punk and post-punk bands, that released records, played small gigs as well as big festivals, and had cultivated a following of the size of masses.[84] The thought about the extents to which the economy—with its swings, crises and booms—determine our lives has never left my head since then. This largely explains why a researcher of my kind—also a DJ of diverse repertoire and an active member of a rock band—gives so much attention and importance to the economic features and events the have an incidence in the social relations implied in the unfolding of recoding and sound technology industries in 1950s Colombia. Indeed, through my own experience I learned that changes in the economy had strongly affected the way I lived, as they had calamitous effects both in my participation in domestic cultural industries and in the family business as well.

During my years in London, I tried to push the argument about Colombian economic crisis as an important root of all our evils to a fellow musician that was also part of Colombian 1990s alternative rock scene, and who at the time was selling frozen yogurt in a shop in Soho. He did not seem very convinced, after I argued that probably we weren't that bad, that it wasn't necessarily our shortcomings that lead to the scene to disperse, and that wider forces might have affected our careers in music back in the day. My friend will most probably not like this thesis, and the probability that he reads it seems remote. Nevertheless, next time I see him I will keep in mind one of several questions that as

[84] As do Yúdice and Ochoa (2002), by explaining the same economic crisis had affected Latin America at large, at the same time that the "major labels" shifted their attention towards *Latin* population within the US. Their interest in what they had called "Latin Alternative" withered, and this meant *us*, and many other bands with which we resonated from different countries as Chile, Argentina and Mexico, entered what Spengler would have conceive as a stage of terminal decay.

David Cannadine (2008) explains are recurrent in historical understanding and explanation:

> are historical developments the outcome of long-term forces over which men and women have no control, or are they accidental, the result of caprice and contingency... Marx famously observed that men and women do indeed make their own history, but they do not do so under circumstances of their own choosing (Ibid, pp31-32).

Appendices

In the following pages I offer a large amount of information gathered during the archival phase of this research, hoping it might be useful for other researchers. Some of it further substantiates arguments in this text, while other provides additional data related to the topics of the different chapters. In order to help the reader navigate the many pages in this section, appendices are numbered according to their related chapter, and are also organized by topics.

Primary sources and historical archives

Radio broadcasting and show business in Medellín and the Antioquia region

International and Colombian jukebox business

Music genre in record company catalogues

Population growth in Medellín, the Antioquia region and Colombia

Appendix 5.01 - "Campaña de divulgación sobre lo que representa la industria para la economía colombiana", ANDI (1950).
Appendix 5.02 - Ad by the pharmaceutical company Laboratorios Fuentes: capital roots of Discos Fuentes.
Appendix 5.03 - Colombian vs. Antioquia population 1950s to 1980s, and proportion of urban population.
Appendix 5.1 - Population by departments in Colombia, 1950s to 1980s.
Appendix 5.2 - Population in Antioquia, Medellín and the Valle de Aburrá "Metropolitan Area" (thousands of people).

Distribution networks

Appendix 5.3 - Map of routes by Avianca airline in Colombia, 1956.
Appendix 5.4 - Philips de Colombia, S.A. main players in distribution network claimed to include 207 "agencies" (1956).
Appendix 5.5 - Distribution network of "Organizaciones Plásticas Eléctricas, 'Atlantic' Ltda. Barranquilla", for its three label Atlantic, Popular and Pampa [Argentina] (1952).

International commerce of records in Colombia: imports and exports, origin and destination within the country

Appendix 5.6 - Summary of International Commerce in Colombia (1954-1970).
Appendix 5.7 - Imported records in Colombia by kind (1949-1950).
Appendix 5.8 - Internal destination - foreign music record imported in Colombia, 1949 ($ pesos thousands)
Appendix 5.9 - Origin of imported foreign music records, Colombia 1949 ($ pesos thousands).
Appendix 5.10 - Internal destination of imported records in Colombia, 1953 ($ pesos).
Appendix 5.11 - Origin of Imported phonographic records in 1953 ($ pesos thousands).
Appendix 5.12 - Destination of Imported Records in 1956 ($ thousands).
Appendix 5.13 - Origin of Imported records in Colombia 1956 ($ thousands of pesos).
Appendix 5.14 - Destination of Imported Records in 1974 ($ thousands).
Appendix 5.15 - Origin of Imported Records in 1974 ($ thousands).

Appendix 5.16 - Origin of record exports 1958 ($ thousands).
Appendix 5.17 - Destination of record exports in 1958 ($ thousands).
Appendix 5.18 - Origin of record exports 1964 ($ thousands).
Appendix 5.19 - Destination of record exports in 1964 ($ thousands).
Appendix 5.20 - Origin of exported Records in 1970 ($ thousands).
Appendix 5.21 - Destination of exported Records in 1970 ($ thousands).
Appendix 5.22 - Exports to Latin America in 1970 - % of total exports.
Appendix 5.23 - Origin of exported records in 1974 ($ thousands).
Appendix 5.24 - Destination of exported Records in 1974 ($ thousands).

International commerce of sound hardware in Colombia: imports, origin and destination within the country

Appendix 5.25 - Internal destination imports - needles and cartridges - Colombia, 1951 ($ pesos).
Appendix 5.26 - Origin of Imported needles and cartridges in 1951 ($ pesos thousands).
Appendix 5.27 - Internal destination of needles and cartridges in Colombia, 1962 ($ pesos)
Appendix 5.28 - Origin of Imported needles and cartridges in 1962 ($ pesos thousands).
Appendix 5.29 - Internal destination of needles and cartridges in Colombia, 1971 ($ pesos)-
Appendix 5.30 - Origin of Imported needles and cartridges in 1971 ($ pesos thousands).

Appendix 5.31 - Internal destination of "pick-ups" for radios in Colombia, 1950 ($ pesos).
Appendix 5.32 - Origin of Imported "pick-ups" for radios in 1950 ($ pesos thousands).
Appendix 5.33 - Internal destination of "tocadiscos (pick-up)" in Colombia, 1963 ($ pesos).
Appendix 5.34 - Origin of Imported "tocadiscos (pick-up)" in 1963 ($ pesos thousands).
Appendix 5.35 - Internal destination of "tocadiscos (pick-up)" in Colombia, 1974 ($ pesos).
Appendix 5.36 - Origin of Imported "tocadiscos (pick-up)" in 1974 ($ pesos).

Players in recording and sound technology industries in Colombia

Sound hardware prices in Colombia mid 1950s

International commerce of parts and pieces for sound hardware in Colombia: imports, origin and destination within the country

International licensing agreements by domestic companies

Conclusions

Appendix 3.1 - Master primary sources: Journalistic and Institutional.

	Origin	Type	Years scrutinized	Archive and city	
Journalistic sources					
El Diario	Medellín	Newspaper	1949-1958	Universidad EAFIT	Medellín
Pantalla	Medellín	Magazine	1957, 1958, 1960-1968	Universidad EAFIT	Medellín
La República	Bogotá	Newspaper	1954-1956, 1958-1960	Universidad de Antioquia (UdeA)	Medellín
Billboard	US	Magazine	1945-1981	GoogleBooks	_
Institutional sources					
Industria Colombiana	Bogotá	Industrials trade Magazine	1954-1960	Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia (BNC)	Bogotá
Economía Colombiana: Revista de la Contraloría General de la República	Bogotá	State	1954-1958, 1963-1966, 1971-1977, 1979-1980	Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango (BLAA)	Bogotá
Anuario de Comercio Exterior	Bogotá	State	1949-1980	Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango (BLAA)	Bogotá
Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia	Medellín	State	1949, 1951-1952, 1956-1958, 1968-1971, 1975, 1980	Planeación Departamental, Gobernación de Antioquia	Medellín

Appendix 3.2 - Complementary primary sources.

	Origin	Type	Years scrutinized	Archive and city	
Fondo Alcaldía y Personería de Medellín	Medellín	State	1949-1980	Archivo Histórico de Medellín (AHM)	Medellín
Radio Periódico Clarín	Medellín	Scripts (radio news show)	1959-1972	Archivo Histórico de Medellín (AHM)	Medellín
Cromos	Bogotá	Magazine	1949-1964, 1966-1975, 1976-1978	Universidad EAFIT	Medellín
Discos Fuentes press material	Medellín	Various	Various	Discos Fuentes	Medellín
Oiga (Codiscos)	Medellín	Record company magazine	1957-1958	Fonoteca Hernán Restrepo Duque (FHRD)	Medellín
El Correo	Medellín	Newspaper	1956, 1972-1978	Biblioteca Pública Piloto (BPP)	Medellín
El Mundo	Medellín	Newspaper	1979	Universidad de Antioquia (UdeA)	Medellín
El Colombiano	Medellín	Newspaper	1949	Universidad de Antioquia (UdeA)	Medellín

Note: only available numbers of *Oiga* magazine at FHRD are: Año 1, numbers 2 to 8, numbers 10 to 13, Año 2, numbers 17 and 20.

Appendix 3.3 - Master primary sources: Record company catalogues at Fonoteca Hernán Restrepo Duque (Medellín).

Company	City	Date	
Fuentes	Medellín	1968-1969	***Discos Fuentes*** *- Catálogo de 78 r.p.m. Numérico y Alfabético 1968 - 1969.*
Tropical	Bquilla	1964	*Discos* ***Tropical*** *- Catálogo General Numérico 78 y 45 RPM* - CAT 2/64.
Discos Atlantic	Bquilla	1950-1952	*Catálogo general de* ***discos Atlantic****, Pampa y Popular: 1950 - 1951 - 1952*
Sello Vergara	Bogotá	circa 1954	*Industrias Fonográficas de* ***Radio Vergara****. Catálogo General de Discos Sello Vergara* (circa 1954).
Codiscos	Medellín	1956	*Catálogo General de Discos de Larga Duración -* ***Zeida, Musart*** *- Hasta Octubre 31 de 1956. Primeros en Calidad. Primeros en Presentación.*
Codiscos	Medellín	circa 1956	*Guía Para Coleccionistas. Conserve Completa Su Colección De Música Argentina. Odeon. Compañía Colombiana De Discos. Ltda.* ***Codiscos*** (Circa, 1956).
Codiscos	Medellín	1966	***Codiscos*** *- Catálogo General Discos De Larga Duración 33 1/3 R.P.M. Monofónicos Y Estereofónicos. Discos Compactos 33 1/3 R.P.M* (Noviembre 1966).
Codiscos	Medellín	circa 1960s	***CODISCOS*** *- ESTEREOFONICO - MONOFONICO - Tercera Edición del Catálogo General de Discos de Larga Duración* [Portada Roja] [circa 1960s]
Codiscos	Medellín	circa 1960s	***CODISCOS*** *- Catálogo Larga Duración* [Portada Negra/Azul] [circa 1960s]
Sonolux	Medellín	1959	*Catálogo General* ***LYRA - Sonolux - Panart*** *- Producidos por Industria Electro-Sonora Ltda. Medellín - Colombia* (January, 1959).
Sonolux	Medellín	1967	*Catálogo General L.P.* ***Sonolux*** *- Lyra - Orfeon - Real - RCA - Hi-Fi Musidisc - Discos Velvet - Nilser - Producciones Fermata Colombia. Producidos por Industria Electro-Sonora S.A. Medellín - Colombia. Julio de MCMLXVII* ([967].
Sonolux	Medellín	1964	*Catálogo L.P.* ***Industria Electro-Sonora Ltda****. [Sonolux] RCA Victor* (1964).
Sonolux	Medellín	1964	*Suplemento General al Catálogo de Long Plays. RCA -* ***Sonolux.*** *Junio - 1964.*
Sonolux	Medellín	1955	***Sonolux*** *Catálogo General. Hasta el 10 de Junio de 1955.*
Discos Victoria	Medellín	1983-1984?	*Catálogo general de discos L.P. Industrias Fonográficas* ***Victoria*** *Ltda.* [IFV] (circa 1983-1984)
CBS	Bogotá	1965	Catálogo General **Discos CBS** Sociedad Anónima - Numérico Y Alfabético - Monaural Y Estereo, Mayo - Junio, 1965.
Philips Colombiana SA	Bogotá	1969	**Philips Colombiana SA** - Catálogo Clásico y Popular 1969.

Source: Fonoteca Hernán Restrepo Duque (Medellín).

Appendix 3.4 - Other related record company catalogues at Fonoteca Hernán Restrepo Duque.

Company	City	Date	
Tropical	Bquilla	1964	***Tropical*** *Catálogo General L.P. Monaural - Estereo.* (1964)
Sonolux	Medellín	1950s	*LONG PLAY -* ***Sonolux*** [folleto, sin fecha, primeros releases en LP de Sonolux, 4 pgs. 195?]
Sonolux	Medellín	1954	*Lista Alfabética de los discos* ***Sonolux*** *y Lyra. Producido por Industria Electro Sonora Limitada*. [hasta Nov. de 1954]
Sonolux	Medellín	1950s	***LYRA*** *Catálogo General de Discos de 78 y 45 r.p.m.* [no date: 1950s?]
Sonolux	Medellín	971-197	***SONOLUX*** *Catálogo General 1971/1972.*
Sonolux	Medellín	1979	*Recuento de Estrellas -* ***Sonolux*** **[By** Carlos Serna S.] (1979)

Source: Fonoteca Hernán Restrepo Duque (Medellín).

Appendix 4.1 - Number of radio shows in Antioquia (1956 to 1958).

	1956		*1957*		*1958*		*Total three years*	
Live	36,452	32.3%	36,893	29.6%	32,306	26.1%	105,651	29.3%
Recorded	76,559	67.7%	87,634	70.4%	91,267	73.9%	255,460	70.7%
Total	**113,011**		**124,527**		**123,573**		**361,111**	

Sources: Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia (AEA) 1956-57, 1958.

Appendix 4.2 - Number of artists that performed live in radio in Antioquia (1956 to 1958).

	1956		*1957*		*1958*		*Total three years*	
Colombian								
Men	796		995		1,408		3,199	
Women	237		393		575		1,205	
Subtotal	**1,033**	**77.6%**	**1,388**	**85.8%**	**1,983**	**91.9%**	**4,404**	**86.2%**
Foreign								
Men	205		164		116		485	
Women	93		66		59		218	
Subtotal	**298**	**22.4%**	**230**	**14.2%**	**175**	**8.1%**	**703**	**13.8%**
Total	**1,331**		**1,618**		**2,158**		**5,107**	

Sources: Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia (AEA) 1956-57, 1958. Note: "Artistas presentados durante el año en radio".

Appendix 4.3 - Program genre in radio stations in Antioquia (hours broadcasted).

	1956		*1957*		*1958*		*Total three years*	
	Hours	*% of time*	*Hours*	*% of time*	*Hours*	*% of time*	*Hours*	*% of time*
Radioperiódicos	4,384	5.9%	4,269	6.5%	4,098	5.9%	12,751	6.1%
Conf. Culturales	1,156	1.6%	578	0.9%	385	0.6%	2,119	1.0%
Literarios	357	0.5%	562	0.9%	472	0.7%	1,391	0.7%
Deportivos	2,449	3.3%	1,717	2.6%	1,882	2.7%	6,048	2.9%
Radio Reloj	14,798	**20.1%**	10,127	**15.5%**	10,667	15.4%	35,592	**17.1%**
Radio Teatro (Colombiano)	1,808	2.5%	1,210	1.8%	1,438	2.1%	4,456	2.1%
Radio Teatro (Foreign)	1,539	2.1%	509	0.8%	672	1.0%	2,720	1.3%
Música Selecta	8,275	**11.2%**	8,357	**12.8%**	8,081	11.7%	24,713	**11.9%**
Música Popular	27,416	**37.2%**	28,087	**42.9%**	27,569	**39.8%**	83,072	**39.8%**
Humorísticos	424	0.6%	1,119	1.7%	929	1.3%	2,472	1.2%
Folclóricos	5,295	7.2%	5,270	8.0%	4,186	6.0%	14,751	7.1%
Entrevistas	49	0.1%	209	0.3%	139	0.2%	397	0.2%
Otros programas	5,811	7.9%	3,466	5.3%	8,772	12.7%	18,049	8.7%
Total for Antioquia	73,761	100.0%	65,480	100.0%	69,290	100.0%	208,531	100.0%

Sources: Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia (AEA) 1956-57, 1958 .Note: Data for 15 radio stations in Antioquia (names not specified)

Appendix 4.4 - Show business in the Antioquia region, 1949 to 1970 (thousands of pesos).

	1949			1957			1968			1970		
	Audience	Value	% value	Audience	Value	% value	Audience	Value	% value	Audience	Value	% value
Cinematógrafo	7,288.0	$3,619.0	**84.0%**	6,377.2	$6,006.5	**75.3%**	8,731.1	$30,737.0	**75.6%**	9,732.5	$39,590.3	**68.2%**
Conciertos Musicales	10.1	$17.6	0.4%	32.5	$42.0	0.5%	96.3	$519.0	1.3%	52.1	$403.5	0.7%
Teatro: Comedia y Drama	31.3	$36.0	0.8%	54.3	$70.2	0.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Teatro Lírico	49.8	$82.7	1.9%	37.6	$25.4	0.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Variedades	208.0	$60.7	1.4%	Included in "teatro lírico".			-	-	-	-	-	-
Fútbol	239.0	$392.0	**9.1%**	451.0	$1,014.3	**12.7%**	701.0	$5,850.0	**14.4%**	528.3	$7,059.0	**12.2%**
Corridas de Toros	25.0	$50.0	**1.2%**	51.3	$393.8	**4.9%**	43.0	$2,418.0	**5.9%**	65.5	$6,586.6	**11.3%**
Carreras de Caballos	22.0	$13.5	0.3%	55.4	$36.9	0.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Riñas de Gallos	47.0	$24.2	0.6%	24.9	$34.9	0.4%	233.6	$148.6	0.4%	51.8	$164.0	0.3%
Conf. Culturales y Recitales	7.0	$10.1	0.2%	26.7	$233.0	2.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Otros Espectáculos	-	-	-	179.3	$116.1	1.5%	480.4	$978.7	2.4%	784.7	$4,247.6	7.3%
Total for Antioquia	7,927.2	**$4,305.8**	100.0%	7,290.2	**$7,973.1**	100.0%	10,285.4	**$40,651.3**	100.0%	11,214.9	**$58,050.9**	100.0%
Antioquia total population	1,575.2			1,785.9			2,910.3			4,067.7		
Audience/Population	5.0			4.1			3.5			2.8		

Sources: AEA 1949, 1956-7, 1968, 1970. Notes: "Teatro lírico" includes Opereta, Zarzuela, y Revistas in 1949, and since 1957 it includes "Variedades".

Appendix 4.5 - Show business concentration: Antioquia Department vs. Medellín and Metro Area (thousands of pesos).

	1949			1957			1968			1970		
	Antioquia	Metro Area	%	Antioquia	Metro Area	%	Antioquia	Metro Area	%	Antioquia	Metro Area	%
Cinematógrafo	$3,619.0	$3,507.8	*96.9%*	$6,006.5	$5,392.1	*89.8%*	$30,737.1	$28,704.7	*93.4%*	$39,590.3	$36,437.7	*92.0%*
Teatro: Comedia y Drama	$36.0	$32.7	*90.9%*	$70.2	$43.3	*61.6%*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Teatro Lírico	$82.7	$79.8	*96.5%*	$25.4	$21.1	*83.2%*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Variedades	$60.7	$58.0	*95.5%*	Included in "teatro lírico"		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Riñas de Gallos	$24.2	$11.7	*48.4%*	$34.9	$29.1	*83.5%*	$148.6	$60.7	*40.8%*	$164.0	$96.2	*58.6%*

Sources: AEA 1949, 1956-7, 1968, 1970. Notes: "Teatro lírico" includes Opereta, Zarzuela, y Revistas in 1949, and since 1957 it includes "Variedades".

Note: "Metro Area" or "Metropolitan area" [Area Metropolitana] is a term used since at least 1968, refering to the extended urban area formed by Medellín and its neighboring municipalities in the Aburra Valley: Envigado, Sabaneta, Itagüí, La Estrella, Caldas, Bello, Copacabana, Girardota, Copacabana.

Appendix 4.6 - Film screening value in Medellín and Metro Area & Number of music concerts in Antioquia (1949, 1957, 1968, 1970).

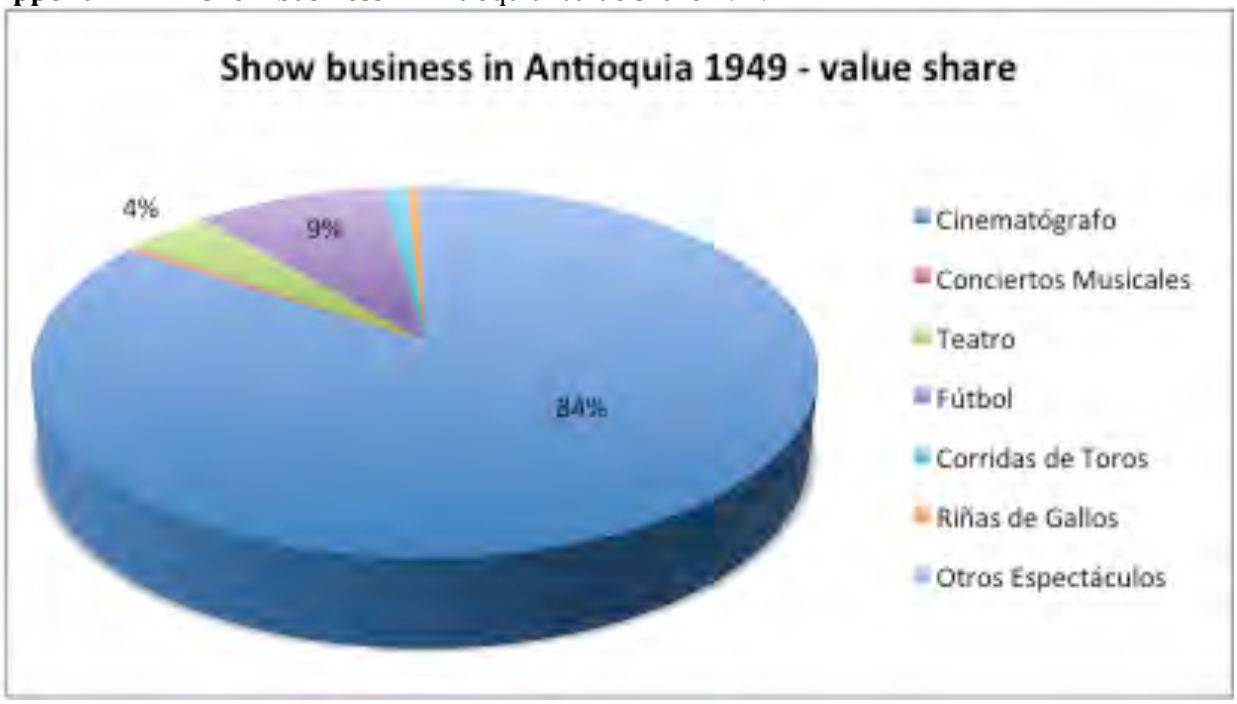
Film screening value in Medellín and Metro Area - thousands of pesos				
	1949	1957	1968	1970
	$3,508	$5,391	$28,705	$36,438
% of Antioquia film screening total	96.9%	89.8%	93.4%	92.0%

Sources: AEA 1949, 1956-7, 1968, 1970.

Number of music concerts in Antioquia				
	1949	1957	1968	1970
	52	216	204	178

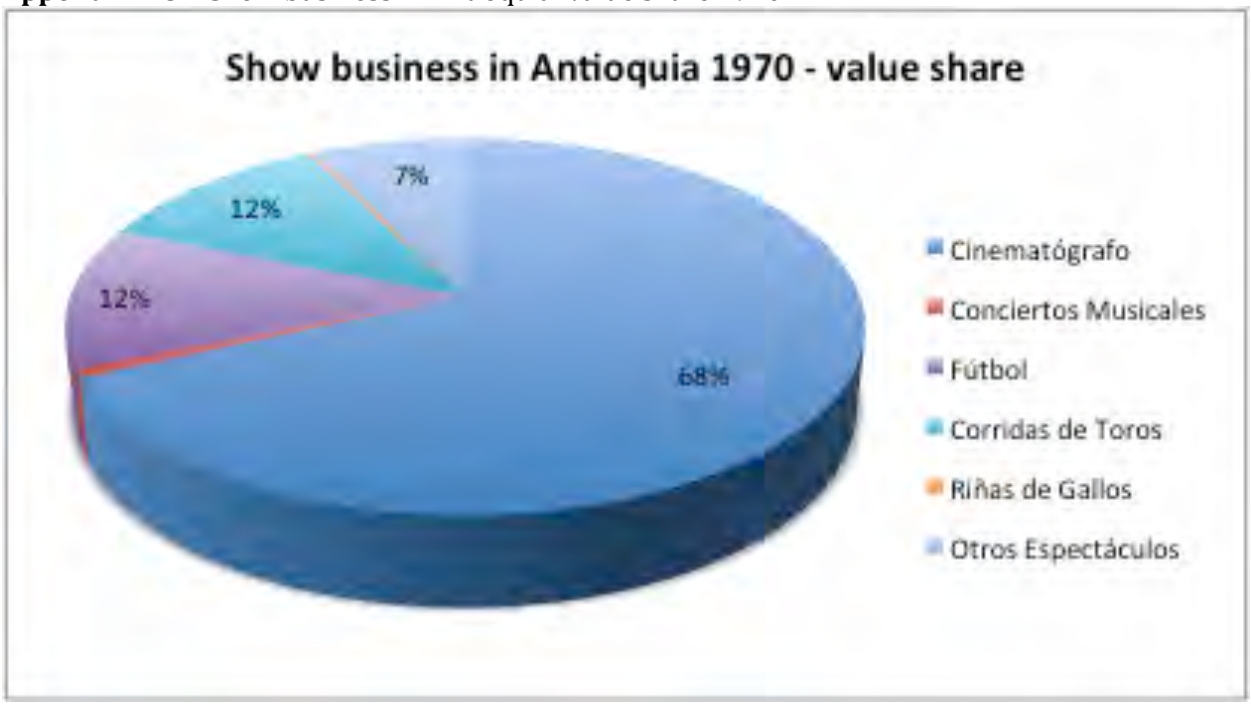
Sources: AEA 1949, 1956-7, 1968, 1970.

Appendix 4.7 - Show business in Antioquia: value share 1949 .



Sources: AEA 1949, 1956-7, 1968, 1970.

Appendix 4.8 - Show business in Antioquia: value share 1970.



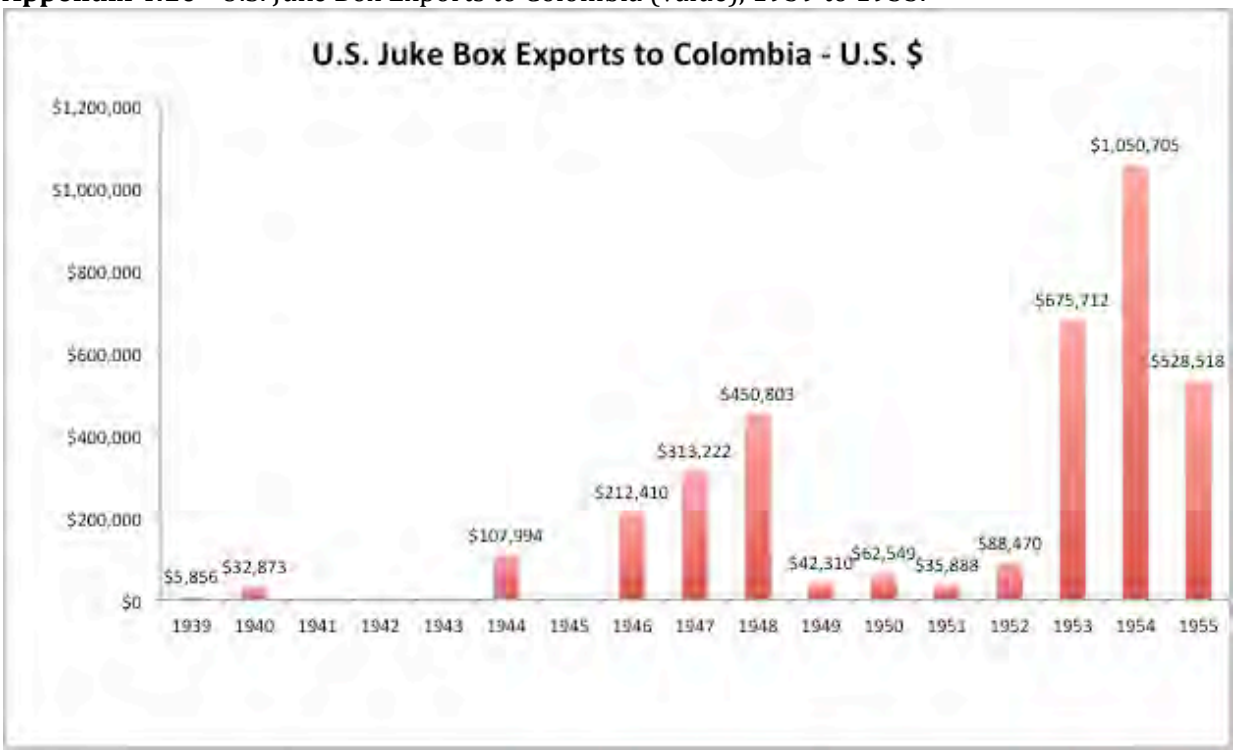
Sources: AEA 1949, 1956-7, 1968, 1970.

Appendix 4.9 - U.S. Juke Box Exports to Colombia (value and units), 1939 to 1955.

	Price	Source	Units	Source
1939	$5,856	Billboard, September 25, 1948.	23	Billboard, September 25, 1948
1940	$32,873	Billboard, June 25, 1946, 109.	109	Billboard, October 20, 1945.
In Billboard, October 20, 1945: .603 coin machines (485 venders + 109 "automatic phonographs"). In Billboard, June 25, 1946, 109: 603 coin machines for $38.552 to Colombia, of them 109 juke boxes for $32.873.				
1941	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1942	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1943	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a
1944	$107,994	n.a	300	Billboard, October 20, 1945.
Coin machine exports are only "automatic phonographs", start of a trend of mostly or solely jukes				
1945	n.a	n.a	n.a	
1946	$212,410	Billboard, June 7, 1952.	358	Billboard, June 7, 1952.
1947	$313,222	*Billboard*, June 26, 1954, 108	540	Billboard, April 4, 1953.
1948	$450,803	Billboard, April 4, 1953.	959	Billboard, April 4, 1953.
1949	$42,310	Billboard, March 25, 1950.	146	Billboard, March 25, 1950.
1950	$62,549	Billboard, 6 Mar, 1954, 52	171	Billboard, July 28, 1951.
"[Graph] Top 5 Juke Importers 1946-'51," June 7, 1952.				
1951	$35,888	Billboard, 6 Mar, 1954, 52	84	Billboard, October 13, 1951
Billboard, October 13, 1951: reports $34,521 for 82 jukes between Jan-June, so in the rest of the year only $1,367 were sold: estimate is for at least 2 more machines.				
1952	$88,470	Billboard, April 30, 1955.	179	Billboard, April 30, 1955.
1953	$675,712	Billboard, April 30, 1955.	1567	Billboard, April 30, 1955.
1954	$1,050,705	Billboard, April 30, 1955.	2701	Billboard, April 30, 1955.
1955	$528,518	Billboard, February 4, 1956.	1280	Billboard, February 4, 1956.
I estimated them usign Jan-Oct 1955 figures (1067 for $440,432), and adding monthly average * 2				

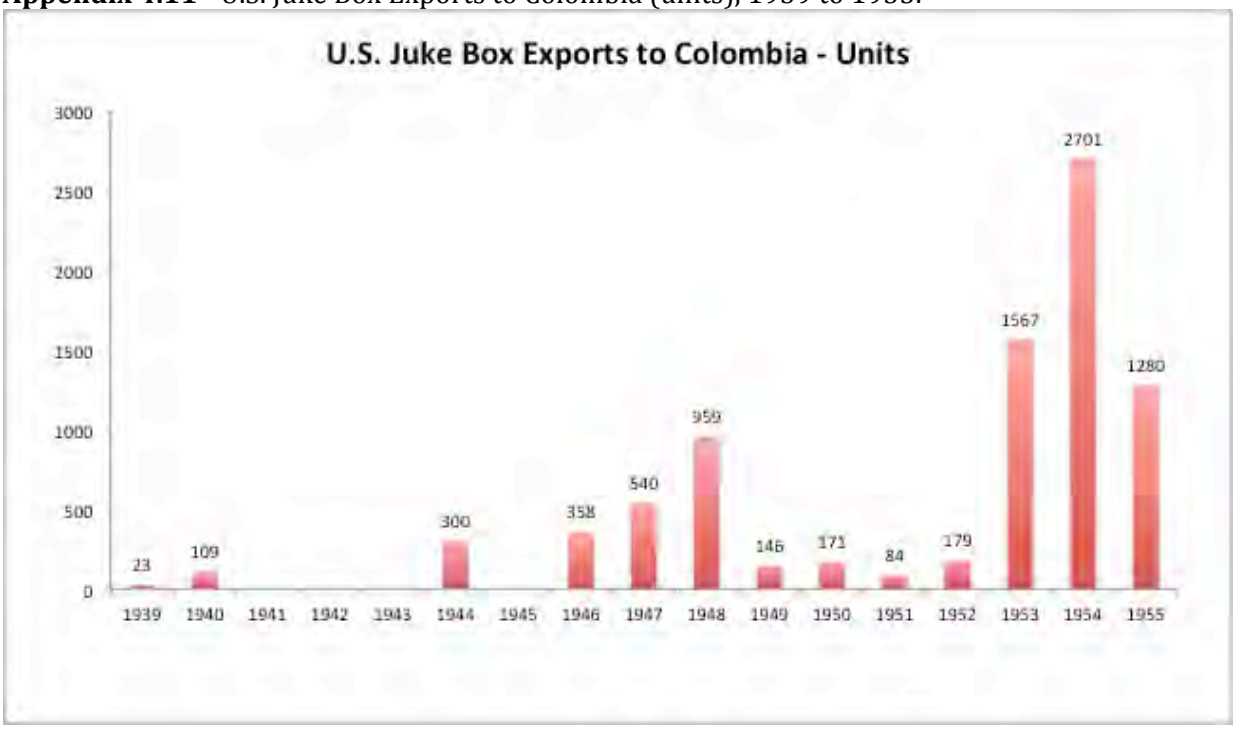
Source: *Billboard.*

Appendix 4.10 - U.S. Juke Box Exports to Colombia (value), 1939 to 1955.



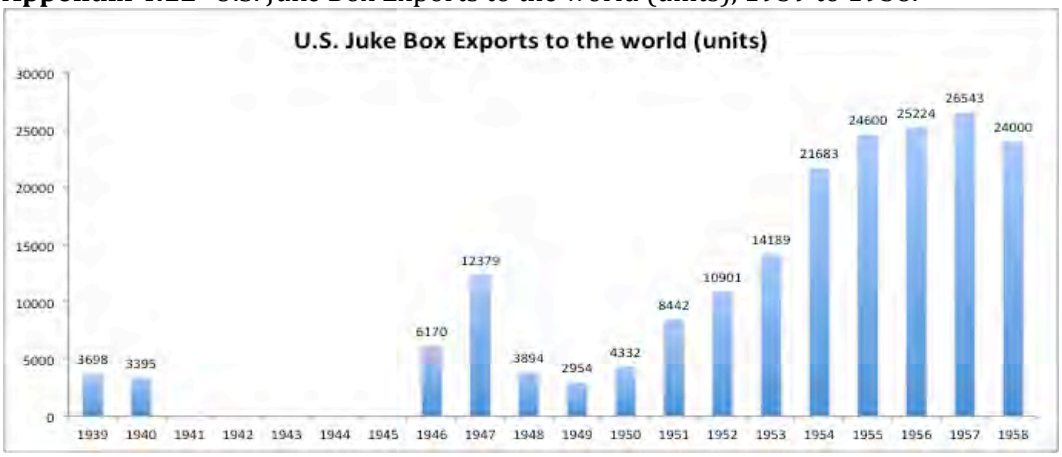
Source: *Billboard* issues: October 20, 1945; June 25, 1946; September 25, 1948; March 25, 1950;July 28, 1951; October 13, 1951; June 7, 1952; April 4, 1953; June 26, 1954; March 6, 1954; April 30, 1955; February 4, 1956.

Appendix 4.11 - U.S. Juke Box Exports to Colombia (units), 1939 to 1955.



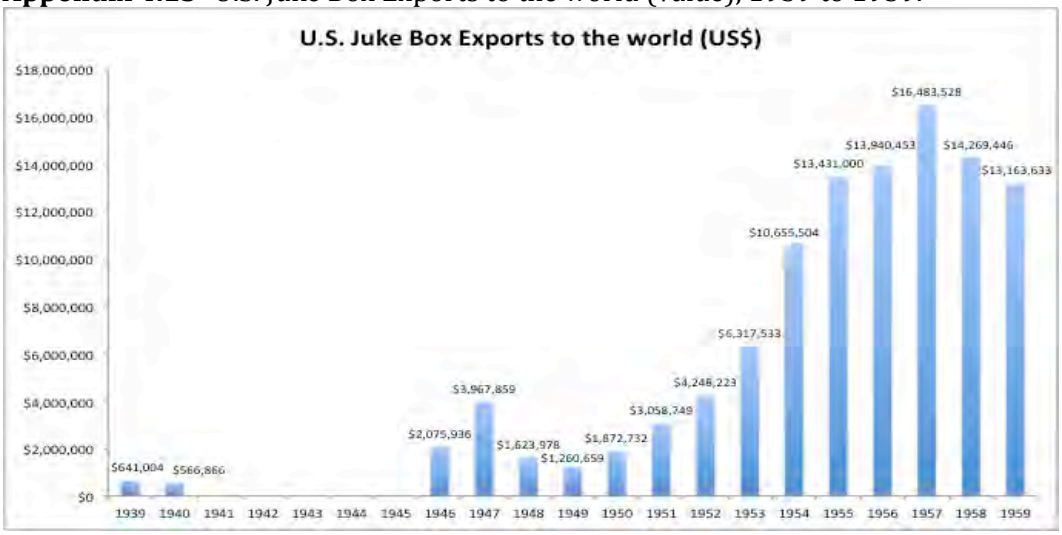
Source: *Billboard* issues: October 20, 1945; June 25, 1946; September 25, 1948; March 25, 1950;July 28, 1951; October 13, 1951; June 7, 1952; April 4, 1953; June 26, 1954; March 6, 1954; April 30, 1955; February 4, 1956.

Appendix 4.12- U.S. Juke Box Exports to the world (units), 1939 to 1958.



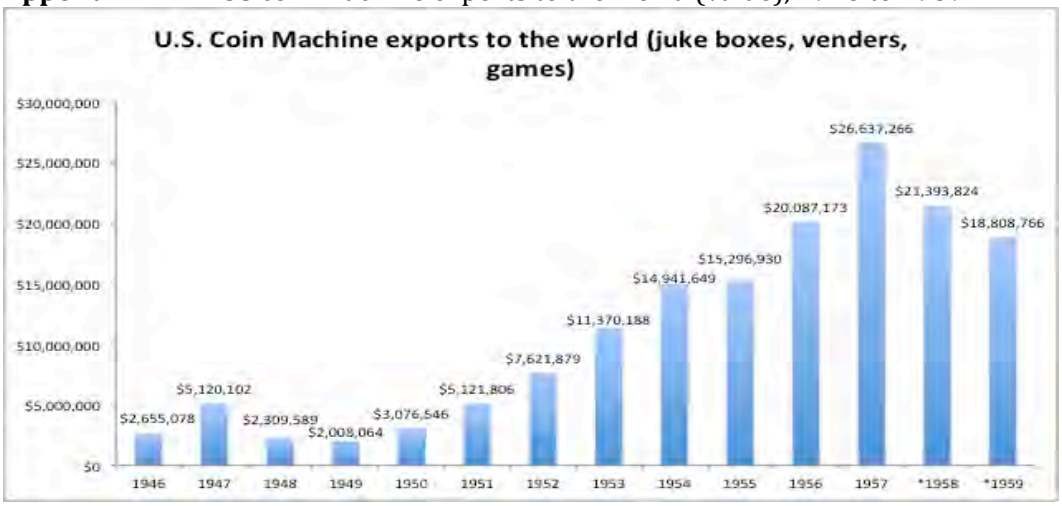
Source: *Billboard* issues: October 20, 1945; June 25, 1946; September 25, 1948; March 25, 1950;July 28, 1951; October 13, 1951; June 7, 1952; April 4, 1953; June 26, 1954; March 6, 1954; April 30, 1955; February 4, 1956.

Appendix 4.13- U.S. Juke Box Exports to the world (value), 1939 to 1959.



Source: *Billboard* issues: October 20, 1945; June 25, 1946; September 25, 1948; March 25, 1950;July 28, 1951; October 13, 1951; June 7, 1952; April 4, 1953; June 26, 1954; March 6, 1954; April 30, 1955; February 4, 1956.

Appendix 4.14 - US coin machine exports to the world (value), 1946 to 1959.



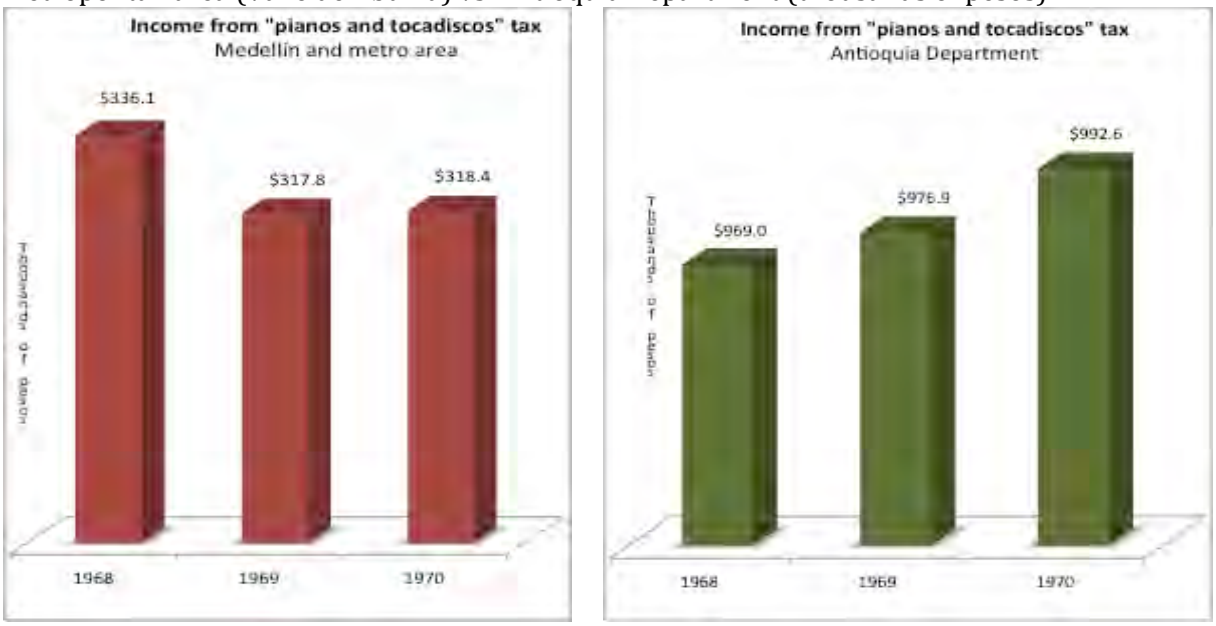
Source: *Billboard* issues: October 20, 1945; June 25, 1946; September 25, 1948; March 25, 1950;July 28, 1951; October 13, 1951; June 7, 1952; April 4, 1953; June 26, 1954; March 6, 1954; April 30, 1955; February 4, 1956.

Appendix 4.15 - Municipality income from "pianos and tocadiscos" tax in Area Metropolitana del Valle de Aburrá (thousands of pesos).

	1968	*1969*	*1970*	*Total 3 years*	*Per capita 1968*	*Population 1968 (thousands)*
Barbosa	$10.1	$7.9	$7.9	$25.9	*$0.4*	23.0
Girardota	$12.4	$13.8	$14.8	$41.0	*$0.8*	15.6
Copacabana	$12.2	$10.9	$14.7	$37.8	*$0.5*	22.4
Bello	**$37.6**	**$38.5**	**$40.4**	$116.5	*$0.3*	120.8
Medellín	**$130.3**	**$118.5**	**$109.0**	$357.7	*$0.1*	**974.6**
Envigado	**$40.1**	**$35.3**	**$36.9**	$112.3	*$0.6*	64.0
Sabaneta	$10.0	$11.5	$13.1	$34.7	*$0.8*	12.5
Itagüí	**$53.8**	**$54.7**	**$54.7**	$163.3	*$0.6*	86.7
Subtotal 5 municip.	***$271.9***	***$258.5***	***$254.2***	$784.5	216.0099	1,258.6
La Estrella	$10.4	$10.0	$10.9	$31.3	*$0.6*	18.5
Caldas	$19.1	$16.7	$16.0	$51.8	*$0.6*	31.0
Total Valle de Aburra	**$336.1**	**$317.8**	**$318.4**	$972.3	*$0.2*	2,627.7
% of Antioquia total	35%	33%	32%	33%	-	
Rest of department	**$632.8**	**$659.2**	**$674.2**	$1,966.2	*$0.4*	282.6
Antioquia total	**$969.0**	**$976.9**	**$992.6**	$2,938.5	*$0.3*	2,910.3

Sources: Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia (AEA) 1968, 1969, 1970. Note: population in thousands.

Appendix 4.16 - Municipality income from "pianos and tocadiscos" tax: Medellín and Metropolitan area (Valle de Aburrá) vs. Antioquia Department (thousands of pesos).



Sources: Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia (AEA) 1968, 1969, 1970, 1980.

Appendix 4.17 - Income from "pianos and tocadiscos" tax in other municipalities of Antioquia (thousands of pesos).

	1968	*1969*	*1970*	*Total 3 years*	*Average*	*Per capita (aver.)*	*Per capita 1968*	*Population 1964*
Turbo	$37.6	$54.1	$49.5	$141.2	$47.07	*$1.1*	*$0.9*	42,851
Apartadó	**$54.5**	$40.0	$43.6	$138.1	$46.03	*$2.9*	*$3.4*	16,080
Puerto Berrío	**$38.6**	$40.2	$39.9	$118.7	$39.56	*$1.5*	*$1.4*	27,281
Santa Bárbara	$37.9	$36.7	$37.2	$111.8	$37.28	*$1.5*	*$1.5*	25,084
Sonsón	$31.9	$32.7	$25.6	$90.2	$30.07	*$0.7*	*$0.8*	40,316
Rionegro	$26.6	$26.9	$25.6	$79.1	$26.36	*$0.9*	*$0.9*	30,637
Caucasia	$23.8	$22.5	$25.0	$71.3	$23.76	*$1.0*	*$1.0*	24,578
Chigorodó	$17.2	$15.4	$18.5	$51.1	$17.03	*$2.7*	*$2.7*	6,356
Zaragoza	$15.6	$15.7	$16.8	$48.1	$16.02	*$1.3*	*$1.3*	12,149
Segovia	$15.4	$15.5	$16.1	$47.0	$15.66	*$1.5*	*$1.5*	10,428
Venecia	$14.4	$14.6	$16.4	$45.4	$15.14	*$1.2*	*$1.1*	12,796
Bolivar	$10.0	$11.8	$12.6	$34.4	$11.45	*$0.5*	*$0.4*	24,198
Cisneros	$11.9	$10.8	$10.3	$33.0	$11.00	*$1.1*	*$1.2*	9,720
Yalí	$10.1	$10.5	**$11.1**	$31.7	$10.56	*$0.8*	*$0.7*	13,511
La Ceja	$7.2	$11.1	**$12.7**	$31.0	$10.33	*$0.6*	*$0.4*	16,507
Yolombó	$10.5	$10.1	$10.1	$30.6	$10.21	*$0.5*	*$0.5*	20,748
Andes	**$10.7**	$9.9	$9.5	$30.2	$10.06	*$0.3*	*$0.3*	34,422
Remedios	$9.5	**$10.6**	**$9.7**	$29.8	$9.95	*$0.7*	*$0.7*	13,793
Subtotal	**$383.5**	**$389.0**	**$390.2**	**$1,162.6**	**$387.54**	-	-	-
% of total	40%	40%	39%	40%	40%	-	-	-
Antioquia total	**$969.0**	**$976.9**	**$992.6**	**$2,938.5**	**$979.50**	-	-	-

Sources: Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia (AEA) 1968, 1969, 1970, 1980. Note: The chart includes only municipalities that payed above $10K pesos. Per capita calculated with population data from 1964's census (except Apartadó, 1968 estimate).

Appendix 4.18 - Alcohol and tobacco consumption in Antioquia 1940s to 1980 (thousands of litters and kilos).

	Aguardiente	*Rum*	*Foreign liq.*	*Beer*	*Cigarette*
1941	-	-	65.2	-	-
1942	-	-	60.8	-	-
1943	-	-	49.7	9,754.2	-
1944	756.0	698.0	43.2	13,534.3	-
1945	790.1	803.3	47.9	15,863.7	-
1946	852.3	804.5	60.0	18,634.8	1,722.6
1947	804.3	659.8	64.0	22,346.4	1,907.5
1948	870.8	699.3	60.5	25,653.7	2,156.9
1949	816.3	639.6	52.6	28,289.7	2,146.8
1950	996.2	711.5	61.0	34,214.4	2,432.0
1951	1,053.8	657.0	64.3	34,810.2	2,609.0
1952	1,111.3	602.4	70.0	40,598.0	2,685.4
1953	1,261.7	593.1	78.0	43,515.0	2,728.6
1954	1,373.4	563.9	102.2	47,246.8	2,916.7
1955	1,459.7	530.6	116.8	37,606.7	2,747.6
1956	1,369.1	431.4	103.2	44,057.2	2,858.8
1957	1,421.1	428.2	76.5	43,328.9	3,060.3
1958	1,470.4	412.2	63.9	49,819.8	3,526.9
1959	1,545.3	411.6	74.4	55,016.0	3,467.7
1960	1,663.0	389.6	73.9	54,212.4	3,647.3
1961	1,789.2	416.2	82.6	58,989.2	4,141.5
1962	2,078.2	494.7	87.9	63,275.4	3,388.0
1963	2,208.1	513.1	76.9	65,697.2	3,571.5
1964	2,657.4	642.2	99.0	63,548.0	3,672.6
1965	2,715.0	689.3	73.4	68,861.8	3,979.8
1966	2,903.1	758.0	69.4	65,756.1	4,068.2
1967	3,236.5	804.5	71.4	62,045.9	3,705.4
1968	3,903.2	804.8	115.4	55,565.0	4,098.7
1969	4,220.9	838.1	114.0	69,460.7	4,370.0
1970	4,913.0	1,011.4	100.9	77,311.6	4,352.1
1971	5,303.8	984.6	102.5	71,982.2	4,105.1
1972	5,891.6	1,038.4	75.2		4,589.6
1973	6,303.8	1,130.3	58.2		4,553.8
1974	7,243.1	1,294.8	57.9	79,983.3	4,683.7
1975	8,229.6	1,297.5	40.3	82,039.8	4,786.5
1976	9,307.2	1,287.5	35.5	87,812.3	-
1977	10,554.3	1,491.1	14.2	90,679.7	-
1978	12,258.6	1,778.8	2.4	111,839.6	-
1979	13,801.1	1,925.7	9.7	112,803.0	-
1980	15,331.2	1,895.5	15.1	127,894.9	-

Sources: *Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia* 1950-2, 1956-7, 1958, 1968, 1970, 1971, 1975, 1980. Sources for aguardiente and rum: 1944 to 1953 in AEA 1958; 1954 to 1968 in AEA 1968; 1969 to 1970 in AEA 1970; 1971 to 1980 in AEA 1980. Sources for foreign liquor: 1943 to 1945 in AEA 1950-52; 1946 to 1957 in AEA 1956-57; 1957 to 1968 in AEA 1968;1969 to 1970 in AEA 1970; 1971 to 1980 in AEA 1980. Sources for national beer: 1943 to 1948 in AEA 1950-52; 1949 to 1957 in AEA 1956-57; 1957 to 1968 in AEA 1968; 1960 to 1971 in AEA 1971; 1974 to 1980 in AEA 1980. Sources for cigarettes: 1946 to 1957 in AEA 1956-57; 1957 to 1968 in AEA 1968; 1966 to 1975 in AEA 1975.

Appendix 4.19 - Music genre for 45 r.p.m. releases in Sonolux's catalogue (1955).

Genre in catalogue	A side	B side	A + B	Proportion of total songs		
Bolero	11	20	31	28%	28%	
Tango	13	13	26	23%	24%	Argentinean
Zamba	1	0	1	1%		
Pasillo	6	5	11	10%	17%	Colombian Andean popular and folkloric
Vals	3	1	4	4%		
Bambuco	1	1	2	2%		
Bambuco fiestero	0	1	1	1%		
Guabina	0	1	1	1%		
Galerón	0	1	1	1%		Colombian Eastern plains and Venezu
Corrido	1	1	2	2%	12%	Mexican
Canción	1	1	2	2%		
Canción Ranchera	1	1	2	2%		
Ranchera	4	1	5	4%		
Son Huasteco	0	2	2	2%		
Merengue	2	3	5	4%	10%	Colombian Atlantic Coast
Paseo	3	0	3	3%		
Puya	0	2	2	2%		
Porro	1	0	1	1%		
Currulao	1	0	1	1%		Colombian Pacific Coast
Guaracha	3	0	3	3%	4%	Afro-Caribbean
Bolero Mambo	1	0	1	1%		
Baiao	1	0	1	1%		
Fox trot	1	0	1	1%	3%	US
Fox	0	1	1	1%		
Blues	0	1	1	1%		
Contestación [?]	1	0	1	1%		Unidentified
		Total	112			

Source: *Catálogo General Sonolux* (1955).

Appendix 4.20 - Music genre in Sonolux's catalogue (1955).

Genre in catalogue	A side	B side	A + B	Proportion of total songs			
Pasillo	100	101	201	**20%**			
Bambuco	18	24	42	4%			
Guabina	4	4	8	1%			
Bunde	2	0	2	0.2%			
Bambuco Caucano	0	1	1	0.1%	26%	Colombian Andean Popular and Folkloric	
Bambuco Fiestero	0	1	1	0.1%			
Bambuco Torbellino	0	1	1	0.1%			
Torbellino	1	2	3	0.3%			
San Juanero	2	1	3	0.3%			
Joropo	1	4	5	0.5%			
Galerón	1	1	2	0.2%	0.8%	Colombian Eastern plains and Venezuela	
Aguinaldo	1	0	1	0.1%			
Parranda	6	5	11	1%			Appropriation of Atlantic Coast styles in Medellin
Merengue	32	34	66	6%			
Paseo	16	19	35	3%			
Porro	22	12	34	3%			
Currulao	5	4	9	1%			
Puya	3	2	5	0.5%			
Tamborera	2	3	5	0.5%			
Cumbia	2	2	4	0.4%			
Paseo Vallenato	1	1	2	0.2%	18%	Colombian tropical Atlantic Coast	
Gaita	0	2	2	0.2%			
Porro Son	1	0	1	0.1%			
Chandé	1	0	1	0.1%			
Merenguito	1	0	1	0.1%			
Mapalé	0	1	1	0.1%			
Bullerengue	0	1	1	0.1%			
Merengue Vals	0	1	1	0.1%			
Berejú	1	0	1	0.1%			Pacífico Colombiano
Bolero	60	70	130	**13%**			
Canción Yucateca	0	1	1	0.1%			
Bolero Moruno	1	1	2	0.2%			
Bolero Son	1	0	1	0.1%			
Bolero Beguine	1	0	1	0.1%			
Bolero Tango	1	0	1	0.1%	17%	Bolero and related styles	
Bolero Ritmico	0	1	1	0.1%			
Bolero Mambo	4	7	11	1%			
Danzonete	1	0	1	0.1%			
Danzante	1	0	1	0.1%			
Canción	14	14	28	3%			
Tango	56	51	107	**10%**			
Tango Canción	2	0	2	0.2%			
Milonga	1	0	1	0.1%	12%	Argentinean	
Zamba	5	2	7	1%			
Guarania	1	0	1	0.1%			
Cueca Chilena	0	1	1	0.1%			
Corrido	21	16	37	4%			
Ranchera	17	17	34	3%			
C. Ranchera	6	8	14	1%			
C. Corrido	1	0	1	0.1%	9%	Mexican ranchera and related	
Vals Ranchera	0	1	1	0.1%			
Huapango	0	1	1	0.1%			
Son Huasteco	0	1	1	0.1%			
San Juanito	0	1	1	0.1%			Ecuador and Nariño (Colombia)
Vals	23	28	51	5%			
Vals Criollo	1	1	2	0.2%			
Vals Peruano	3	0	3	0.3%			
Canción Vals	4	5	9	1%	7.4%	Andean folkloric (Colombian south and other Andean countries)	
Criolla	0	1	1	0.1%			Perú
Aire Tipico	1	1	2	0.2%			Ecuador
Pasacalle	2	0	2	0.2%			Spanish origin, but Andean tradition
Tonada Cuyana	0	1	1	0.1%			Spanish origin, but Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, Venezuela
Tonada	1	3	4	0.4%			Spanish origin, but Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, Venezuela
Mambo	5	1	6	1%			
Guaracha	9	10	19	2%			
Guaracha Mambo	1	0	1	0.1%			
Guaguancó	2	0	2	0.2%			
Fandango	3	3	6	1%			
Clave	1	0	1	0.1%			
Baiao	1	0	1	0.1%			
Rumba	0	1	1	0.1%			
Son Montuno	0	1	1	0.1%	5%	Afro-Caribbean genres	
Son	1	0	1	0.1%			
Estilo Son	1	0	1	0.1%			
Son Paisa	0	1	1	0.1%			Appropriation of Afro-Cuban style in Medellin
Guajira	0	1	1	0.1%			
Beguine	0	1	1	0.1%			
Guajira Mambo	0	1	1	0.1%			
Bembé	1	0	1	0.1%			
Danza	0	4	4	0.4%			Puerto Rico
Polka	1	0	1	0.1%			
Fox trot	1	0	1	0.1%			
Fox	2	5	7	1%			
Blues	0	1	1	0.1%			
Marcha	0	2	2	0.2%			
Villancicos	9	9	18	2%			
Brindis	1	0	1	0.1%			Italian related to Opera
Romanza	1	0	1	0.1%	5.7%	European, Spanish and US	
Pasodoble	8	5	13	1%			
Bulerías	1	2	3	0.3%			Flamenco variety
Zambra	2	1	3	0.3%			Flamenco variety
Tanguillo	1	1	2	0.2%			
Recitado	1	1	2	0.2%			Apparently Spanish
Jota	0	1	1	0.1%			Spain
Coplas	0	1	1	0.1%			Spain
Farruca	0	1	1	0.1%			Flamenco variety
Botecito	1	0	1	0.1%			Unidentified genre
Sonsonete	1	0	1	0.1%			Unidentified genre
Merenguito	1	0	1	0.1%			Unidentified genre
Plegaria	1	0	1	0.1%	0.7%		Unidentified genre
Suby	1	0	1	0.1%			Unidentified genre
Triste	1	0	1	0.1%			Unidentified genre
Guabicongo	0	1	1	0.1%			Unidentified genre
		Total	**1026**				

Source: *Catálogo General Sonolux* (1955).

Appendix 4.21- Music genre in Sello Vergara's catalogue [1954?].

Genre in catalogue	A side	B side	A + B	Proportion of total	
Tango	5	4	9	**8%**	
Bolero	2	5	7	6%	
Canción	1	1	2	2%	
Pasillo	3	5	8	7%	17%
Vals	3	2	5	4%	
Bambuco	2	2	4	4%	
Guabina	0	1	1	1%	
Torbellino	1	0	1	1%	
Joropo	1	1	2	2%	
Ranchera	1	1	2	2%	9%
Corrido	2	2	4	4%	
Tonada	1	0	1	1%	
Huapango	1	2	3	3%	
Cueca [Chile]	1	1	2	2%	
Parranda	1	1	2	2%	47%
Merengue	13	6	19	**17%**	
Porro	2	4	6	5%	
Tamborera	2	0	2	2%	
Mapalé	2	0	2	2%	
Son Vallenato	1	1	2	2%	
Paseo	4	12	16	**14%**	
Son-Porro	1	1	2	2%	
Cumbia	1	0	1	1%	
Bullerengue	1	0	1	1%	
Fandango	0	1	1	1%	
Bolero Mambo	1	1	2	2%	6%
Guaracha	1	0	1	1%	
Mambo	1	0	1	1%	
Son	0	1	1	1%	
Son- bote	0	1	1	1%	
Rumba-Guacharaca	0	1	1	1%	
Villancico	1	0	1	1%	
Pasacalle	1	0	1	1%	
		Total	**114**		

Source: *Sello Vergara Catálogo General de Discos* (Bogotá) [circa 1954].

Appendix 4.22 - Music genre in Tropical record company catalogue (1964).

Genre in catalogue	A side	B side	A + B	Proportion of total	
Bolero	24	22	46	9%	
Bolero Ranchero	2	0	2	0.4%	
Bolero Moruno	3	1	4	1%	
Son	3	0	3	1%	
Son Montuno	0	2	2	0.4%	13%
Bol. Guaracha	0	1	1	0.2%	
Bolero Tango	1	0	1	0.2%	
Bolero Ranchero	0	1	1	0.2%	
Bolero Chachachá	0	1	1	0.2%	
Danzón	2	1	3	1%	
Bambuco	2	4	6	1%	
Pasillo	3	2	5	1%	4%
Vals	3	3	6	1%	
Vals Peruano	1	1	2	0.4%	
Corrido	1	3	4	1%	
Canción	0	1	1	0.2%	
Corrido Texano	0	1	1	0.2%	3%
Ranchera	3	3	6	1%	
Texana	1	0	1	0.2%	
H. Llanero	1	0	1	0.2%	
Joropo	0	2	2	0.4%	
Son Paisa	1	0	1	0.2%	
Merengue	19	14	33	7%	
Paseo	22	26	48	9%	
Paseaito	26	15	41	8%	
Porro	15	12	27	5%	
Cumbia	19	18	37	7%	
Puya	3	2	5	1%	
Trabalengua	2	0	2	0.4%	
Porro Cumbe	1	0	1	0.2%	
Mapale	2	4	6	1%	
Gaita	9	5	14	3%	
Caminaito	1	1	2	0.4%	
Meneo	2	0	2	0.4%	
Pasebol	3	3	6	1%	
Merecumbe	1	2	3	1%	
Parranda	4	5	9	2%	
Cumbion	2	3	5	1%	
Meneaito	0	1	1	0.2%	
Son- Corroncho	0	1	1	0.2%	
Merengue Llorao	0	1	1	0.2%	
Cumbiambe	0	3	3	1%	
Merenguito	0	1	1	0.2%	
Chandé	0	1	1	0.2%	
Mer- Caracolito	0	1	1	0.2%	58%
Ventiaito	0	1	1	0.2%	
Gaita- Instrumental	0	2	2	0.4%	
Garabato	0	1	1	0.2%	
Parrandon	0	1	1	0.2%	
Paseaito-Cumbele	0	1	1	0.2%	
Merengue- Paseado	1	0	1	0.2%	
Porro Paseaito	1	0	1	0.2%	
Gaita- Corrido	1	0	1	0.2%	
Piqui-piqui	1	0	1	0.2%	
Cumbeleco	1	0	1	0.2%	
Mosaico	1	2	3	1%	
Tamborito	1	0	1	0.2%	
Porro- Bimbi	1	0	1	0.2%	
Palenque	2	0	2	0.4%	
Fandango	5	7	12	2%	
Porro- Bure	1	0	1	0.2%	
Cumbia Twist	1	1	2	0.4%	
Paseo-son	1	1	2	0.4%	
Bimbi	0	1	1	0.2%	
Tamborera	0	3	3	1%	
Afro- Cha	0	1	1	0.2%	
Correalero	0	1	1	0.2%	
Son Chocoano	1	0	1	0.2%	
Guaracha	16	20	36	7%	
Rumba	1	0	1	0.2%	
Romanchá	3	1	4	1%	
Chunga	1	0	1	0.2%	
Maya	1	2	3	1%	
Bisuin	1	0	1	0.2%	
Descarga	1	0	1	0.2%	
Pachanga	1	4	5	1%	
Bomba	1	0	1	0.2%	
Danza	2	0	2	0.4%	
Moruno	2	0	2	0.4%	
Plechanga	1	0	1	0.2%	
Pasaje	5	5	10	2%	
Pasecum	2	0	2	0.4%	
Charanga	2	5	7	1%	
Calypso	3	0	3	1%	
Jalamancha	1	0	1	0.2%	20%
Cumbirikatiri	1	0	1	0.2%	
Guaracha-Plena	1	0	1	0.2%	
Chalán	0	1	1	0.2%	
Rumbon	0	3	3	1%	
Plena	0	2	2	0.4%	
Rimo Jala-jala	0	1	1	0.2%	
Pasa- Dengue	0	1	1	0.2%	
Conga	0	1	1	0.2%	
Jalao Marcha	0	1	1	0.2%	
Capricho	0	1	1	0.2%	
Danza Criolla	0	1	1	0.2%	
Danzonete	0	1	1	0.2%	
Popurrí	0	2	2	0.4%	
Zambapalo	0	1	1	0.2%	
Guarachin	0	1	1	0.2%	
Calypso- plena	0	1	1	0.2%	
Pasodoble	2	0	2	0.4%	
Tanguillo	0	1	1	0.2%	
Balada Rock	0	1	1	0.2%	
Rock	1	1	2	0.4%	
Twist	4	3	7	1%	
		Total	**506**		

Source: *Tropical - Catálogo General Numérico 78 y 45 RPM* [CAT 2/64] (1964).

Figure 5.01 - "Campaña de divulgación sobre lo que representa la industria para la economía colombiana", ANDI (1950).

Source: Poveda Ramos (1984).

Figure 5.02 - Ad by the pharmaceutical company Laboratorios Fuentes: capital roots of Discos Fuentes.

Source: *La República*, Bogotá, November 1, 1956, p5.

Appendix 5.03 - Colombian vs. Antioquia population 1950s to 1980s, and proportion of urban population.

Population in millions of people	*1951*	*1957*	*1964*	*1968*	*1973*	*1985*
Colombia total	11.5	13.2	17.5	19.7	22.9	30.1
Urban	4.5	n.a.	9.1	n.a.	13.5	19.6
Urban %	*39.1%*	n.a.	*52.0%*	n.a.	*59.0%*	*65.1%*
Antioquia total	1.6	1.8	2.5	2.9	3.2	4.1
% of Colombia	13.7%	13.5%	14.2%	14.8%	13.9%	13.5%
Urban	0.6	n.a.	1.3	n.a.	2.0	2.7
Urban %	*40.2%*	n.a.	*53.4%*	n.a.	*63.0%*	*66.7%*

Sources: Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia 1956-57, 1968, 1980, 2004.

Appendix 5.1 - Population by departments in Colombia, 1950s to 1980s.

Population in main departments of Colombia - millions

	1951	*1957*	*1964*	*1968*	*1973*	*1985*
Antioquia	**1.6**	**1.8**	**2.5**	**2.9**	**3.2**	**4.1**
Caldas	1.1	1.2	0.7	n.a.	0.7	0.9
Risaralda	n.a.	n.a.	0.4	n.a.	0.5	0.7
Quindío	n.a.	n.a.	0.3	n.a.	0.4	0.4
Valle del Cauca	**1.1**	**1.5**	**1.7**	**n.a.**	**2.4**	**3.0**
Cundinamarca	**1.6**	**1.9**	**2.8**	**n.a.**	**4.0**	**5.7**
Boyacá	0.8	0.8	1.1	n.a.	1.1	1.2
Santander	0.7	0.8	1.0	n.a.	1.2	1.5
Atlántico	**0.4**	**0.5**	**0.7**	**n.a.**	**1.0**	**1.5**
Bolivar	**1.0**	**0.8**	**0.7**	**n.a.**	**1.0**	**1.3**
Sub-total key Depts	**8.3**	**9.3**	**11.9**	**2.9**	**15.5**	**20.3**
% of Colombia	72.1%	70.5%	68.0%	n.a.	67.6%	67.4%

Sources: Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia 1956-57, 1968, 1980, 2004.

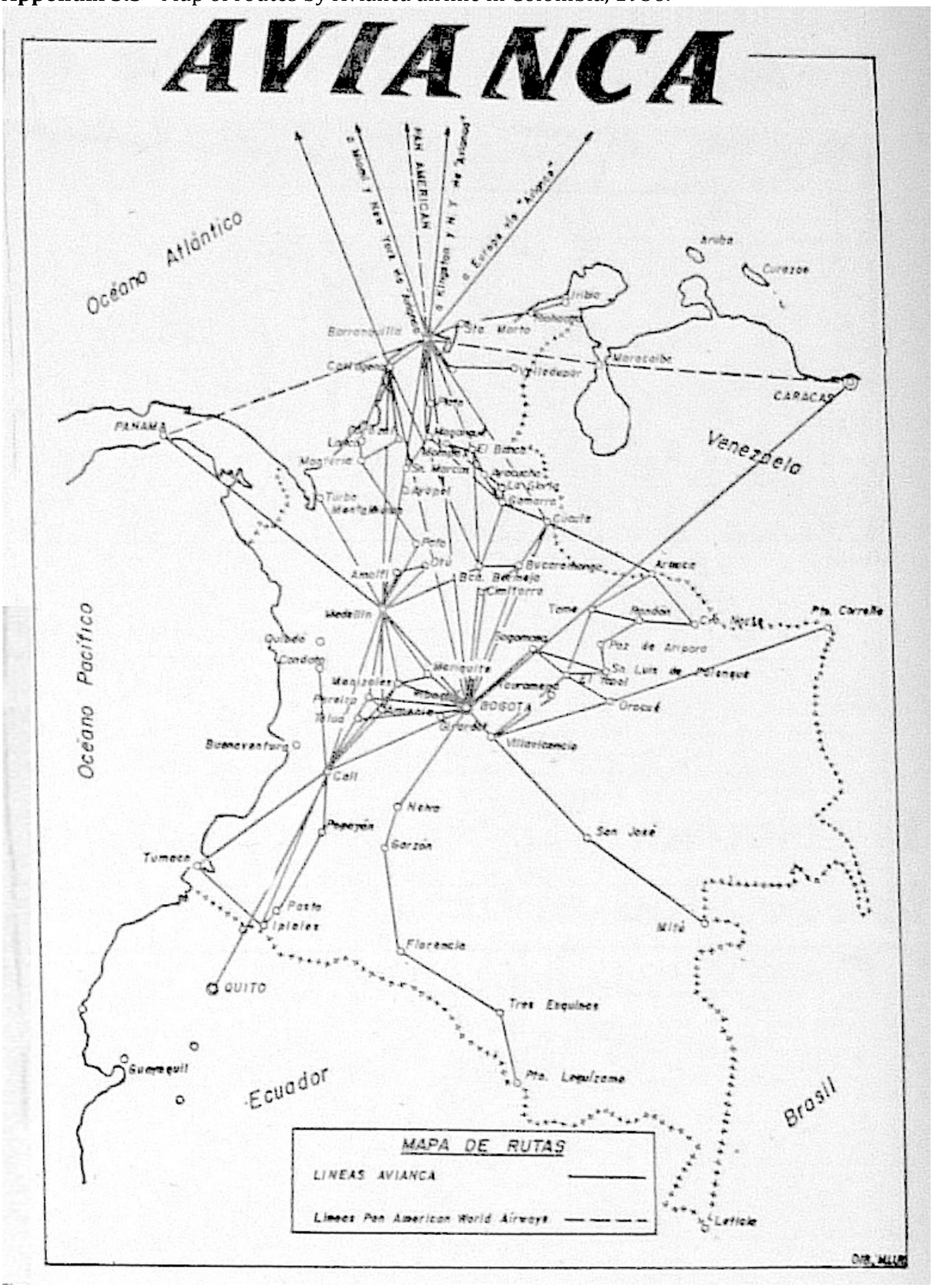
Appendix 5.2 - Population in Antioquia, Medellín and the Valle de Aburrá "Metropolitan Area" (thousands of people).

Population in Antioquia, Medellín and the Valle de Aburra "Metropolitan Area" (thousands of people)

Municipalities Valle Aburra	*1951*	*1957*	*1964*	*1968*	*1973*	*1985*
Barbosa	15.5	17.0	15.2	23.0	22.3	30.4
Girardota	11.0	12.0	12.7	15.6	17.9	24.4
Copacabana	10.7	13.0	19.4	22.4	30.0	42.0
Bello	34.3	53.8	93.2	120.8	129.2	214.9
Medellín	**358.2**	**514.7**	**772.9**	**974.6**	**1,163.9**	**1,480.4**
Envigado	28.8	40.7	61.5	64.0	73.1	93.9
Sabaneta	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	12.5	16.5	21.3
Itagüí	20.2	34.2	68.1	86.7	103.9	139.0
La Estrella	8.7	10.6	16.5	18.5	23.6	31.4
Caldas	12.4	14.8	25.1	31.0	33.6	43.4
Subtotal Valle Aburra	**499.8**	**710.8**	**1,084.6**	**1,369.1**	**1,614.0**	**2,121.1**
% of Antioquia	*31,830*	*39,801*	*43,782*	*47,043*	*50,807*	*52,145*
Urban pop. Valle Aburra	398	n.a.	948	n.a.	1,475	2,008
%	*79.6%*	n.a.	*87.4%*	n.a.	*91.4%*	*94.7%*

Sources: Anuario Estadístico de Antioquia 1956-57, 1968, 1980, 2004.

Appendix 5.3 - Map of routes by Avianca airline in Colombia, 1956.



Source: *La República*, Bogotá, Dec 6, 1954, p9.

Appendix 5.4 - Philips de Colombia, S.A. main players in distribution network claimed to include 207 "agencies" (1956).

PHILIPS

TARDE O TEMPRANO SU RADIO SERA UN PHILIPS

CONTAMOS CON 207 AGENCIAS PHILIPS EN COLOMBIA, ALGUNAS DE LAS CUALES INDICAMOS A CONTINUACION:

BOGOTA
RADIO AGENCIA BOGOTA, LTDA.
Carr. 7ª Nº 18-37 y Calle 18-A Nº 7-17. Tels. 20-377, 23-416, 14-693

BOGOTA
RADIOCENTRO, S. A.
Esquina Calle 25 con Carrera 10. Teléfono Nº 27-528.

ARMENIA (C.)
ALBERTO ALVAREZ M.
Carrera 14, Nº 20.26 - Plaza de Bolívar.

BARRANQUILLA
TALECTRO, LTDA.
Paseo Bolívar x Cuartel. — Teléfono 23-30.

BUCARAMANGA
PAILLIE HERMANOS & CIA.
Carrera 17, Nº 36-10 - Calle 35 Nº 15-02.

CALI
MORA HERMANOS
Carrera 3ª x Calle 11 (Plaza Cayzedo). Calle 11 Nº 8-33.

CALI
EMILIO ECHEVERRI & CIA., LTDA. "EMILIOE"
Calle 13 Nº 7-74 — Teléfonos Nros. 36-60 y 31.19.

CARTAGO
G. MAZUERA HOYOS Y CIA., LTDA.
CASA HOBBY

CUCUTA
MANTILLA & CIA. LTDA.
Avenida 7ª, Calle 10. Esquina — Apartado Aéreo 904

GARZON — PITALITO
ALMACEN FIGARO - AGUSTIN PERDOMO CH.

IBAGUE
GABRIEL NARANJO E. — AGENCIA PHILIPS
Carrera 3ª Nº 14-B-72 — Telégrafo "GENARANJO"

MEDELLIN
RESTREPO MONTOYA, LTDA.
"Almacén Londres". Carrera 52 (Carabobo) Nº 46-58.

NEIVA
SALON MUSICAL
Calle 7ª, Nº 5-18 — Teléfono 31-87.

PASTO
CASA CONDI
Plaza Principal.

SAN GIL (Santander)
JOSE ROJAS MEJIA
Carrera 3ª, Nº 8-25 — Teléfono 100.

SINCELEJO (Bolívar)
ALMACEN NOVEDADES ARRAZOLA
Sebastián Arrázola M.

ZARZAL (Valle).
HERNANDO LLANOS & HERMANOS.
Almacén «LA ESPIGA».

BOGOTA
RADIO SERVICIO, LTDA.
Carrera 7ª, Nº 31-70 — Teléfonos 54-484 y 55-638.

BOGOTA
ALMACEN B. C. R.
Carrera 8ª, Nos. 16-62/66. — Teléfono 23-543.

ARMERO
MIGUEL GUTIERREZ ZARATE
Telégrafo: "Gutiérrez" — Teléfonos: 242 y 231.

BARRANQUILLA
ALMACEN MURCIA
Progreso, Esquina Jesús. Teléfono 29-04.

BUENAVENTURA
ARTURO BARONA R.
Calle 3ª Nº 1-38. Telégrafo: "ARBARONA"

CALI
ELECTROCASA EMILIOE
Calle 12 Nº 5-76 — Teléfono Nº 83-551.

CARTAGENA
CODISEL, LTDA.
Esquina Ayos y Arzobispado.

CERETE Y MONTERIA
GARCIA HERMANOS
Telégrafo: "GARNOS"

CHIQUINQUIRA - VELEZ
ALMACEN MURCIA - Teléfono 209.
Telégrafo: "ALMURCIA"

IPIALES (N.)
MIGUEL ANGEL DIAZ CH.
Radio-Laboratorio.

MANIZALES
A. VAN DEN ENDEN
Calle 23, Nº 22-63 — Teléfono 21-71.

MEDELLIN
LIBRERIA RESTREPO, LTDA.
Carrera Junín. Edif. Fabricato y Carrera 51, Nº 48-46

PALMIRA
FERRETERIA J. GOMEZ N.
Edificio propio. Calle 13, Nº 8-35 — Teléfono 3-6.

PEREIRA
MIGUEL ILIAN
Agencia Philips Radio. Calle 18, Nº 7-34.

SEVILLA
ERNESTO SANCHEZ JIMENEZ
"Almacén Vuleano" — Telégrafo "Ernajl"

SOCORRO (Santander).
JOSE ROJAS MEJIA
Calle 14, Nº 14-32 — Teléfono 96.

TUNJA
ALMACEN ALADINO
Carrera 5ª, Nos. 6-40 y 6-48. Tel. 3.9-8. Cables y Telégrafo: Aladino.

BOGOTA
ALFONSO PUERTA L. & CIA. LTDA.
Edificio Faux, Carrera 7ª, esquina Avenida Jiménez.

BOGOTA
RADIONORTE
Carrera 13, Nº 39-30 — Teléfono 83-859.

BOGOTA
ALMACEN HELIOS - REYES & CIA., LTDA.
Avenida Jiménez, Nº 10-88. Teléfono 13-008.

BARRANCABERMEJA
CIA. INDUSTRIAL DE CARLOS REGER & CO.

BUCARAMANGA
SIMDA LTDA. - Distribuidores Philips Autorizados.
Avenida 36, con Carrera 17 Boulevard Santander, 15-38.

BUGA
MUEBLERIA "LA MARIPOSA"
Carrera 13, Nº 7-55 — Teléfono Nº 68.

CALI
TORRES & TORRES, LTDA.
Calle 13, Nos. 7-76/92 — Teléfono Nº 36-80.

CARTAGENA
E. GOMEZ CASSERES & CIA.
Calle del Porvenir — Telegramas "Egomezca"

CUCUTA
CASA LEMA & CIA., LTDA.
Edificio Rosaver — Telégrafo: "LEMA"

GIRARDOT
VICTOR BARRAGAN H.
Bajos del Hotel Iquima.

IBAGUE
HUGO GAVIRIA B. — ALMACEN VICTOR
Carrera 3ª, Nº 14-15.

MEDELLIN
RADIAL, LTDA.
Avenida 1º de Mayo, Nº 49-102 — Apartado Aéreo 640

NEIVA
PAPELERIA OLYMPIA
Gustavo Cabrera Solano

PASTO
WOODCOCK & CIA. LTDA.
Calle 19, Nº 22-09 — Teléfono 2187.

SANTA MARTA
DAVILA & FUENTES
Telégrafo: "DAVIFUEN".

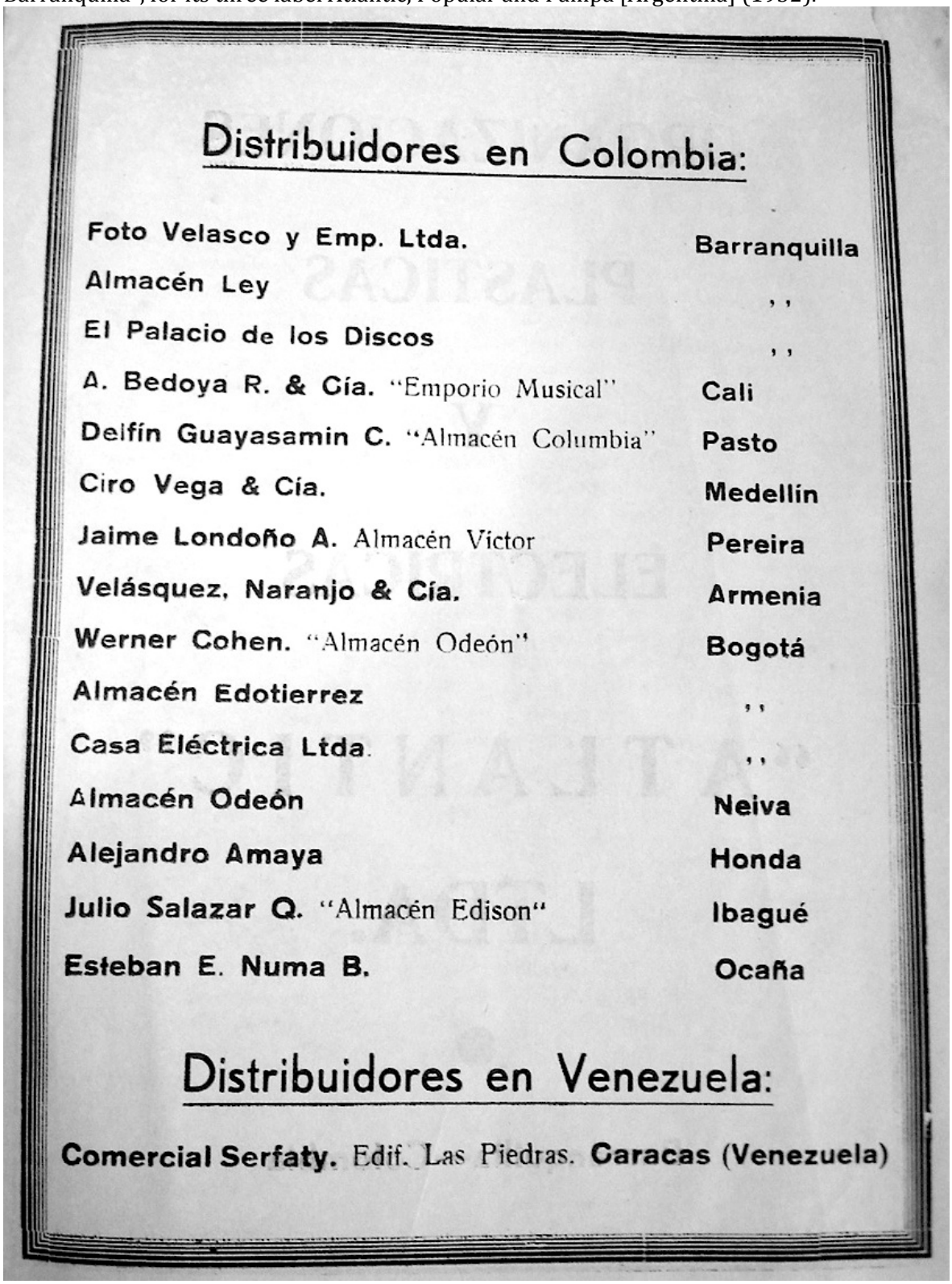
SOGAMOSO
JUAN JOSE AVELLA CH.
Plaza Principal, bajos del Colegio "Suganuxi".

TULUA
BRAULIO GARDEAZABAL & CIA., LTDA.
Carrera 23 x Calle 26. — Telégrafo: "Minerva".

VILLAVICENCIO
CARLOS GOMEZ GARCIA
Agencia Philips - Calle 4ª Nº 4-55 — Teléfono 371.

Source: *La República*, Bogotá, May 7, 1956, p7.

Appendix 5.5 - Distribution network of "Organizaciones Plásticas Eléctricas, 'Atlantic' Ltda. Barranquilla", for its three label Atlantic, Popular and Pampa [Argentina] (1952).



Distribuidores en Colombia:

Foto Velasco y Emp. Ltda.	Barranquilla
Almacén Ley	,,
El Palacio de los Discos	,,
A. Bedoya R. & Cía. "Emporio Musical"	Cali
Delfín Guayasamin C. "Almacén Columbia"	Pasto
Ciro Vega & Cía.	Medellín
Jaime Londoño A. Almacén Víctor	Pereira
Velásquez, Naranjo & Cía.	Armenia
Werner Cohen. "Almacén Odeón"	Bogotá
Almacén Edotierrez	,,
Casa Eléctrica Ltda.	,,
Almacén Odeón	Neiva
Alejandro Amaya	Honda
Julio Salazar Q. "Almacén Edison"	Ibagué
Esteban E. Numa B.	Ocaña

Distribuidores en Venezuela:

Comercial Serfaty. Edif. Las Piedras. **Caracas (Venezuela)**

Source: Fonoteca, HRD, Medellín: "Catálogo general de discos Atlantic, Pampa y Popular: 1950 - 1951 - 1952, Editorial Salvat."

Appendix 5.6 - Summary of International Commerce in Colombia (1954-1970).

RESUMEN DEL COMERCIO EXTERIOR 1954–1970 (MERCANCIAS UNICAMENTE)

Años	IMPORTACION						EXPORTACION					
	Peso Bruto Toneladas	Indice Base/67 =100	Valor C.I.F. Pesos (miles)	Indice Base/67 =100	Valor C.I.F. US$ (miles)	Indice Base/67 =100	Peso Bruto Toneladas	Indice Base/67 =100	Valor F.O.B. Pesos (miles)	Indice Base/67 =100	Valor F.O.B. US$ (miles)	Indice Base/67 =100
1954	1.892.954	154	1.679.448	24	671.779	135	4.980.553	71	1.642.843	24	657.137	129
1955	1.714.786	140	1.673.227	24	669.291	135	4.500.854	64	1.459.741	21	583.896	115
1956	1.727.846	141	1.642.982	24	657.193	132	5.025.713	72	1.342.523	20	537.009	105
1957	1.469.851	120	1.956.652	28	482.575	97	4.915.136	70	1.989.448	29	511.108	100
1958	1.033.337	84	2.543.543	36	399.932	80	4.770.441	68	2.790.876	41	460.715	90
1959	991.614	81	2.659.752	38	415.588	84	5.538.642	79	2.885.327	42	473.004	93
1960	1.209.535	99	3.420.214	49	518.585	104	5.805.435	83	2.969.749	43	464.578	91
1961	1.441.026	118	3.732.778	53	557.129	112	5.254.538	75	2.846.196	42	434.467	85
1962	1.425.971	116	3.683.632	53	540.351	109	5.068.072	72	3.094.675	45	463.403	91
1963	1.149.680	94	4.554.213	65	506.023	102	5.735.728	82	3.510.827	51	446.257	88
1964	1.495.492	122	5.276.617	76	586.291	118	6.000.789	86	4.374.680	64	548.136	107
1965	1.074.485	88	4.450.291	64	453.502	91	7.592.068	108	5.015.495	73	539.144	106
1966	1.804.248	147	8.739.299	125	674.146	136	7.239.629	103	5.060.045	74	507.591	100
1967	1.225.624	100	6.986.288	100	496.862	100	7.000.572	100	6.849.216	100	509.923	100
1968	1.492.110	122	10.350.152	148	643.260	129	5.568.630	80	8.639.078	126	558.278	109
1969	1.720.455	140	11.780.234	169	685.273	138	7.700.762	100	10.067.601	147	607.510	119
1970	1.837.395	150	15.425.402	221	842.960	170	7.204.714	103	13.035.263	190	735.657	144

LOS INDICES DE PRECIOS DEL COMERCIO EXTERIOR COLOMBIANO Y TERMINOS DE INTERCAMBIO 1954–1970

BASE: 1967=100

Años	Indice de Precios de Importación C.I.F.	Indice de Precios de Exportación F.O.B.	Relación de Precios de Intercambio
1954	18.6	31.8	170.9
1955	18.9	28.2	149.2
1956	19.3	28.2	146.1
1957	31.5	44.3	140.6
1958	48.4	57.7	119.2
1959	48.7	49.3	101.2
1960	49.9	52.2	104.6
1961	50.9	51.9	101.9
1962	51.4	49.3	95.9
1963	64.9	56.3	86.7
1964	64.3	67.2	104.5
1965	68.5	73.1	106.7
1966	89.9	76.2	84.8
1967*	100.0	100.0	100.0
1968	110.8	114.4	103.2
1969	119.5	122.5	102.5
1970	128.7	160.5	124.7

PODER DE COMPRA DE LAS EXPORTACIONES 1954–1970

Años	Indice de Quantum de Exportaciones	Relación de precios de Intercambio	Poder de Compra de las Exportaciones	Indice de Quantum de Importaciones
1954	93.1	170.9	159.1	167.2
1955	92.6	149.2	138.2	160.9
1956	83.6	146.1	122.1	160.5
1957	79.6	140.6	111.9	112.1
1958	84.0	119.2	100.1	93.6
1959	101.2	101.2	102.4	94.4
1960	95.9	104.6	100.3	121.0
1961	90.9	101.9	92.6	122.6
1962	101.6	95.9	97.4	110.2
1963	99.6	86.7	86.4	122.6
1964	103.4	104.5	108.1	125.7
1965	97.7	106.7	104.2	95.2
1966	95.2	84.8	80.7	132.0
1967*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1968	107.2	103.2	110.6	124.2
1969	111.8	102.5	114.6	118.5
1970	109.5	124.7	136.5	176.6

* A partir de 1967 se cambió la base de los Indices de Quantum y de Precios de Comercio Exterior y se calcularon éstos, según la nueva base.

XCI

Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior Colombia*, 1970.

Appendix 5.7 - Imported records in Colombia by kind (1949-1950).

	Kilos (Net)	%	US$	%	
Foreing music	176,050	**86%**	$412,497	**83%**	*"Discos para grafófonos, con música **extranjera**"*
"Colombian" music	2,929	**1%**	$9,695	**2%**	*"Discos para grafófonos, con música **colombiana**"*
Language learning	8,412	**4%**	$17,114	**3%**	*"Discos impresos para aprendizaje de idiomas" or "discos **didácticos**"*
Advertisements	237	**0.1%**	$2,645	**1%**	*"Discos para grafófonos, impresos con **propaganda**"*
Blank	16,115	**8%**	$54,331	**11%**	*"Discos **en blanco** para grafófonos, que no son de papel"*
	$203,743	100%	**$496,282**	100%	

Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior Colombia* (ACE) 1950.

Appendix 5.8 - Internal destination - foreign music record imported in Colombia, 1949 ($ pesos thousands)

	Valor CIF			No. of Depts.
Atlántico	$ 33.20	9.29%		
Bolivar	$ 24.60	6.88%	18.42%	3
Magdalena	$ 8.00	2.24%		
Antioquia	$ 115.40	32.30%	38.26%	2
Caldas	$ 21.30	5.96%		
Valle del Cauca	$ 79.20	22.17%		
Cauca	$ 0.22	0.06%		
Nariño	$ 5.10	1.43%		
Cundinamarca	$ 34.20	9.57%		
Boyacá	$ 0.05	0.01%		
Santander	$ 14.30	4.00%		
Norte de Santander	$ 21.80	6.10%		
Meta	$ 0.01	0.00%		
Totals	**$ 357**	100%		13

Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior Colombia* (ACE) 1949. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.9 - Origin of imported foreign music records, Colombia 1949 ($ pesos thousands).

	Valor CIF			No. of Countries
US	$ 298.90	83.7%		
Chile	$ 33.80	9.5%	97.6%	4
UK	$ 9.40	2.6%		
Argentina	$ 6.60	1.8%		
Francia	$ 2.30	0.6%		
Ecuador	$ 1.50	0.4%	1.8%	4
Paises Bajos	$ 1.40	0.4%		
Alemania	$ 1.30	0.4%		
Totals	**$ 355.20**	**99.4%**		

Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior Colombia* (ACE) 1949. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.10 - Internal destination of imported records in Colombia, 1953 ($ pesos).

	CIF value		Peso Neto		No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$ 971,437	52%	68,007	45%	
Valle del Cauca	$ 360,031	19%	31,700	21%	86%
Antioquia	$ 277,645	15%	30,299	20%	
Atlántico	$ 99,195	5%	7,716	5%	
Caldas	$ 93,709	5%	6,214	4%	
Bolivar	$ 31,893	2%	3,487	2%	
Norte de Santander	$ 26,067	1%	2,655	2%	
Cauca	$ 10,105	1%	928	1%	
Nariño	$ 8,752	0.5%	481	0.3%	
Santander	$ 4,260	0.2%	436	0.3%	
Magdalena	$ 719	0.04%	61	0.04%	
Totals	**$ 1,883,813**	100%	**17,417**	100%	11

Source: ACE 1953. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); "discos didácticos" not included.

Appendix 5.11 - Origin of Imported phonographic records in 1953 ($ pesos thousa.).

	CIF value			No. of Countries
US	$ 1,460.10	77.5%		
México	$ 232.50	12.3%	99.1%	4
Chile	$ 136.10	7.2%		
Alemania	$ 39.13	2.1%		
UK	$ 6.00	0.3%		
Canada	$ 2.85	0.2%		
Italia	$ 2.50	0.1%		
Japón	$ 1.00	0.1%		
Brasil	$ 0.91	0.05%		
Panamá	$ 0.80	0.04%		
Cuba	$ 0.43	0.02%		
PaisesBajos	$ 0.30	0.02%		
Argentina	$ 0.22	0.01%		
Ecuador	$ 0.21	0.01%		
Checoslovaquia	$ 0.20	0.01%	0.8%	21
Francia	$ 0.20	0.01%		
Venezuela	$ 0.13	0.01%		
Austria	$ 0.08	0.004%		
Costa Rica	$ 0.05	0.003%		
Israel	$ 0.04	0.002%		
Puerto Rico	$ 0.02	0.001%		
Suecia	$ 0.02	0.001%		
Suiza	$ 0.02	0.001%		
España	$ 0.01	0.001%		
Siria	$ 0.01	0.000%		
Totals	**$ 1,883.82**	**100.0%**	100.0%	25

Source: ACE 1953. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); "discos didácticos" not included.

Appendix 5.12 - Destination of Imported Records in 1956 ($ thousands).

	CIF value			No. of Depts.
Atlántico	$ 44.30	5%		
Bolivar	$ 24.10	3%		
Magdalena	$ 0.00	0%		
Antioquia	$ 25.30	3%		
Caldas	$ 43.30	5%		
Valle del Cauca	$ 94.30	10%		
Cundinamarca	$ 669.20	74%		
Santander	$ 0.03	0.004%		
Norte de Santander	$ 9.40	1%		
Totals	**$ 910**	100%		9

Source: ACE 1956. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); "discos didácticos" not included.

Appendix 5.13 - Origin of Imported records in Colombia 1956 ($ thousands of pesos).

	CIF value			No. of Countries
US	763	84.0%	96.8%	3
Alemania	61	6.7%		
México	55	6.1%		
Chile	12	1.3%	3.2%	6
España	6	0.7%		
Argentina	5	0.6%		
Chec	3	0.3%		
UK	1.7	0.2%		
Italia	1.2	0.1%		
Totals	**907.90**	**100.0%**	100.0%	9

Source: ACE 1956. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); "discos didácticos" not included.

Appendix 5.14 - Destination of Imported Records in 1974 ($ thousands).

	CIF value			No. of Depts.
Bogotá, D.E.	$353.90	83.0%	99.9%	2
Cundinamarca	$71.95	16.9%		
Antioquia	$0.53	0.1%		
Totals	**$425.85**	100%	-	3

Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); "discos didácticos" not included.

Appendix 5.15 - Origin of Imported Records in 1974 ($ thousands).

	CIF value			No. of Countries
US	$ 213.30	50.0%	92.5%	2
Alemania Occ.	$ 181.10	42.5%		
Brasil	$ 31.30	7.3%		
Rusia	$ 0.71	0.2%		
Totals	**426.41**	**100.0%**		4

Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); "discos didácticos" not included.

Appendix 5.16 - Origin of record exports 1958 ($ thousands).

	Valor CIF			
Atlántico	$	11.40	2.53%	2.56%
Bolivar	$	0.10	0.02%	
Antioquia	$	9.10	2.02%	
Valle del Cauca	$	0.03	0.01%	
Cundinamarca	$	40.00	8.89%	
Norte de Santander	$	389.20	86.53%	
Totals	**$**	**450**	100%	

Source: ACE 1958. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); analysis does not include "discos didácticos".

Appendix 5.17 - Destination of record exports in 1958 ($ thousands).

	Valor CIF		
Venezuela	$	433.60	96.4%
US	$	5.30	1.2%
Costa Rica	$	4.80	1.1%
Ecuador	$	4.00	0.9%
Indias Occid. Holadesas	$	1.40	0.3%
Panama	$	0.70	0.2%
Suiza	$	0.10	0.0%
Totals		**449.90**	**100.0%**

Source: ACE 1958. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); analysis does not include "discos didácticos".

Appendix 5.18 - Origin of record exports 1964 ($ thousands).

	Valor CIF		
Antioquia	$	1,213	94.4%
Atlántico	$	8	0.6%
Cundinamarca	$	62	4.8%
Nariño	$	2	0.2%
Totals	**$**	**1,213**	100%

Source: ACE 1964. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); analysis does not include "discos didácticos".

Appendix 5.19 - Destination of record exports in 1964 ($ thousands).

	Valor CIF			Countries
El Salvador	$ 264.30	20.6%		
Guatemala	$ 247.30	19.3%	63.0%	4
Panama	$ 166.10	12.9%		
Alemania	$ 131.70	10.3%		
Nicaragua	$ 93.40	7.3%		
Ecuador	$ 86.70	6.8%		
Bolivia	$ 76.50	6.0%	33.8%	6
US	$ 74.10	5.8%		
Honduras	$ 59.04	4.6%		
Costa Rica	$ 44.50	3.5%		
Peru	$ 21.10	1.6%		
Puerto Rico	$ 8.60	0.7%		
Venezuela	$ 6.10	0.5%	3.1%	5
Antillas Holandesas	$ 2.80	0.2%		
Honduras Britanicas	$ 1.70	0.1%		
Totals	**1283.94**	**100.0%**		

Source: ACE 1964. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); analysis does not include "discos didácticos".

Appendix 5.20 - Origin of exported Records in 1970 ($ thousands).

	Valor CIF		
Antioquia	$	593.9	43%
Bogotá, D.E.	$	788.8	57%
Cundinamarca	$	1.5	0.1%
Santander	$	1.5	0.1%
Totals	**$**	**1,386**	**100%**

Source: ACE 1970. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); analysis does not include "discos didácticos".

Appendix 5.21 - Destination of exported Records in 1970 ($ thousands).

	Valor CIF			Countries
US	$ 536.7	39%		
Puerto Rico	$ 249.3	18%	69.8%	3
Ecuador	$ 182.1	13%		
Guatemala	$ 87.7	6%		
Panama	$ 81.7	6%	17.2%	3
Costa Rica	$ 69.1	5%		
Japon	$ 57.2	4%		
Brasil	$ 35.7	3%		
Antillas Holandesas	$ 28.4	2%		
El Salvador	$ 21.2	2%	12.9%	6
Zona de Canal de Panama	$ 17.6	1%		
Nicaragua	$ 10.3	1%		
Haiti	$ 8.7	1%		
Totals	**1385.70**	**100%**	100.0%	

Source: ACE 1970. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); analysis does not include "discos didácticos".

Appendix 5.22 - Exports to Latin America in 1970 - % of total exports.

Exports to Latin America in 1970 - % of total exports Thousands of Col. pesos				
Guatemala	$	87.7	6%	21%
Panama	$	81.7	6%	
Costa Rica	$	69.1	5%	
El Salvador	$	21.2	2%	
Zona de Canal de Panama	$	17.6	1%	
Nicaragua	$	10.3	1%	
Antillas Holandesas	$	28.4	2%	3%
Haiti	$	8.7	1%	
Ecuador	$	182.1	13%	16%
Brasil	$	35.7	3%	
Totals	$	324.7	**39%**	

Source: ACE 1970. Note: FOB (Free on board of ship). values.

Appendix 5.23 - Origin of exported records in 1974 ($ thousands).

	Valor CIF		
Bogotá, D.E.	$259.00	34.1%	39.3%
Cundinamarca	$39.40	5.2%	
Antioquia	$461.20	60.7%	
Totals	**$759.60**	100%	

Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); analysis does not include "discos didácticos".

Appendix 5.24 - Destination of exported Records in 1974 ($ thousands).

	Valor CIF		
US	$ 467.90	61.6%	80.5%
Panama	$ 143.70	18.9%	
Antillas Holandesas	$ 87.00	11.5%	
Mexico	$ 35.80	4.7%	
Honduras	$ 20.40	2.7%	
Costa Rica	$ 4.80	0.6%	
Totals	**759.60**	**96.7%**	

Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); analysis does not include "discos didácticos".

Appendix 5.25 - Internal destination imports - needles and cartridges - Colombia, 1951 ($ pesos).

	CIF Value			No. of Depts.
Valle del Cauca	$ 62,354	32%	95.7%	5
Cundinamarca	$ 36,132	18%		
Caldas	$ 32,579	17%		
Antioquia	$ 29,245	15%		
Atlántico	$ 28,507	14%		
Bolivar	$ 4,314	2%		
Santander	$ 2,023	1%		
Boyacá	$ 1,299	1%		
Magdalena	$ 412	0.2%		
Cauca	$ 201	0.1%		
Norte de Santander	$ 168	0.1%		
Totals	**$ 197,234**	100%		11

Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior Colombia* (ACE) 1951. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.26 - Origin of Imported needles and cartridges in 1951 ($ pesos thousands).

	CIF Value			No. of Countries
Alemania	$ 90,026.00	45.6%	89.2%	2
Estados Unidos	$ 85,999.00	43.6%		
Reino Unido	$ 9,652.00	4.9%	10.8%	5
Japón	$ 9,210.00	4.7%		
Panamá	$ 1,301.00	0.7%		
Suiza	$ 1,041.00	0.5%		
Canada	$ 5.00	0.003%		
Totals	**$ 197,234.00**	**100.0%**	100.0%	7

Source: Anuario de Comercio Exterior Colombia (ACE) 1951. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.27 - Internal destination of needles and cartridges in Colombia, 1962 ($ pesos)

	CIF Value			No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$ 835,256	64%	91.6%	3
Valle del Cauca	$ 214,144	17%		
Caldas	$ 138,602	11%		
Atlántico	$ 52,365	4%		
Bolivar	$ 42,174	3%		
Antioquia	$ 13,694	1%		
Magdalena	$ 27	0.002%		
Totals	**$ 1,296,262**	100%		7

Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior Colombia* (ACE) 1962. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.28 - Origin of Imported needles and cartridges in 1962 ($ pesos thousands).

	CIF Value			No. of Countries
PaisesBajos	$ 564,160.00	43.5%	94.6%	3
Japón	$ 408,137.00	31.5%		
Estados Unidos	$ 254,036.00	19.6%		
Alemania	$ 36,775.00	2.8%	5.4%	4
Suiza	$ 28,924.00	2.2%		
Reino Unido	$ 4,160.00	0.3%		
Italia	$ 130.00	0.01%		
Totals	**$ 1,296,322.00**	**100.0%**	100.0%	7

Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior Colombia* (ACE) 1962. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.29 - Internal destination of needles and cartridges in Colombia, 1971 ($ pesos)-

	CIF Value		No. of Depts.
Bogotá D.E.	$ 1,873,092	80%	
Valle del Cauca	$ 290,383	12%	
Risaralda	$ 138,679	6%	
Atlántico	$ 45,086	2%	
Antioquia	$ 4,859	0.2%	
Totals	**$ 2,352,099**	100%	5

Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior Colombia* (ACE) 1971. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.30 - Origin of Imported needles and cartridges in 1971 ($ pesos thousands).

	CIF Value			No. of Countries
PaisesBajos	$ 1,302,661.00	55.4%	91.8%	4
Japón	$ 327,396.00	13.9%		
Estados Unidos	$ 272,069.00	11.6%		
Dinamarca	$ 258,138.00	11.0%		
Brasil	$ 107,740.00	4.6%	8.2%	4
Reino Unido	$ 63,261.00	2.7%		
Suiza	$ 15,812.00	0.7%		
Alemania	$ 5,022.00	0.2%		
Totals	**$ 2,352,099.00**	**100.0%**	100.0%	8

Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior Colombia* (ACE) 1971. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.31 - Internal destination of "pick-ups" for radios in Colombia, 1950 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$	326,857	36%	79.7%	3
Atlántico	$	252,394	28%		
Antioquia	$	143,110	16%		
Valle del Cauca	$	64,164	7%		
Bolivar	$	49,461	5%		
Caldas	$	38,813	4%		
Boyacá	$	8,103	1%		
Tolima	$	7,752	1%		
Magdalena	$	5,677	1%		
Norte de Santander	$	4,680	1%		
Santander	$	3,793	0%		
Nariño	$	980	0%		
Meta	$	6	0%		
Totals	**$**	**905,790**	100%		13

Source: ACE 1950. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.32 - Origin of Imported "pick-ups" for radios in 1950 ($ pesos thousands).

	Valor CIF				No. of Countries
Estados Unidos	$	657,936.00	72.6%		2
PaisesBajos	$	198,321.00	21.9%		
Alemania	$	26,902.00	3.0%		
Canada	$	18,519.00	2.0%		
Reino Unido	$	2,694.00	0.3%		
Suecia	$	1,375.00	0.2%		
México	$	26.00	0.0%		
Dinamarca	$	10.00	0.0%		
Argentina	$	7.00	0.0%		
Totals	**$**	**905,790.00**	**100.0%**	0.0%	9

Source: ACE 1950. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.33 - Internal destination of "tocadiscos (pick-up)" in Colombia, 1963 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
San Andres y Providencia	$	1,120,230	88%		
Valle del Cauca	$	65,741	5%		
Cundinamarca	$	43,865	3%		
Caldas	$	23,445	2%		
Bolivar	$	7,272	1%		
Antioquia	$	5,779	0%		
Santander	$	1,494	0%		
Magdalena	$	1,413	0%		
Cauca	$	900	0%		
Atlántico	$	594	0%		
Norte de Santander	$	180	0%		
Amazonas	$	99	0%		
Totals	**$**	**1,271,012**	100%		12

Source: ACE 1963. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.34 - Origin of Imported "tocadiscos (pick-up)" in 1963 ($ pesos thousands).

	Valor CIF				No. of Countries
Japón	$	750,114.00	59.0%		
Estados Unidos	$	493,945.00	38.9%		
Reino Unido	$	16,209.00	1.3%		
PaisesBajos	$	3,024.00	0.2%		
Alemania	$	2,880.00	0.2%		
Desconocidos	$	2,016.00	0.2%		
Italia	$	1,220.00	0.1%		
Canada	$	450.00	0.0%		
México	$	450.00	0.0%		
Brasil	$	369.00	0.0%		
Argentina	$	200.00	0.0%		
Dinamarca	$	135.00	0.0%		
Totals	**$**	**1,271,012.00**	**100.0%**	0.0%	12

Source: ACE 1963. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.35 - Internal destination of "tocadiscos (pick-up)" in Colombia, 1974 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Bogotá D.E.	$	2,754,031	73%	92.0%	2
San Andres y Providencia	$	729,592	19%		
Antioquia	$	194,630	5%		
Atlántico	$	78,384	2%		
Bolivar	$	11,022	0%		
Valle del Cauca	$	7,547	0%		
Risaralda	$	7,428	0%		
Cauca	$	5,016	0%		
Nariño	$	394	0%		
Totals	**$**	**3,788,044**	100%		9

Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.36 - Origin of Imported "tocadiscos (pick-up)" in 1974 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Countries
Japón	$	952,574.00	25%	48.9%	2
Corea del Sur	$	899,513.00	24%		
Brasil	$	684,166.00	18%	41.3%	3
PaisesBajos	$	483,443.00	13%		
Panamá	$	397,353.00	10%		
Estados Unidos	$	199,641.00	5%		
Reino Unido	$	146,530.00	4%		
China -Taiwan- Formosa	$	20,408.00	1%		
Venezuela	$	1,952.00	0%		
Francia	$	1,060.00	0%		
Antillas Holandesas	$	1,010.00	0%		
Ecuador	$	394.00	0%		
Totals	**$**	**3,788,044.00**	**100.0%**	90.2%	12

Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.37 - Internal destination of "tocadiscos (giradiscos)" in Colombia, 1978 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Bogotá D.E.	$	14,220,946	71%	87%	2
San Andres y Providencia	$	3,205,064	16%		
Valle del Cauca	$	1,552,000	8%	13%	2
Antioquia	$	1,050,137	5%		
Risaralda	$	53,348	0%		
Caldas	$	2,652	0%		
Totals	**$**	**20,084,147**	100%		6

Source: ACE 1978. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.38 - Origin of Imported "tocadiscos (giradiscos)" in 1978 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Countries
Reino Unido	$	11,765,539.00	59%	86%	2
Japón	$	5,443,286.00	27%		
Estados Unidos	$	1,164,429.00	6%	11%	2
Panamá	$	1,111,671.00	6%		
Alemania Occ	$	402,553.00	2%		
PaisesBajos	$	157,251.00	1%		
Not spec.	$	19,414.00	0%		
Francia	$	14,922.00	0%		
Italia	$	3,288.00	0%		
Chile	$	1,794.00	0%		
Totals	**$**	**20,084,147.00**	**100.0%**	97.0%	10

Source: ACE 1978. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.39 - Internal destination of traganíqueles in Colombia, 1953 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$	278,039	43%	68%	2
Valle del Cauca	$	158,797	25%		
Antioquia	$	117,981	18%		
Caldas	$	52,709	8%		
Atlántico	$	39,884	6%		
Total	**$**	**647,410**	100%		5

Source: ACE 1953. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.40 - Origin of Imported traganíqueles in 1953 ($ pesos thousands).

	Valor CIF				No. of Countries
Estados Unidos	$	647,410.00	100.0%		
Totals	**$**	**647,410.00**	**100.0%**		1

Source: ACE 1953. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.41 - Internal destination of traganíqueles in Colombia, 1954 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$	459,718	34%	58.0%	2
Valle del Cauca	$	329,347	24%		
Caldas	$	263,668	19%		
Antioquia	$	178,017	13%		
Atlántico	$	128,312	9%		
Total	**$**	**1,359,062**	100%		5

Source: ACE 1954. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.42 - Origin of Imported traganíqueles in 1954 ($ pesos thousands).

	Valor CIF				No. of Countries
Estados Unidos	$	1,358,831.00	99.98%		1
Alemania	$	199.00	0.01%		
Reino Unido	$	32.00	0.002%		
Totals	**$**	**1,359,062.00**	**100.0%**		3

Source: ACE 1954. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.43 - Internal destination of traganíqueles in Colombia, 1955 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Caldas	$	150,919	32%	64.0%	2
Cundinamarca	$	139,445	30%		
Antioquia	$	82,497	18%		
Valle del Cauca	$	72,323	15%		
Atlántico	$	23,882	5%		
Norte de Santander	$	2,326	0.5%		
Total	**$**	**471,392**	100%		6

Source: ACE 1955. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.44 - Origin of Imported traganíqueles in 1955 ($ pesos thousands).

	Valor CIF				No. of Countries
Estados Unidos	$	471,392.00	100.0%		
Totals	**$**	**471,392.00**	**100.0%**		1

Source: ACE 1955. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.45 - Internal destination of traganíqueles in Colombia, 1963 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$	380,763	87%		1
San Andres y Providencia	$	55,242	13%		
Antioquia	$	1,953	0.4%		
Valle del Cauca	$	414	0.1%		
Total	**$**	**438,372**	100%		4

Source: ACE 1963. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.46 - Origin of Imported traganíqueles in 1963 ($ pesos thousands).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$	380,763	87%		1
San Andres y Providencia	$	55,242	13%		
Antioquia	$	1,953	0.4%		
Valle del Cauca	$	414	0.1%		
Totals	**$**	**438,372**	100%		4

Source: ACE 1963. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.47 - Internal destination of traganíqueles in Colombia, 1974 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Risaralda	$	269,159	57.4%	98.6%	2
Antioquia	$	192,684	41.1%		
San Andres y Providencia	$	5,993	1.3%		
Atlántico	$	726	0.2%		
Totals	**$**	**468,562**	100%		4

Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.48 - Origin of Imported traganíqueles in 1974 ($ pesos thousands).

	Valor CIF				No. of Countries
Estados Unidos	$	468,562.00	100.0%		
Totals	**$**	**468,562.00**	**100.0%**		1

Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.49 - Internal destination of "gramófonos" in Colombia, 1954 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Valle del Cauca	$	318,940	28.5%	81.5%	3
Cundinamarca	$	300,987	26.9%		
Antioquia	$	291,229	26.1%		
Atlántico	$	169,482	15.2%		
Bolivar	$	22,498	2.0%		
Caldas	$	9,238	0.8%		
Santander	$	4,937	0.4%		
Chocó	$	91	0.01%		
Tolima	$	73	0.01%		
Norte de Santander	$	60	0.01%		
Totals	**$**	**1,117,535**	100%		10

Source: ACE 1954. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.50 - Origin of Imported "gramófonos" in 1954 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Countries
Estados Unidos	$	973,150.00	87.1%		
PaisesBajos	$	50,219.00	4.5%		
Alemania	$	26,488.00	2.4%		
Canada	$	26,019.00	2.3%		
Reino Unido	$	22,923.00	2.1%		
Japón	$	14,341.00	1.3%		
Checoslovaquia	$	2,419.00	0.2%		
Suiza	$	1,976.00	0.2%		
Totals	**$**	**1,117,535.00**	**100.0%**	0.0%	8

Source: ACE 1954. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.51 - Internal destination of rec/play hardware in Colombia, 1974 ($ pesos).

Bogotá D.E.	$	2,466,609	89.9%		
Antioquia	$	224,758	8.2%		
San Andres y Prov.	$	28,244	1.0%		
Atlántico	$	20,789	0.8%		
Bolivar	$	2,046	0.1%		
Valle del Cauca	$	1,799	0.1%		
Risaralda	$	385	0.01%		
Totals	**$**	**2,744,630**	100%		7

Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); Customs category"Aparatos para el registro y la reproducción del sonido".

Appendix 5.52 - Origin of Imported rec/play hardware in 1974 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Countries
Estados Unidos	$	1,563,892.00	57.0%	98.8%	
China-Taiwan-Formosa	$	1,147,802.00	41.8%		
Panama	$	16,715.00	0.6%		
Antillas Holandesas	$	8,280.00	0.3%		
Nicaragua	$	6,142.00	0.2%		
Suiza	$	1,799.00	0.1%		
Totals	**$**	**2,744,630.00**	**100.0%**	0.0%	8

Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); Customs category"Aparatos para el registro y la reproducción del sonido".

Appendix 5.53 - Internal destination of rec/play hardware in Colombia, 1979 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Bogotá D.E.	$	34,469,130	79%		
Cundinamarca	$	2,662,725	6%		
Atlántico	$	2,514,155	6%		
San Andres y Prov.	$	1,928,422	4%		
Valle del Cauca	$	1,104,384	3%		
Antioquia	$	685,256	2%		
Bolivar	$	248,828	1%		
Risaralda	$	105,303	0.2%		
Caldas	$	7,125	0.0%		
Totals	**$**	**43,725,328**	100%		9

Source: ACE 1979. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight); Customs category "Aparatos mixtos para el registro y la reproducción del sonido, n.e.p.".

Appendix 5.54 - Origin of Imported rec/play hardware in 1979 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF			No. of Countries
Japón	$ 19,405,233.00	44%	70.0%	2
PaisesBajos	$ 11,187,300.00	26%		
Estados Unidos	$ 6,634,609.00	15%	25.1%	3
Corea del Norte	$ 3,131,332.00	7%		
Singapur	$ 1,196,672.00	3%		
Corea del Sur	$ 599,017.00	1%		
Alemania Occ.	$ 452,158.00	1%		
Taiwan	$ 430,710.00	1%		
Panamá	$ 389,958.00	1%		
Austria	$ 145,892.00	0.3%		
Italia	$ 74,857.00	0.2%		
Not spec.	$ 54,347.00	0.1%		
Canada	$ 17,755.00	0.04%		
Antillas Holandesas (Aruba)	$ 5,488.00	0.01%		
Totals	**$43,725,328.00**	**100.0%**	95.0%	14

Source: ACE 1979. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight). Customs category "Aparatos mixtos para el registro y la reproducción del sonido, n.e.p.".

Appendix 5.55 - Internal destination of radio sets, Colombia 1954 ($ pesos).

	CIF value			No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$ 4,373,930	57%	59.1%	
Boyacá	$ 28,510	0%		
Meta	$ 1,250	0%		
Tolima	$ 137,444	2%		
Huila	$ 20,686	0%		
Atlántico	$ 843,574	11%	12.3%	
Bolivar	$ 75,697	1%		
Magdalena	$ 19,634	0%		
Cordoba	$ 11,708	0%		
Antioquia	$ 665,473	9%	15.4%	2
Caldas	$ 520,441	7%		
Valle del Cauca	$ 762,137	10%		
Santander	$ 171,352	2%	3.3%	6
Norte de Santander	$ 47,721	1%		
Nariño	$ 23,981	0%		
Cauca	$ 11,139	0%		
Amazonas	$ 3,545	0%		
Chocó	$ 169	0%		
Totals	**$ 7,718,391**	**100%**	**90%**	18

Source: ACE 1954. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.56 - Origin of imported radio sets, Colombia 1954 ($ pesos).

	CIF value			No. of count.
Estados Unidos	$ 3,535,461	46%	83.3%	3
Alemania Occ.	$ 2,138,697	28%		
Belgica y Luxemburgo	$ 751,411	10%		
Reino Unido	$ 541,426	7%	15%	3
Paises Bajos	$ 395,355	5%		
Canada	$ 236,697	3%		
Francia	$ 76,619	1%	1.5%	5
Suecia	$ 21,336	0%		
Dinamarca	$ 12,013	0%		
Italia	$ 6,288	0%		
Japón	$ 3,088	0%		
Totals	**$ 7,718,391.00**	**100.0%**	100.0%	11

Source: ACE 1954. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.57 - Internal destination of radio sets in Colombia, 1963 ($ pesos).

	CIF value				No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$	6,118,572	67%	99.5%	2
San Andres y Prov.	$	3,014,442	33%		
Valle del Cauca	$	24,437	0%		
Amazonas	$	7,164	0%		
Caldas	$	5,193	0%		
Bolivar	$	3,618	0%		
Antioquia	$	3,069	0%		
Santander	$	792	0%		
Magdalena	$	612	0%		
Nariño	$	270	0%		
Totals	**$**	**9,178,169**	**100%**		10

Source: ACE 1963. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.58 - Origin of imported radio sets, Colombia 1963 ($ pesos).

	CIF value				No. of count.
Japón	$	8,527,039	93%	92.9%	1
Estados Unidos	$	363,229	4%	4.0%	1
Hong Kong	$	83,736	1%	2.2%	3
Paises Bajos	$	66,177	1%		
Italia	$	49,374	1%		
Alemania	$	38,295	0%	1.0%	14
Reino Unido	$	27,198	0%		
Panamá	$	6,120	0%		
Brasil	$	4,203	0%		
Perú	$	3,996	0%		
Canada	$	2,655	0%		
Venezuela	$	2,187	0%		
Francia	$	1,395	0%		
Ecuador	$	720	0%		
Belgica y Luxemburgo	$	666	0%		
México	$	342	0%		
Dinamarca	$	270	0%		
Suecia	$	270	0%		
Suiza	$	270	0%		
Not spec.	$	27	0%		
Totals	**$**	**9,178,169.00**	**100.0%**	100.0%	19

Source: ACE 1963. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.59 - Internal destination of radio sets in Colombia, 1974 ($ pesos).

	CIF value				No. of Depts.
Bogotá D.E.	$	4,571,765	54%	95.6%	
San Andres y Prov.	$	3,559,320	42%		
Antioquia	$	130,646	2%		
Atlántico	$	117,187	1%		
Valle del Cauca	$	76,129	1%		
Cauca	$	20,779	0%		
Amazonas	$	20,076	0%		
Bolivar	$	6,359	0%		
Total	**$**	**8,502,261**	**100%**		8

Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.60 - Origin of imported radio sets, Colombia 1974 ($ pesos).

	CIF value			No. of count.
Japón	$ 5,083,666	60%	71.8%	
Singapur	$ 791,872	9%		
Corea del Sur	$ 166,131	2%		
China-Taiwan-Formosa	$ 61,726	1%		
Panamá	$ 1,357,189	16%	27.4%	
Panamá Zona Canal	$ 85,659	1%		
Estados Unidos	$ 884,540	10%		
Italia	$ 48,794	1%	0.8%	
Francia	$ 7,945	0%		
Alemania Occ.	$ 6,474	0%		
Puerto Rico	$ 3,493	0%		
Guatemala	$ 1,499	0%		
Rusia	$ 1,422	0%		
ntillas Holandesas [Arub	$ 1,023	0%		
Canada	$ 828	0%		
Subtotal	**$ 8,502,261.00**	**100.0%**	100.0%	15

Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.61 - Internal destination of radio sets in Colombia, 1979 ($ pesos).

	CIF value			No. of Depts.
Bogotá D.E.	$ 43,213,617	66%	77.3%	
Cundinamarca	$ 7,483,714	11%		
Atlántico	$ 4,226,604	6%	17.2%	
San Andres y Prov.	$ 3,696,950	6%		
Valle del Cauca	$ 3,371,944	5%		
Antioquia	$ 1,569,929	2%	5.0%	
Magdalena	$ 1,081,631	2%		
Risaralda	$ 656,377	1%		
Amazonas	$ 126,016	0%	0%	
Caldas	$ 29,816	0%		
Total	**$ 65,456,598**	**100%**		10

Source: ACE 1979. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 5.62 - Origin of imported radio sets, Colombia 1979 ($ pesos).

	CIF value			No. of count.
China-Taiwan-Formosa	$ 19,249,807	29%		
Japón	$ 16,781,834	26%		
Singapur	$ 11,782,477	18%	79%	
Corea del Sur	$ 2,293,086	3%		
Corea del Norte	$ 1,629,876	2%		
Estados Unidos	$ 9,386,640	14%	19.0%	
Panamá	$ 3,077,281	5%		
Paises Bajos	$ 780,730	1%		
Not spec.	$ 353,665	1%		
Reino Unido	$ 112,520	0%		
Alemania Occ.	$ 49,596	0%	2.1%	
ntillas Holandesas [Arub	$ 22,098	0%		
Hong Kong	$ 19,823	0%		
El Salvador	$ 8,540	0%		
Canada	$ 7,407	0%		
Subtotal	**$ 65,555,380.00**	**100.0%**	100.0%	14

Source: ACE 1979. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 6.1 - "Record factories" whose releases reached the Medellín market, 1949-1956.

Company	City	Start	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	Own labels	Foreing licences	Notes
Fuentes	Cartagena	1945 (1936)	x	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	Valenato (1952)	Talco, Paeroco, Amantia (19) (Asociad) (Hugo ( ), 1956) [Fenix ((1956)	**Discos Fuentes** in Cartagena started operating with **record pressing** technology in **1945**, one decade after its birth in mid 1930s (Pelaéz and Jaramillo, 1996, p41). It was soon followed by two new companies with the same standards in Barranquilla: "Industrias Fonográficas **Discos Tropical**" started operating in **1948**, and "Organizaciones Plásticas Eléctricas '**Atlantic**' Ltda." in **1950**. (Wade, 2000; Rendón Marín, 2009; Arias Calle, 2011; Restrepo Gil, 2012).
Tropical	Baquilla	1948	x	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"Time" Alfombrado (1952), Colombia (1958)	SMC (1950) [Zweig Colombia (1958)	"
Sonolux	Medellín	1949	x	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	Soria Sonolux	Reina (Venezuela) Infantiles (1951), Parranda (1952), Yumuri (1953)	Tres casas grabadoras se aprestan a producir discos "made in Colombia" en el curso de pocos meses. La **Caracol,** la **Silver** y la **Sonolux. ...** La **Sonolux** (Industria electrosonora nacional), es propiedad de Rafael Acosta y Antonio Botero, y se dedicará a la producción de discos fonográficos, por el momento de acuerdo con las condiciones técnicas que posee Colombia. Es decir, **enviando el acetato a los Estados Unidos, para de allí importar la matriz** de donde saldrán los miles de discos que abastecerán los mercados, no solo nacionales sino del continente entero, pues tiene un negocio de distribución con una prestigiosa casa extranjera... La producción en principio sería de **dos mil discos diario**s... **hechos en material semiflexible, que no se rompe al cars**e", y se espera esten para diciembre en almacenes. ("'Sonolux' ha iniciado la producción de discos y será la primera en calidad" (*El Diario*, September 14, 1949, p2-3).
Silver	Medellín	1949	x	"	"	"	"	"	"	"		Champion (Universal) (1952), Ayuso (US, 1958), Orfeo (Invisible) (1954)	"Tres casas grabadoras se aprestan a producir discos "made in Colombia" en el curso de pocos meses. La **Caracol,** la **Silver** y la **Sonolux**" (*El Diario*, September 14, 1949, p2-3). Restrepo Gil (2012) also notes **Silver was started in 1949**, a bit before Sonolux.
Atlantic	Baquilla	1950		x	"	"	"	"	"	"		Tampa (1954)	"El señor **Velasco,** propietario de **la nueva grabadora costeña** estuvo algunos días en la ciudad y lo dejó todo listo para recibir los **primeros despachos**... **Atlantic,** compañía que **se formó con acciones de todos los distribuidores departamentales** y que goza de una organización muy prometedora, piensa realizar algunas grabaciones con conjuntos antioqueños en esta ciudad... (*El Diario*, November 8, 1950, p3).
Zeida - Codiscos	Medellín	1950		x	x	x	x	(Codisc	x		Zeida	Vitrola (1950), Mozart (late 1950), Capitol (1955)	"Nueva grabadora **Zieda,** de **Alfredo Diez**... **socio que fue de Silver** en los primeros tiempos... **saldrá al mercado en los próximos días**... Zeida tiene el proyecto de regrabar en Colombia **disco Verne,** que como se sabe ha sido la lanzadora de innumerbales "hits" populares, mediante arreglo... con los directores de esa importante empresa, y ofrecerán también algunas **canciones de tipo 'carrilera,'** es decir, de acogida popular indiscutible," (*El Diario*, June 14, 1950, p2).
Mario Arango - Marango	Pereira	circa 1950		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Mario (1956), Disco Star (1951), Perla (1952), Lumar (1953)		"Marango, el **fabricante pereirano**, como que se unirá a este bloque" (*El Diario*, March 28, 1951, p2); "**Mario Arango ha covertido en 'Discos Cali' su marca "Mario"** (*El Diario*, June 6, 1951, p2).
Vergara	Bogotá	1950		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Mar Viva, Estrella (1954)	Gallardist (1958)	"Ya están en venta en Medellín los primeros discos del **sello Vergara**. El sello **lo dirige "el maestro Cristancho"** (*El Diario*, September 20, 1950, p5); "**Gregorio Vergara, Francisco Peñaranda y Marino Lemos** de Sello Vergara de Bogotá" (*El Diario*, February 21, 1951, p2). "Sello Vergara es la **segunda empresa que lanza "long play" en Colombia. Pero prensa sus discos en los Estados Unidos**, los empaca en bolsas presentadas con poco gusto, y como usa un material inapropiado tienen sus primeras producciones un endemoniado ruido de aguja que las perjudica notablemente en la opinión de los compradores. Es justo destacar que esta última circunstancia se obvió posteriormente" (*El Diario*, 21 July, 1954, p 2, 7).
Cifuentes	Girardot	1951			x	?	?	?	?	?			**Cifuentes** (Girardot): "Según noticia publicada por 'El Tiempo', en la ciudad de Girardota **comenzará a funcionar en breve plazo una nueva fábrica fonográfica** que se dedicará muy especialmente a la difusión de la música de aquella región y se distinguirá en los mercados con el nombre Cifuentes. ...**pertenece a uno de los más distinguidos industriales del puerto, Celestino Cifuente**s, persona **vinculada estrechamente a la radiodifusión colombia**na como que es **de su propiedad** la importante **emisora "Radio Girardot"**, que funciona en el puerto" (*El Diario*, July 18, 1951, p2). "**Ocho empresas de discos... comenzaron el año**. En el transcurso de los doce meses... surgieron, **Cifuentes,** de **Girardot** y **Tin Tan** de **Pereira.**" (*El Diario*, December 19, 1951, p2).
Alejandro Amaya Marquez	Honda	1951			x	?	?	?	?	?			"**También Honda** tendrá su fábrica de discos pronto... [fundada por] **Alejandro Amaya Marquez**, muy conocido en todo el departamento del Tolima por sus **negocios radiofónicos**" (*El Diario*, December 5, 1951, p2, 7).
Ondina Fonográfica Ltda	Medellín	1952				x	x	x	x	x	Ondina	Antena, Perico (1957)	"Mañana estarán en los expendios los primeros discos del **sello Ondina**, la marca de fábrica de **Rafael Acosta socio de Electro Sonora Nacional**, quien, para debutar, ha escogido un repertorio variado... [Incluye entre varios discos mencionados] Una vieja canción popular regresa en las voces del popularísimo Duetto Azteca y en el sello del mismo nombre [Azteca] que prensa para Colombia Ondina fonográfica Limitada: 'Amor Chiquito'" (*El Diario*, August 13, 1952, p2, 7).
Atlas	Ibagué	1954						x	?	?			**"Atlas**... nueva fábrica de grabaciones", se establecerá en **Bogotá:** "El conocido jefe de publicidad **Henry Ramusser, propietario de publicidad Atlas**, **Alvaro Monroy Guzmán**, del cuerpo de colaboradores de la **emisora Nuevo Mundo**, y otras personas..." "ya ha realizado los primeros discos con... Los Embajadores..." "se dice que importarán dos prensas" (*El Diario*, Medellín, February 3, 1954, p2, 6).
Lusar	Ibagué	1954						x	?	?			"Otras marcas de menor importancia. ... **Cifuentes,** de **Girardot; Lusar,** de **Ibagué; Rico,** de **Pereira**... pero casi que **concretan sus servicios a sus localidades respectivas**... sin que lleguen **a los mercados fuertes** nunca, o tan **pocas veces**" (*El Diario*, 22 December 22, 1954, p7).
Rico	Pereira	1954						x	?	?			"
Victoria	Cali	circa 1955							x	x			"**La marca Victoria** que ahora está **prensando sus discos en Ondina** se perfila como una competidora fuerte aún para las marcas grandes. Vende... buenas cantidades de Olimpo Cárdenas" (*El Diario*, June 15, 1955, p7). Yet, by 1963 it contributed with presses from Cali to form Industrias Fonográficas Victoria with Otoniel Cardona (see Chapter 8).
Discos Curro	Cartagena	circa 1956								x			Wade (2000, p95, 151) notes: "In the **mid-1950s, he set up his own studios in Cartagena** in the original Discos Fuentes building". "**Discos Curro: Nació en 1956,** en la época de las grandes orquestas: Pacho Galán, etc. De la orquesta de Pacho Galán salió La Sonora Curro. Puso su propia compañía en la misma parte donde nació Discos Fuentes... Antonio Fuentes se había trasladado a Medellín. Contaba con una grabadora Ampex, una caldera y una prensa." (Entrevista Curro Fuentes)

Sources: Mostly *El Diario*, Medellín, but also others. See column to the right for details..

Appendix 6.2 - Publishers active in Colombia (1949 - 1963).

	Origin	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	Source
Peer International Corporation	US			x													*El Diario*
Southern Music	US					x											*El Diario*
Ciro Vega - Publisher	Bogotá					x	"	"	"								*El Diario*
Eco	Colombia					x											*El Diario*
Rhyma	Bogotá														x	x	*Billboard*

Note: The marked dates correspond to evidence of activity in the country.

Appendix 6.3 - Record sales in Colombia ,1921-1934 (millions of units).

Record sales in Colombia 1921 to 1934 (Millions of Units)		
	Colombia	**US**
1921	-	140
1922	0.1	-
1923	0.1	-
1924	0.2	-
1925	0.4	100
1926	0.6	-
1927	0.8	-
1928	**1.2**	-
1929	**1**	150
1930	0.4	100
1931	0.1	-
1932	0.1	-
1933	0	-
1934	0.1	-
1935	-	25
Source: Gronow (1983, p63).		

Appendix 6.4 - Importers-distributors-retailers of records active in Colombia, 1949-1956.

	City	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	Source
DeBedout	Medellín	x	"	x	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	*El Diario*
J Glottmann	Bogotá	x	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	*La Repúb.*
La Múcura	Cartagena	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x								Wade (2000)
Otoniel Cardona	Medellín		x														*El Diario*
Ciro Vega & Cia. "Distribuidora Musical" o "Distribuidora Nacional"	Medellín		x	x	"	"	"	"	"								*El Diario*
José Ramiréz Johns almacén de discos	Medellín			x													*El Diario*
Mario Saldarriga	Medellín			x													*El Diario*
Almacen Ley	Medellín			x													*El Diario*
Ernesto Lalinde	Medellín			x													*El Diario*
Salón Musical	Medellín			x													*El Diario*
Gustavo Vélez	Medellín			x													*El Diario*
Alberto Fernández	Medellín			x													*El Diario*
Rosendo Echeverri	Medellín			x													*El Diario*
Carlos Parra	Medellín			x													*El Diario*
Almacén Lima	Medellín			x													*El Diario*
Discos Daro	Bogotá					x	"	"	"								*El Diario*
Enrique Arbeláez	Medellín					x											*El Diario*
La Ilustración (Eduardo Correa)	Medellín					x											*El Diario*
Salón Musical Orientación	Medellín						x										*El Diario*

Note: The marked dates correspond to evidence of activity in the country.

Appendix 6.5 - Players in Jukebox international commerce, 1951-1956: US and Colombia (Wurlitzer, Seeburg, AMI, Rock-Ola).

City	Import/Distribution Companies	Notes	Staff	*Billboard*
New York	Young Distributing, Inc.	Wurlitzer used and reconditioned equipment	Joe Young	1953
New York	Atlantic-New York	Seeburg used and reconditioned equipment	Murray Kaye	1953
New York	Runyon Sales	Unspecified used and reconditioned equipment	Barney Sugerman	1953
New York	Herman Distributors	Unspecified used and reconditioned equipment	Arte Herman	1953
Medellín	Felix de Bedout e Hijos	Wurlitzer		1951
Barranquilla	Foto Velasco	Wurlitzer	Elieces Velasco (head)	1951
Bogotá	Importaciones Cabo, Ltda.	Wurlitzer	Leopoldo Franco	1955
Cali	Importadores Aliados Ltda.	Wurlitzer	Alfredo Rizo	1955
Cali	Alejandro Garces Ltda.	Seeburg		1956
Bogotá	Patiño & Patiño Ltda.	Seeburg sub-distributor		1956
Bogotá	Guillermo Zuluaga-Laserna	Seeburg sub-distributor		1956
Bogotá	Radiolaboratories Mohen	Seeburg sub-distributor	Julio C. Moreno (partner).	1956
Bogotá	Importaciones Extra Ltda.	AMI	Bernardo Lozano (manager)	1954
Medellín	Fidel Duque Isaza	AMI		1955
Manizales	Nicolas Echeverria & Cia.	AMI		1955
Cali	Central Fonotecnica	AMI		1955
Barranquilla	H. Echevarria and Cia. Ltda.	AMI		1955
Ibagué	Hugo Gaviria B.	AMI		1955
Pereira	Jaime Londoño A.	AMI		1955
Pereira	Simon Velasco & Co.	Rock-Ola		1955

Source: *Billboard* magazine, 1951-1956. Note: Alejandro Garces Ltda. in Cali, sets sub-distributors in Bogotá.

Appendix 6.6 - Record company staff in Colombia identified in *Billboard* (1963 and 1979).

Year	City	Company	Name	Position	Source
1979	Bogotá	CBS	Alberto Suarez	Head of the publicity department	Billboard
1979	Bogotá	CBS	Carlos Gutierrez	Gerente General	Billboard
1979	Bogotá	Discos Philips (PolyGram)	Alfonso Escolar (Escobar?)	General Manager	Billboard
1979	Bogotá	Discos Philips (PolyGram)	Gaston Moulin	International pop manager	Billboard
1979	Medellín	Codiscos	Jorge Gonzales	Manager in Bogotá	Billboard
1979	Medellín	Codiscos	Alvaro Arango	Executive Vicepresident	Billboard
1979	Medellín	Fuentes	Javier García	Head of catalogue department	Billboard
1979	Medellín	Fuentes	Conrado Dominguez	General Manager	Billboard
1979	Medellín	Discos Victoria	Otoniel Cardona		Billboard
1979	Medellín	INS	Guillermo Zea Fernandez	Founder	Billboard
1979	Medellín	Sonolux	Leon Cardona	A&R	Billboard
1979	Medellín	Sonolux	Juan Fernando Restrepo	Sales director	Billboard
1979	Medellín	Sonolux	Sergio Berdugo	President	Billboard
1979	Medellín	Sonolux	Alfredo Nova	Regional promoter	Billboard
1979	Barranquilla	Discos Tropical	Emilio Fortou P.	President	Billboard
1979	Barranquilla	Discos Tropical	Tony Fortou E.	Sales manager	Billboard
1963	Medellín	Codiscos	L. Alzate	Manager	Billboard

Source: *Billboard* magazine.

Appendix 6.7 - Events identified through *Billboard* (1947-1970).

Year	*Event*
1979	**Top Hits** (Venezuelan label) opens branch in Bogotá
1979-80	Bambuco (recording studios) is set up in Bogotá.
1979	Musician strike in early 1979
1979	New TV regulations
1979	Color TV takes off
1977-79?	Victoria expands
1977-79?	**INS** (Instituto Nacional del Sonido) is created
1976-77?	**Fuentes vs Philips** about a cover related copyright infringment
1976-79?	**Codisccos** starts creating other commodities
1972	**Quadradisc** debut at interantional industry congress
1972	4th **International Music Industry Conference**
1968	A&M licencing deal with **Sonolux?**
1965	Inauguration of the **new CBS factory in Bogota (Discos CBS, S.A., of Colombia)**
1963	**Lucho Bermudez** new manager of **Rhyma** publishers Bogotá [deber Rima]
1963	**Discos Tropica**l will press **Sono Radio** label from Peru
1963	**Antonio Botero** (founder) retires from Sonolux, Guillermo de Bedout new manager
1963	**DYNAGROOVE** by RCA Victor international release
1963	**Discos Fuentes** will spend three million pesos to modify recording studio and pressing plant
1963	In **Sonolux**, new Real label will issue the first LP's from the ex-RCA Cuban label Discuba.
1963	**Codiscos** licence agreement with WB and with 20th Century-Fox
1963	**Elvis Presley's** album (RCA Victor) and film (MGM) "It happened ate the world's fair" release
1963	**CBS** world expansion/domination plan unveiled
1963	**CBS and Discos Tropical** distribution deal
1963	**Metropoli Records** has established a depot in Bogota
1963	**Fuentes** acquired representation of the **Music Hall label of Argentina**
1963	**Rafael Escalona Martinez** has joined the **Tropical label**
1963	**Ondina** signed exclusive contract for distrib of its catalog in Venezuela with **Venevox**
1963	**Sonolux** now represents the catalog of **Musidisc (Brazil)**
1962	**Musidisc (Brazil)** pressing after closing negotiations with **Sonolux**
1962	**Discos Fuentes** signed a long-term contract with **Peerless (Mexico)**
1962	Discos Tropical licence with Hispavox (Also with Tropical: Discomoda, Columbia, Harmony (U.S.A.), Velvet, Kubaney and Ansonia)
1962	**Sonolux** to manufacture and distribute **Gema (Cuba label)**.
1962	**Discos Fuentes** first national sales convention in Medellin . . . .
1962	**Philips Colombiana** released three "Tilt" series LP's
1961	**Discos Fuentes** exclusive distributor for **United Artists Records** in Colombia
1961	**Sonolu**x distrib contract with **Discos Mexicanos** (Mex)
1961	**Sonolux** agreement with **Discos Melody (Mexico)**
1961	**Sonolux** and **Liberty** licensing agreement.
1957	**Coin machine export to Colombia completely banned** (Billboard, July 22, 1957, 107).
1956	**Radiolaboratories Mohen (Julio C. Moreno, partner) established (Seeburg outlet)**
1956	**Viking Export Company** (NY) sets **branch in Miami** to export Jukes to L.A.
1955	**Coffee price drop crisis** instills predictions about Colombian coin machine import business decrease
1955	**Seeburg distributor, Alejandro Garces Ltda., Cali**, has set up three sub-distributors in Bogota
1955	**Changes in import rules last may (May decree)**, so Bogota juke box distributrors switch to local assembly
1955	**Importaciones Cabo Ltda. starts local assembly when imports were restricted in 1955**
1954	**New Colombia Juke Import Assembly Law (Jan 10, 1954)**
1953	Resignation of the former Wurlitzer distributor, so Importaciones Cabo Ltda. Becomes new distributor
1953	**Partial lifting of the import ban on jukes imposed by Colombia in 1949.**
1953	"Only within.. last few months has it become relatively simple to get import licenses [for software] in **Colombia"**
1950	**Discos Tropical** "lease" of Coda and SMC labels' masters
1949	**Import ban on jukes imposed by Colombia in 1949**
1947	**Col ports overstocked - new import license system installed Jan, coin machines not on preferential list**

Source: *Billboard* magazine.

Appendix 6.8 - Record business players identified through *Billboard*, 1963-1979.

Year	Company	Kind	City	Sources in *Billboard*	Notes
1963	Real	Label (in Sonolux)	-	Penalver, Alvaro. "'Colombia' in 'International News Reports.'" *Billboard*, June 22, 1963.	New label. Will release Discuba material (ex-RCA label)
1968	Peer de Colombia Ltda.	Publishing House	Bogotá	"Peer-Southern Organization 40th Aniversary Salute," *Billboard*, June 1, 1968. (pg. P-S-8)	
1967	Circulo Musical	Record Club	Bogotá	Lopez, Eleazar. "Largest Venezuelan Record Club Will Expand Set-Up to Colombia,"Billboard, July 29, 1967.	Record club, el más grande de Venezuela. Planea oficinas en Bogotá, Cali y Barranquilla.
1963	GEMA	Record company	Cuba	Penalver, Alvaro. "'Colombia' in 'International News Reports.'" *Billboard*, June 22, 1963.	From Cuba, announces opening of offices in Medellin
1963	Alegre	Record company	-	Penalver, Alvaro. "'Colombia' in 'International News Reports.'" *Billboard*, June 22, 1963.	Aquired by Codiscos
1963	Giron Records	Record company	-	"'Colombia' in 'International News Reports.'" *Billboard*, June 29, 1963.	Announced this year as "will appear".
1963	Serenata	Record company	-	"'Colombia' in 'International News Reports.'" *Billboard*, June 29, 1963.	Will release LP of "Cumbia sobre el mar" musical
1963	Ondina	Record company	Medellín	Penalver, Alvaro. "'Colombia' in 'International News Reports,'" *Billboard*, May 11, 1963.	
1963	Metropoli Records	Record company	Bogotá	Penalver, Alvaro. "'Colombia' in 'International News Reports,'" *Billboard*, September 28, 1963.	"has established a depot in Colombia"
1972	Discos Chavez	Record company	Pasto	"Spotlight on 20 Years of Dureco [Holland]," *Billboard*, December 2, 1972(pg. 43)	
1973	Melser	Record company	-	Melanson, Jim. "Fania to Romance Black Radio," *Billboard*, January 6, 1973. (pg. 11)	Handles Vaya and Fania International (both subsidiaries of Fania)
1979	INC	Record company	Medellín	Bellon, Manolo. "Colombia: Musical Patchwork Mirrors Regional Variation." *Billboard*, November 3, 1979.	
1979	Top Hits (Colombian branch)	Record company	Bogotá	Moreno, Tony. "Bogota Wing for Top Hits." *Billboard*, December 8, 1979.	Plans to buy studios and manufacture records in Colombia. Also expansion plans to Mexico and Spain.
1980	INCOLVE	Record company	Bogotá	"Special Delphine Records - The Leading French International Producer." *Billboard*, October 4, 1980.	Licencia de Delphine Records de Francia
1964	Alberto J. Verswyvel (Kapp distrib in Colombia)	Record company/Distributor	-	-	Distributed in Colombia
1965	Miami Records	Record company/Distributor	Miami	"78's in Spanish Still Good Market, Says Miami Records." *Billboard*, July 10, 1965. (pg. 31)	
1965	Miami Records	Record shop	New York	"78's in Spanish Still Good Market, Says Miami Records." *Billboard*, July 10, 1965. (pg. 31)	
1979	Ingeson	Recording Studio	Bogotá	"MCI at 25: A Pioneer Spirit in Studio Equipment Earns Global Respect.," *Billboard*, September 1, 1979. (pg. MCI-36)	
1979	Bambuco	Recording Studio	Bogotá	Bellon, Manolo. "Colombia: Musical Patchwork Mirrors Regional Variation." *Billboard*, November 3, 1979.	

Source: *Billboard* magazine.

Appendix 6.9 - Record sales in Latin America 1960 to 1980 (including pre-recorded tape).

	México	Argentina	Brazil	Chile	Ecuador	Venezuela	Peru	Uruguay
1960	n.a.							
1961	n.a.							
1962	n.a.							
1963	n.a.						1.7	
1964	n.a.							
1965	n.a.	9.2	6.9					
1966	n.a.	10.5		1.7				
1967	14.8	10.2		1.8				
1968	17.2	13.7	13.6	2				
1969	21.9	18.5	16.1	2.3				
1970	21.9		16.6					
1971	n.a.		20.3					
1972	n.a.							
1973	32.5							
1974	33.4							
1975	n.a.							
1976	n.a.	19.9						0.7
1977	67.4	16.8						0.7
1978	n.a.		58					0.8
1979	79.1	21.3	46.7					0.7
1980	82.6	22.3	56		12.7	13.3		0.6

Source: Gronow (1983, pp66-68).

Appendix 6.10 - Recorded music sales in four Latin American countries: 1999 vs. 2004 (units and retail value: figures in millions - value in USD 2004 rates).

	Total Units		Retail Value	
	1999 *	2004 **	1999	2004
Brazil	97.13	66	668.4	374.2
Mexico	73.2	56.3	626	360
Argentina	22.8	13.4	270.4	83.9
Colombia	13.93	5.9	130.8	48.5

Sources: T*he Recording Industry World Sales 2000* (IFPI), and *The Recording Industry World Sales 200* (IFPI). Notes: * The 2000 IFPI report includes units of singles, LPs, MCs, and CDs, yet, Brazil's unit figures don't include LPs, and Argentina's don't include singles nor LPs. ** The 2005 IFPI report includes units of singles, CDs and DVDs.

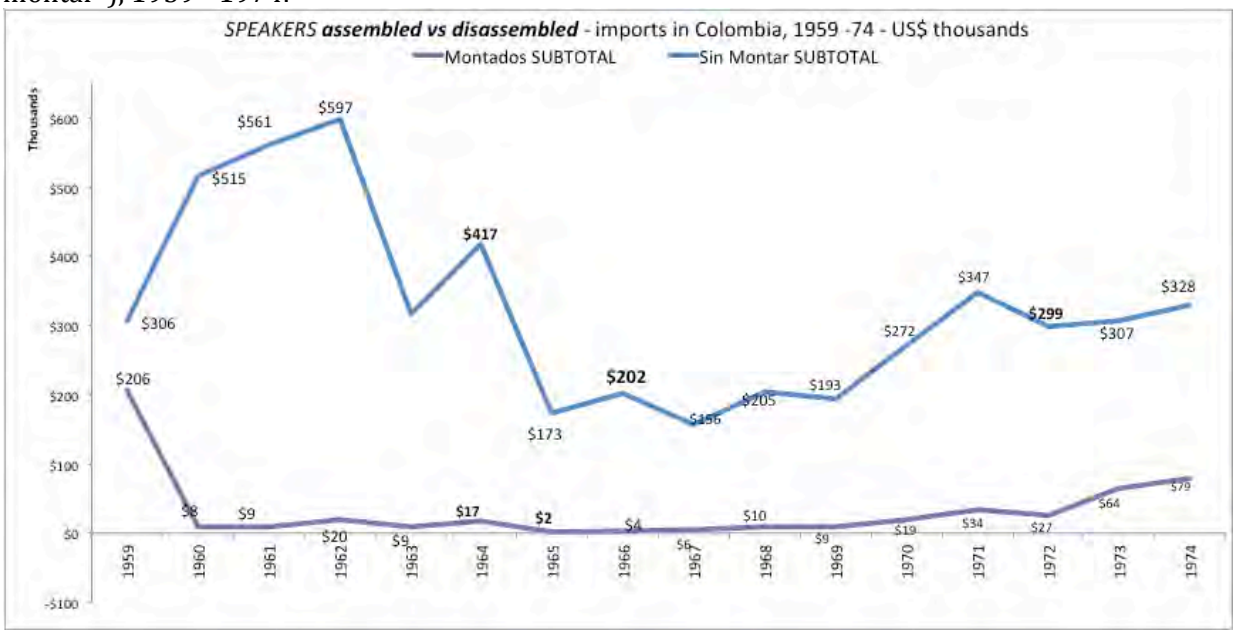
Appendix 7.1- Sound hardware prices in Colombia (mid 1950s): radios.

Year	Brand	Type	Model	Price	Source	City
1953	**Motorola**	Autoradio	503	$268.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1953	Motorola	Autoradio	702	$395.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1953	Motorola	Autoradio	802	$425.50	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1954	Motorola	Autoradio	554	$304.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1954	**Philips**	Autoradio	NX 626 V	$315.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Autoradio	NX 346 V	$268.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Autoradio	NX 636 V	$399.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	**Sears, Roebuck & Co.**	Autoradio	**Allstate**	$440.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1950	**DeWald**	Radio	?	$120.00	*El Diario*	Medellín
1956	**Grundig**	Radio	N.E.	$275.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	**Loewe Opta**	Radio	Rheinnixe (pila)	$240.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	Loewe Opta	Radio	Rheinnixe (corr)	$264.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	Loewe Opta	Radio	Gieldemeister	$336.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	Loewe Opta	Radio	Gieldemeister 263 w/3D	$496.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	Loewe Opta	Radio	Rheinperle 2154 w/3D	$780.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1953	**Philco**	Radio	540 X	$95.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1953	Philco	Radio	B 3101	$220.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1953	**Philips**	Radio	BCL 115 U	$112.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Radio	BCL 135 U	$89.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Radio	BCL 317 U	$169.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Radio	BCL 326 U	$179.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Radio	BCL 335 B	$198.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Radio	BX 326 B	$198.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Radio	BCL 427 A	$255.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Radio	BCL 427 Z	$275.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Radio	BX 427 Z	$275.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Radio	BCL 535 A	$349.50	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Radio	BCL 735 A	$594.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio	BX 236 B	$164.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio	BCL 335 V	$198.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio	BX 335 B	$198.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio	LLC 437 A B	$239.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio	BX 329 B - 01	$247.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio	BCL 435 A	$255.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio	BCL 527 Z	$275.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio	BX 435 Z	$275.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio	BCL 536 A	$369.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio	BX 536 A	$369.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio	BCL 626 A	$499.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Radio	BCL 136 U	**$99.00**	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Radio	BCL 335 U	$214.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Radio	BCL 447 A	$278.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Radio	BCL 439 B	$398.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Radio	BX 439 B	$398.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Radio	BX 645 A	$649.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Radio	BX 775 A	$868.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1955	**Siemens**	Radio	550	$330.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	Siemens	Radio	813	$625.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	**Zenith**	Radio	M 531 T	**$150.00**	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá

Appendix 7.2 - Sound hardware prices in Colombia (mid1950s): radiogram., tocadiscos, TVs.

Year	Brand	Type	Model	Price	Source	City
1955	**Loewe Opta**	Radio-gramófono	Rheinperle 2145	$1,250.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	Loewe Opta	Radio-gramófono	Rheinperle 2154 w/3D	$1,550.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	**Philips**	Radio-gramófono	HX 428 A	$399.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Radio-gramófono	HCL 538 A	$789.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Radio-gramófono	FCL 637 A	$1,397.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Radio-gramófono	FCL 839 A	$2,489.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio-gramófono	HCL 538 A	$899.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio-gramófono	FCL 637 A	$1,397.00		Bogotá
1955	Philips	Radio-gramófono	FCL 846 A	$2,995.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Radio-gramófono	HCL 458 A	$449.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Radio-gramófono	HCL 538 A	$899.00	*Cromos; La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Radio-gramófono	FX 557 A	$1,439.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Radio-gramófono	"Gran Concierto"	$2,995.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	Radio-gramófono	FX 749 A	$3,695.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1956	**Sears, Roebuck & Co.**	Radio-gramófono	Silvertone (Radio Consola)	$1,249.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	Sears, Roebuck & Co.	Radio-gramófono	Silvertone (Alta Fidelidad)	$1,569.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	Sears, Roebuck & Co.	Radio-gramófono	Silvertone (Radiola))	$1,699.95	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1955	**Siemens**	Radio-gramófono	1750	$2,250.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	**Phiilps**	Tocadiscos	AG 1003	$279.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	Tocadiscos	AG 2002	$94.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	**Webster-Chicago**	Tocadiscos	?	$175.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	**Crosley**	TV	Super V	$786.50	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1954	**Motorola**	TV	21 C 3	$1,480.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1954	Motorola	TV	21 K 21	$1,590.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1954	Motorola	TV	24 K 5	$1,890.00	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1955	Motorola	TV	21"	$850	*Cromos*	Bogotá
1954	**Philips**	TV	TX 1723 A	$890.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	TV	21 CX 106 B	$1,190.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1954	Philips	TV	21 CX 106 A	$1,895.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	Philips	TV	17 TX 129 A	$615.00	*La Rep*	Bogotá
1956	**RCA Victor**	TV	Townsman 56 (21")	$1,084.50	*Cromos*	Bogotá

Appendix 7.3 - Speaker imports in Colombia - Assembled ("montados") vs. Disassembled ("sin montar"), 1959 - 1974.



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior Colombia* (ACE).

Appendix 7.4 - Internal destination of imported speakers, microphones and the likes in Colombia, 1956 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$	1,179,702	50%		
Valle del Cauca	$	650,817	28%		
Atlántico	$	197,878	8%		
Antioquia	$	167,288	7%		
Caldas	$	80,868	3%		
Bolivar	$	54,830	2%		
Santander	$	10,699	0.5%		
Huila	$	5,622	0.2%		
Boyacá	$	987	0.0%		
Chocó	$	753	0.0%		
Magdalena	$	352	0.0%		
Totals	**$**	**2,349,796**	100%		11

Source: ACE 1956. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.5 - Origin of imported speakers, microphones and the likes in 1956 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Countries
Estados Unidos	$	1,769,706	75%	89.3%	2
PaisesBajos	$	327,765	14%		
Alemania	$	137,060	6%	9.2%	2
Reino Unido	$	79,812	3%		
Suecia	$	23,035	1%	2%	8
Francia	$	5,144	0.2%		
Italia	$	3,590	0.2%		
Dinamarca	$	2,013	0.1%		
Canada	$	1,402	0.1%		
Suiza	$	192	0.0%		
Belgica y Luxemburgo	$	50	0.0%		
Japón	$	27	0.0%		
Totals	**$**	**2,349,796.00**	**100.0%**	100.0%	12

Source: ACE 1956. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.6 - Internal destination of imported disassembled speakers in Colombia, 1964 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$	2,292,865	61%		
Valle del Cauca	$	683,939	18%		
Caldas	$	631,845	17%		
Atlántico	$	83,160	2%		
Antioquia	$	60,282	2%		
San Andres y Prov.	$	4,221	0.1%		
Magdalena	$	270	0.01%		
Santander	$	108	0.00%		
Totals	**$**	**3,756,690**	**100%**		8

Source: ACE 1964. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.7 - Origin of imported disassembled speakers in 1964 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Countries
Japón	$	939,963.00	25%	87.9%	5
PaisesBajos	$	814,210.00	22%		
Dinamarca	$	672,726.00	18%		
Estados Unidos	$	545,315.00	15%		
España	$	328,581.00	9%		
Belgica y Luxemburgo	$	144,270.00	4%	12%	6
Reino Unido	$	118,422.00	3%		
Checoslovaquia	$	92,133.00	2%		
Alemania	$	72,351.00	2%		
Alemania Oriental	$	26,775.00	1%		
Noruega	$	1,764.00	0.05%		
Not Spec.	$	180.00	0.00%		
Totals	**$**	**3,756,690.00**	**100%**	**100.0%**	11

Source: ACE 1964. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.8 - Internal destination of imported disassembled speakers in Colombia, 1974 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Valle del Cauca	$	3,434,583	41%		
Bogotá D.E.	$	3,079,031	36%		
Risaralda	$	1,307,226	15%		
Atlántico	$	348,064	4%		
Antioquia	$	234,126	3%		
San Andres y Prov.	$	56,088	1%		
Bolivar	$	1,766	0.02%		
Totals	**$**	**8,460,884**	**100%**		7

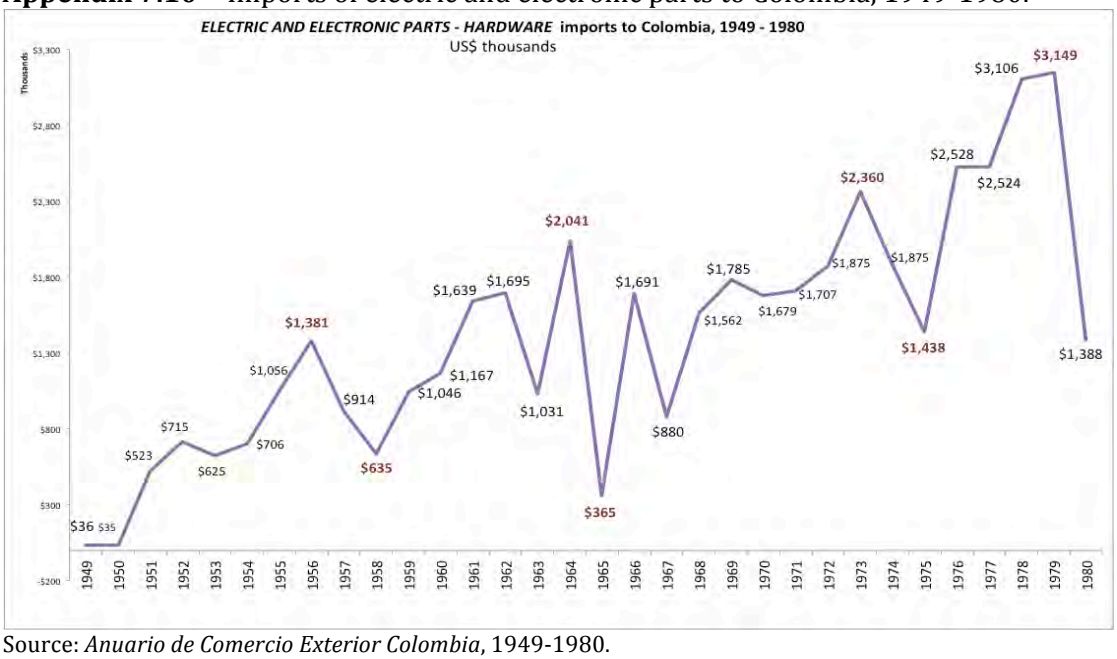
Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.9 - Origin of Imported disassembled speakers in 1974 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Countries
Estados Unidos	$	2,831,942	33%		
Japón	$	2,737,253	32%	82.5%	3
Paises Bajos	$	1,411,549	17%		
Argentina	$	532,119	6%		
Dinamarca	$	265,242	3%		
Chile	$	260,398	3%	17%	5
Reino Unido	$	186,350	2%		
China-Taiwan-Formosa	$	161,638	2%		
Venezuela	$	40,661	0.5%		
España	$	21,379	0.3%		
Suecia	$	5,861	0.1%	1%	6
Panamá	$	3,991	0.05%		
Canada	$	2,245	0.03%		
Antillas Holandesas [Aruba]	$	256	0.00%		
Totals	**$**	**8,460,884.00**	**100.0%**	100.0%	14

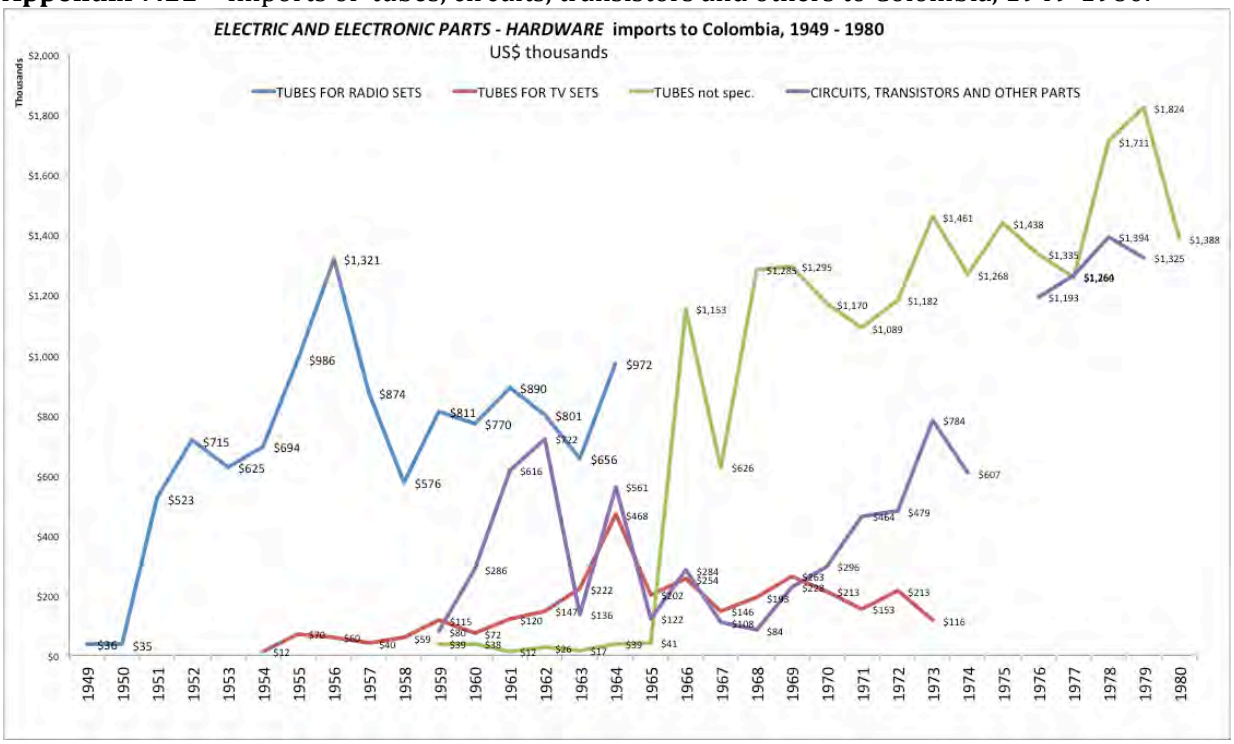
Source: ACE 1974. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.10 - Imports of electric and electronic parts to Colombia, 1949-1980.



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior Colombia*, 1949-1980.

Appendix 7.11 - Imports of tubes, circuits, transistors and others to Colombia, 1949-1980.



Source: *Anuario de Comercio Exterior Colombia*, 1949-1980.

Appendix 7.12 - Internal destination of imported electric tubes for radio, Colombia, 1956 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$	2,275,298	69%	86.2%	2
Valle del Cauca	$	572,639	17%		
Antioquia	$	141,806	4%		
Caldas	$	137,169	4%		
Atlántico	$	112,708	3%		
Bolivar	$	28,894	1%		
Santander	$	16,417	0.5%		
Norte de Santander	$	10,774	0.3%		
Tolima	$	7,361	0.2%		
Boyacá	$	330	0.01%		
Magdalena	$	222	0.01%		
Totals	**$**	**3,303,618**	**100%**		11

Source: ACE 1956. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.13 - Origin of imported electric tubes for radio, Colombia 1956 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of countries
Estados Unidos	$	2,480,772	75%	93.7%	2
Paises Bajos	$	613,976	19%		
Alemania	$	112,359	3%	6.3%	6
Reino Unido	$	83,397	3%		
Francia	$	10,299	0.3%		
Suecia	$	2,636	0.1%		
Suiza	$	164	0.005%		
Hungría	$	15	0.000%		
Totals	**$**	**3,303,618.00**	**100.0%**	100.0%	8

Source: ACE 1956. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.14 - Internal destination of imported electric tubes, Colombia 1966 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$	10,792,925	69%		
Caldas	$	2,006,242	13%		
Valle del Cauca	$	1,590,586	10%		
Antioquia	$	561,602	4%		
Atlántico	$	452,677	3%		
Santander	$	67,807	0.4%		
Bolivar	$	61,510	0.4%		
Norte de Santander	$	10,315	0.1%		
Magdalena	$	8,843	0.1%		
Tolima	$	7,789	0.1%		
Totals	**$**	**15,560,296**	**100%**		10

Source: ACE 1966. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.15 - Origin of imported electric tubes in 1966 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of countries
Estados Unidos	$	4,796,223	30.8%	82.1%	5
Paises Bajos	$	4,229,445	27.2%		
Japón	$	1,734,506	11.1%		
Alemania Orient.	$	1,114,118	7.2%		
Alemania Occ.	$	893,013	5.7%		
Argentina	$	612,861	3.9%	15.8%	7
Yugoeslavia	$	516,969	3.3%		
Reino Unido	$	320,952	2.1%		
Belgica y Luxemburgo	$	297,437	1.9%		
Checoslovaquia	$	215,096	1.4%		
España	$	200,327	1.3%		
Hungría	$	171,733	1.1%		
Suiza	$	124,970	0.8%	2.9%	11
Chile	$	80,150	0.5%		
Panamá	$	69,458	0.4%		
Suecia	$	56,120	0.4%		
Brasil	$	45,294	0.3%		
Unión Sovietica	$	37,976	0.2%		
Dinamarca	$	37,220	0.2%		
Italia	$	3,673	0.02%		
Francia	$	2,309	0.01%		
Australia	$	270	0.002%		
Ecuador	$	176	0.001%		
Totals	**$**	**15,560,296**	**100.0%**		23

Source: ACE 1966. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.16 - Internal destination of imported electric tubes, Colombia, 1979 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Bogotá D.E.	$	31,085,078	42%		
Risaralda	$	21,952,805	29%		
Antioquia	$	10,331,736	14%		
Valle del Cauca	$	10,251,736	14%		
Bolivar	$	289,767	0.4%		
Caldas	$	181,641	0.2%		
Atlántico	$	169,541	0.2%		
Santander	$	95,832	0.1%		
Quindio	$	60,412	0.1%		
Cundinamarca	$	23,727	0.03%		
Cordoba	$	5,782	0.01%		
Totals	**$**	**74,448,057**	**100%**		11

Source: ACE 1979. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.17 - Origin of imported electric tubes, Colombia 1979 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of countries
Estados Unidos	$	40,990,076	55%		
Alemania Occ.	$	11,484,453	15%	82.6%	3
Japón	$	8,999,745	12%		
Reino Unido	$	3,179,439	4%		
Hungria	$	2,414,223	3%		
Alemania Orient	$	2,038,742	3%		
Belgica y Luxemburgo	$	1,343,141	2%	16%	8
Polonia	$	1,228,385	2%		
China [Taiwan]	$	710,112	1%		
Egipto	$	697,326	1%		
Francia	$	476,979	1%		
Brasil	$	334,195	0.4%		
Paises Bajos	$	198,267	0.3%		
Italia	$	143,496	0.2%		
Suecia	$	108,651	0.1%		
Australia	$	63,778	0.1%	1.2%	9
Suiza	$	22,201	0.03%		
España	$	11,540	0.02%		
Panamá	$	3,042	0.004%		
México	$	266	0.000%		
Totals	**$**	**74,448,057.00**	**100.0%**	100.0%	20

Source: ACE 1979. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.18 - Internal destination of imported transistors, Colombia 1962 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF				No. of Depts.
Cundinamarca	$	2,174,732	77%	96.8%	2
Valle del Cauca	$	575,725	20%		
Atlántico	$	75,984	3%		
Antioquia	$	15,410	1%		
Santander	$	211	0.01%		
Totals	**$**	**2,842,062**	**100%**		5

Source: ACE 1962. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.19 - Origin of imported transistors in 1962 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF			No. of countries
Japón	$ 1,762,329	62%	96.5%	2
Paises Bajos	$ 981,407	35%		
Checoslovaquia	$ 48,532	2%		
Estados Unidos	$ 44,843	2%		
Reino Unido	$ 4,951	0.2%		
Totals	**$ 2,842,062.00**	**100.0%**	96.5%	5

Source: ACE 1962. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.20 - Internal destination of imported transistors, Colombia 1973 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF			No. of Depts.
Bogotá D.E.	$ 4,889,295	77%		
Valle del Cauca	$ 915,605	14%		
Risaralda	$ 266,095	4%		
Atlántico	$ 88,572	1%		
Antioquia	$ 86,337	1%		
Cundinamarca	$ 50,452	1%		
Caldas	$ 34,432	1%		
Santander	$ 23,194	0.4%		
Norte de Santander	$ 1,710	0.03%		
Bolivar	$ 984	0.02%		
Totals	**$ 6,356,676**	**100%**		10

Source: ACE 1973. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 7.21 - Origin of imported transistors, Colombia 1973 ($ pesos).

	Valor CIF			No. of countries
Estados Unidos	$ 2,178,481	34%	92.5%	3
Japón	$ 2,114,100	33%		
Paises Bajos	$ 1,585,990	25%		
Alemania Occ.	$ 191,642	3%		
Belgica y Luxemburgo	$ 142,616	2%		
Argentina	$ 67,198	1%		
Reino Unido	$ 25,399	0.4%		
Italia	$ 18,209	0.3%		
Francia	$ 17,092	0.3%		
Canada	$ 11,293	0.2%		
Suecia	$ 4,656	0.1%		
Totals	**$ 6,356,676.00**	**100.0%**		11

Source: ACE 1973. Note: CIF value (Cost, Insurance and Freight).

Appendix 8.1 - Sonolux's licencing deals (1967).

Source: *Sonolux Catálogo General* (1967).

Appendix 8.2 - Codiscos' licensing deals (circa 1960s).

Source: *Codiscos 3a Ed Catálogo General de Discos de LP - MONOFONICO - ESTEREOFONICO* (circa mid 1960s).

Appendix 9.1 - Situations of tension in Colombian recording and sound technology industries, 1949-1963.

Evidenced and analysed			
1	Protectionism advocates	V.S.	Free-trade advocates
2	Record Companies	V.S.	State trade regulation
3	"Los Alcistas": retail price $4.5 for a 78 rpm	V.S.	"Los Bajistas": retail price $3.5 for a 78 rpm
4	Competing record companies (foreing licences, technology race, artists)	V.S.	Competing record companies (foreing licences, technology race, artists)
5	Record "factories"	V.S.	"Pirate" labels
6	Record company A&R	V.S.	Culture elite (press, radio, formally trained musicians)
7	Sound hardware & software importers	V.S.	State trade regulation
8	Foreing branches (Philips + CBS)	V.S.	Domestic recording business players
9	Atlantic Coast recording companies Medellín's recording and sound technology industries	V.S.	Andean region recording companies Bogotá's recording and sound technology industries
Future research			
10	Hegemonic popular music genre systems Cultured elite in Medellín	V.S.	Emerging disruptive constellations of popular music Growing working class
11	FENACAR	V.S.	SAYCO, municipal State, clerical institutions, civil society
12	Record companies	V.S.	Recording musicians and authors
13	ADECOL	V.S.	Radio, record companies, SAYCO, State
14	Record companies	V.S.	Syndicate of Antioquia's phonographic industry workers
15	Record companies	V.S.	SAYCO
16	ASINCOL members	V.S.	ASINCOL members
17	Sofware side	V.S.	Hardware side (hardware power)

Appendix 9.2 - Patterns of change and continuity in Colombia recording and sound technology industries, 1949-1963.

Patterns of Change	Patterns of Continuity
Increasing concentration of a growing population in main urban centres, particularly in main cities with an advance stage in manufacturing industry.	Political tensions between leaders and passionate followers the Conservative and Liberal parties, which sparked a phenomenon of intense violence particularly in the Andean regions of the country.
Changes in the cities and regions that dominated industrial production at large and in the sphere that concerns this research.	Associated tensions between different interest groups regarding industry protectionist policies and import restrictions
Gradual change in the mode of domestic record production, to some extent less dependant on international outsourcing.	Overall growth of the recording industries sector and its sales, with the gradual entrance of new main players and a parallel sector of independent labels.
Radical change from international commerce of records and sound hardware, to domestic recording production and local assembly of sound hardware using imported parts and pieces.	Overproduction of records and success rates involving many unsuccessful releases before achieving a hit.
Change in the activities of previously established importers-distributors-retailers of records and sound hardware, several of which expanded into the sphere of production.	Incessant process of technological updating and competition, based on imports of professional sound recording and record production technology.
Disruption of hegemonic popular music repertoires in Colombia.	Participation of transnational main recording and sound technology corporations in different forms, and adapting to changes in economic and State policy conditions.
******	Foreign label licensing and a dynamics of competition between domestic players for some of them

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